JOINT SPECIAL OPERATIONS UNIVERSITY

Each year, the Joint Special Operations University (JSOU) partners with the Special Operations and Low Intensity Conflict Chapter of the National Defense Industrial Association in sponsoring an annual essay contest. This year's first place winner is U.S. Air Force Major Jared Harris, with "Daydreams of an Operational Planner: Reimagining the Counterterrorism Task Force." In second place is U.S. Army Major Tim Ball, with "Bringing the Alliance Back to SOF: The Role of NATO Special Operations Headquarters in Countering Russian Hybrid Warfare." This collection also includes four high-quality, original works from other professional military education (PME) students. These essays provide current insights on what our PME students see as priority national security issues affecting special operations, and add value to the individuals' professional development, provide an outlet for expressing new ideas and points of view, and contribute to the special operations community as a whole. JSOU is pleased to offer this selection of the top essays from the 2016 contest.

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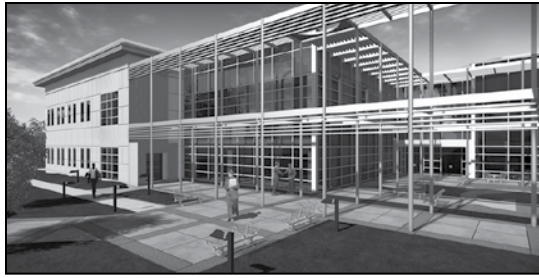
Joint Special Operations University
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The Joint Special Operations University (JSOU) provides its publications to contribute toward expanding the body of knowledge about joint special operations. JSOU publications advance the insights and recommendations of national security professionals and the Special Operations Forces (SOF) students and leaders for consideration by the SOF community and defense leadership.

JSOU is the educational component of the United States Special Operations Command (USSOCOM), MacDill Air Force Base, Florida. The JSOU mission is to educate SOF executive, senior, and intermediate leaders and selected other national and international security decision makers, both military and civilian, through teaching, outreach, and research in the science and art of joint special operations. JSOU provides education to the men and women of SOF and to those who enable the SOF mission in a joint and interagency environment.

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2016 Special Operations Essays

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Foreword

The Joint Special Operations University (JSOU) partnered with the Special Operations and Low Intensity Conflict (SO/LIC) Chapter of the National Defense Industrial Association (NDIA) in sponsoring the annual chapter essay contest. The first-place winner is recognized each year at the NDIA SO/LIC Symposium and awarded a $1,000 cash prize; this year's winner is Air Force Major Jared Harris. The runner-up receives $500; second place is U.S. Army Major Tim Ball.

The competition is open to resident and nonresident students attending professional military education (PME) institutions and has produced outstanding works on special operations issues. These essays provide current insights on what our PME students see as priority national security issues affecting special operations.

Essay contestants can choose any topic related to special operations. Submissions include hard-hitting and relevant recommendations that many Special Operations Forces commanders throughout U.S. Special Operations Command find very useful. Some entries submitted are a synopsis of the larger research project required for graduation or an advanced degree, while others are written specifically for the essay contest. Regardless of approach, these essays add value to the individuals' professional development, provide an outlet for expressing new ideas and points of view, and contribute to the special operations community as a whole.

JSOU is pleased to offer this selection of the top essays from the 2016 contest. The JSOU intent is that this compendium will benefit the reader professionally and encourage future PME students to enter the contest for 2017. Feedback is welcome, and your suggestions will be incorporated into future JSOU reports.

Kenneth H. Poole, Ed.D.
Director, Center for Special Operations Studies and Research

Air Force Major Jared Harris. Photo courtesy NDIA.

Daydreams of an Operational Planner: Reimagining the Counterterrorism Task Force

U.S. Air Force Major Jared Harris
2016 Essay Contest - 1st Place

Seeing Requires More Than Open Eyes

The planners sat shoulder-to-shoulder, their eyes glued to a wall-sized bank of brilliant screens, like an IMAX theater. The steady drumming of keystrokes filled the joint operations center (JOC). Eyelids were drooping with fatigue when the crackle of a radio transmission snapped them open again, exposing bloodshot eyes to the artificial breeze from cooling vents. When basking in the glow of floor-to-ceiling displays, it was not hard for the JOC personnel to imagine being somewhere else. Indeed, after several days of rotating from the floor to cots in a nearby room, such imagination was part of coping, maintaining patience, and controlling emotions. The planners were deeply vested in this particular operation—the task force had been working for months to execute it. Just then, over a video teleconference feed, the commander issued the cancellation order from thousands of miles away. According to his superiors, the target had become "non-viable." Morale in the room crashed. One planner lamented, "All the might of America, but the target still gets a vote."

Major Jared Harris is a special operations pilot assigned to Headquarters Air Force Special Operations Command. He wrote this essay while attending the Naval Postgraduate School's Defense Analysis program. Major Harris graduated in December 2015 with an M.S. focusing on Counterterrorism and Irregular Warfare. Major Harris would like to recognize Dr. Kalev Sepp, Naval Postgraduate School professor, for the significant contributions he made to Harris' educational experience, and for introducing him to a wealth of literature that was critical to forming and communicating the ideas in this essay.

This scenario characterizes what American counterterrorism professionals experience frequently: aborted missions and missed opportunities outnumber notable successes. Technology, ingenuity, and skillful forces form a capability that seems more like science fiction, and yet success in this conflict depends largely on enemy choice. More than that, the very measure of success in a counterterrorism campaign overemphasizes the importance of killing, and discounts other factors that may be far more important to achieving desired outcomes.

Though counterterrorism may be a perpetual struggle, the outcomes of U.S. operations should not be rationalized afterthoughts—desired outcomes should be a driving force. It would be counterproductive to attack the existing counterterrorism enterprise, discredit the sacrifices of its professionals, or diminish hard-fought successes. Rather, it is helpful to suggest an evolution of a vital U.S. capability to conceptualize four critical attributes of an evolved and improved counterterrorism task force. These attributes are: (1) purpose, (2) organization, (3) permissions, and (4) resourcing. Such a task force's purpose could be based on desired outcomes, and its organization oriented toward a specific enemy disposition. It could be empowered by comprehensive yet limited legal permissions, and be nationally resourced. The resulting organization should be capable of adapting to an ever-changing enemy in order to undermine its strengths and expose its weaknesses.

Purpose: Desired Outcomes Inform Scope, Capabilities

Using a desired outcome as the foundation of a task force purpose is critical because it implies an acceptable solution to terminate conflict. Even though existing organizations frequently adapt to address unforeseen challenges, within the counterterrorism realm, it may be beneficial to base the organizational design on a clear end state. Allowing the desired outcome to dictate the organization leads to less focus on acute issues and more consideration for the full scope of the problem. It also enables the integration of a wide variety of specialized units in a way that does not violate their intended purposes.

When desired outcome is not established first, leaders may misapply a task force or modify its mission parameters by chasing variable goals. There is a distinction to be made between organizational adaptation to unforeseen circumstances and misapplication. Adaptation is a necessary capability of a

well-designed organization; misapplication is an abuse, which can result in organizational and mission failure.

Consider, as an example, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) program to establish the Civilian Irregular Defense Group (CIDG) during the Vietnam Conflict. This program started as a means to train and equip local militias who could deny hamlet areas from the Vietnamese Communist influence. The original objectives were to directly compete with the enemy for popular support by providing local security, and also to collect intelligence information.

Consequently, the CIDG developed a notable fighting ability. Although the program was an initial success, it failed to satisfy White House goals due to its small scale, slow development, and lack of focus on enemy strongholds outside the hamlets. Washington forced the CIA to transfer the program to Military Assistance Command Vietnam (MACV), who employed CIDG forces outside the parameters of their original design. MACV largely utilized them as light infantry to conduct raids and assault enemy positions. With the CIDG deployed in pursuit of the enemy, hamlet security broke down. The program crumbled, and the United States lost a promising capability to deny enemy influence in the hamlets.[1] In retrospect, the CIDG program's original intent was too narrow in focus.

Compartmentalization within the CIA prevented the successes of the program from integrating with other military initiatives, and meeting the expectations of the U.S. administration. A broader end state and lesser compartmentalization at the outset of the program might have preserved its purpose, its design, and ultimately its effectiveness. There is no telling what may have happened with a different approach to managing that program, but, generally, units applied contrary to their purpose fail, and history is littered with similar examples.

Like the CIDG, modern counterterrorism task forces lack appropriate scope. These organizations often accomplish tactical or limited operational assignments, such as capturing or killing enemy leadership. True, such accomplishments may have strategic importance, but they rarely resolve the complex issues that transnational terrorism poses. This is particularly true when considering the regenerative capacity of enemies like al-Qaeda. The last 13 years of combat experience suggest that the elimination of Osama bin Laden and numerous other leaders mattered little to neutralizing the organization's capacity to spread and threaten sovereign nations' security.

No counterterrorism task force should exist solely for a purpose that does not contribute to conflict termination.

An alternative approach would be to codify the desired outcome first, and allow the resulting analysis to inform the organization's capability requirements and scope of effort. For terrorist groups, one of Mao Zedong's enduring lessons is particularly useful: the side with the ability to control its own attrition holds a decisive advantage.[2] An example of a desired outcome might be to create allied power advantages by removing al-Qaeda's ability to control its own attrition. Examining the sources of al-Qaeda's power to control attrition, even within a very specific geopolitical situation, quickly reveals that the capabilities necessary to achieve such a goal exceed the design of any particular U.S. task force.

As foreign policy scholar Joseph Nye points out in *The Future of Power*, what counts is the ability to convert one's available power resources into desired effects.[3] Nye characterizes power resources in terms of a spectrum from hard power, like military force, to soft power, like diplomacy.[4] In the case of transnational terrorism, desired effects might span from resolving sociocultural problems, to improving economic conditions, to thwarting state-like militia forces with military action. As Nye suggests, if America is to achieve such a broad range of effects, it must utilize a broad range of power resources, and thus employ the U.S. national security enterprise in its entirety. This fight demands coordinated, context-specific power; it must combine force and discrimination, persuasion, and coercion, and leverage information and communications capabilities.[5] Only a clear desired outcome reveals the scope of power and capabilities necessary for the task.

Organization: Enemy Disposition Informs Design

While a task force's goal is to be fluid, that fluidity is not just a function of desired outcome, but also of the enemy situation. Another fundamental attribute of a counterterrorism task force is that its organizational design should be a function of enemy disposition within the political and social context. A counterterrorism task force should reflect the nature, strategy, and capabilities of its enemy.

Military theorist John Arquilla observes that al-Qaeda, for example, is a globally prolific organization that rests on a foundation of coordinating ideas rather than a strict hierarchy. Contrary to American military organization,

"al-Qaeda has thrived by redesigning itself away from any serious reliance on central leadership."[6] The result is an enemy that spans continents, looks and acts differently depending on the environment and sociopolitical circumstances, and defies significant losses. In essence, terrorist organizations like al-Qaeda are networks by nature, but according to Arquilla, fighting networks requires networks.[7] If so, the present counterterrorism task force organization fails to sufficiently reflect enemy disposition by retaining a complex hierarchical design.

Though the U.S. approach currently involves networking capabilities and forces across broad geographic areas, much of this networking is interpersonal; liaisons may reside within an organization to share information while lacking permission to act upon it. An enemy-regarding design demands crosscutting traditional structures and delegating responsibilities to a more fluid force that can focus effort on a dynamic enemy. Pursuing al-Qaeda across operational theater boundaries and within various societies strains rigid organizations in ways command relationships and liaisons cannot overcome. U.S. networks need to reduce redundancy and suspend jurisdictional competition to a greater degree than they do presently. Ideally, these networks will converge interagency authorities and capabilities with military mobility and firepower.

As enemy nature can inform task force design, so can the analysis of enemy strategy. Such an analysis reveals terrorist modes of operation and suggests appropriate counterstrategies for which a task force could organize to execute. Political scientists Andrew Kydd and Barbara Walter offer a framework for understanding five strategic purposes for using terrorism: attrition, intimidation, provocation, spoiling, and outbidding.[8] Each of these purposes is contextual and represents an application of terrorism in a specific way to achieve a desired effect. Provocation, for example, is an attempt by the terrorists to incite a counterproductive response from the state that would actually support terrorist goals.[9] Such uses of terrorism typically work best when a targeted state is uncertain about terrorist organization, location, planning, and intent to use violence.[10] Thus, the state lacks the ability to effectively employ its security forces. Reducing uncertainty is therefore a critical objective; to do so, a task force must function in both the information and physical domains.[11] Analyzing a terrorist group's strategy with a framework like the one Kydd and Walter propose reveals task force

resource and organizational design requirements—form should follow function. Accordingly, effective task force design must reflect the counterstrategy it will execute.

Another reason terrorist strategy should inform task force organization stems from Ivan Arrequin-Toft's theory of strategic interaction. As an international security scholar, he offers a theory of asymmetric conflict in which strategy interaction between strong and weak actors can explain conflict outcome.[12] During armed conflicts, when the strategic approaches of each opponent match, the strong actor typically has the advantage. In the case of mismatch, however, the weak actor has the advantage. This theory partially explains why the United States has difficulty combating organizations like al-Qaeda. America struggles to find the conditions when it can use its overwhelming military advantage because al-Qaeda operates beyond the reach of such tools—the strategy mismatch favors al-Qaeda. Creating more distributed, rapidly adaptable organizations may enable the United States to dictate the terms of this strategic interaction rather than the other way around.

Analyzing an enemy's strategy also reveals the enemy's capabilities and limitations, which in turn equate to task force requirements. Given the diversity of global al-Qaeda affiliates, task force requirements are broad. Elevating the challenge, as U.S. military officers James Callard and Peter Faber observe, al-Qaeda seems to be capable of battle in "virtually all spheres of human activity."[13] This reality not only represents a transformational challenge for the U.S. national security enterprise at large, but calls for a rethinking of the organizations that face such enemies.

Permissions: Comprehensive Yet Limited Legal Authorities

Transnational terrorist organizations pose a significant policy challenge, with which the United States is still struggling to cope—how to legally define these combatants, or when the use of military force is permissible. American citizens who join with these enemies further exacerbate the legal challenge as they face U.S. military forces.

Nevertheless, any task force charged with a counterterrorism mission must hold a comprehensive set of legal authorities, military and otherwise, to pursue the enemy. In the fight against al-Qaeda, the United States must function within the bounds of its Constitution, international law, and respect

for the sovereignty of nations who are unable to thwart the terrorists within their own borders. This undertaking is certainly a great challenge given an enemy that respects no such bounds.

Comprehensive authorities do not just enable a counterterrorism task force; they also combat terrorist strategy. In his research article, "Why Big Nations Lose Small Wars," international security scholar Andrew Mack suggests that political interests are a center of gravity for the enemy to exploit during asymmetric conflicts.[14] Particularly, when an expeditionary force is fighting a small opponent, the small opponent gains the decisive advantage in three ways: (1) controlling its own attrition, (2) protracting the expeditionary force, and (3) unraveling the political will that supports the expeditionary force.[15] Domestic opposition to foreign engagements often leverages legal gray areas as a basis for protest. One way to safeguard against such political vulnerability is to codify, in law, the legal mandate and limits of authority for that force. Again, enemies will always find ways to operate outside the bounds of that legal framework, but this is an area begging for further attention.

History holds many examples of major powers unraveling in conflict due to political turmoil on the home front. One case that is particularly instructive is the French War in Algeria from 1954-1962, which highlights the domestic political vulnerability of an expeditionary mission. Foreign policy scholar Gil Merom argues, despite battlefield superiority over the separatist insurgents, France failed to achieve its political objectives in Algeria due to sociopolitical factors within France.[16]

Militarily, France had a well-equipped force suited for counterinsurgency, with initial national political support, and a permissive international environment.[17] However, the French military's use of torture, combined with conscription that exposed the broad populace to the national mission in Algeria, diminished the French sense of purpose for the war.[18] Over time, French goals transitioned from preserving Algeria as a colony to preserving the stability of French democracy and its inherent norms on the European continent. As Merom pointed out, "[this war] is a benchmark in the study of paradoxical conflict outcomes in modern days, and in the study of democratic use of force in counterinsurgency in particular."[19]

This historical example deals with civil war, not counterterrorism, but it is asymmetric in nature. It illustrates the criticality of the domestic political process and the necessity for popular support under such conditions.

The example also shows how high personal costs to nonparticipants in the conflict increase risk for mission success. Finally, it suggests nations should carefully authorize and limit expeditionary forces in such a multidimensional conflict. Legal authorities are critical, albeit intangible, resources in any counterterrorism fight—ones that will both impede enemy strategy and bolster friendly capability, or if done improperly, the opposite.

Resourcing: National Scope

A host of tangible resources must rest within the control of a counterterrorism task force. No single U.S. Government entity owns all the capabilities required for a given mission, and thus the scope of the resource pool is national. Every department has a stake in the fight against groups like al-Qaeda and should provide the appropriate people and equipment. One obvious benefit of converging capabilities is fluid enemy pursuit through any domain. Another is to prevent waste. A compelling reason to borrow from all stakeholders, though, relates to organizational behavior.

Organizations function according to culture, rules, and collective experience—factors that can limit their perception of problems and their creativity of solutions.[20] The U.S. national security enterprise appears to recognize that risk. Throughout the counterterrorism community, there is a significant amount of partnering between various agencies and departments, and among the military's conventional forces and Special Operations Forces. Headquarters frequently contain people from various backgrounds, who rotate through on a periodic basis, to take advantage of a wide variety of perspectives and experience. More and more, a diverse mix of people is in the same room. These individuals, unfortunately, do not always have the authority to fully integrate with the organizations in which they are embedded.

Another compelling case for such national resourcing can be found in U.S. Foreign Service Officer Lucien Vandenbrouke's account of the 1961 Bay of Pigs fiasco.[21] The CIA was solely responsible for an operation of massive scale—the plan called for developing a surrogate force that could conduct an amphibious assault on the Cuban coastal city Trinidad, supported by air and naval forces. From there, it was presumed the invading troops would solicit popular support against Castro's army and overturn the entire Communist revolution.

Planning and preparation suffered from undue secrecy where it was not warranted, and lax security when it was most detrimental to surprise. The mission further suffered from inadequate intelligence, political interference, organizational competition, and a general lack of the capabilities necessary for the task. Most of all, President John F. Kennedy's decision for a limited covert operation illuminated the risks of restraining resources. By not publicly committing the United States to the desired outcome, engaging Congress, or accepting national-level accountability for such a significant undertaking, Kennedy's political constraints on resources may have doomed the mission from the get-go. Desire for covert action might be understandable within the historical context, but the operational scale was not likely to offer the United States much deniability. Indeed, covert became overt as soon as the operation began to collapse. President Kennedy probably could have avoided disaster by resourcing the program from across the government, promoting critical thinking and assessments among the departments, and providing the resources that would have ensured success. A diverse group of professionals, assembled from across the executive departments, likely would have devised a very different approach to the goal of reversing the Cuban Revolution. The CIA by itself was inadequate for the task.

"See, Say, Do"

A consistent historical theme is one of so-called strong actors failing to achieve their desired outcomes, stymied by comparatively weak actors. This conflict asymmetry prompts the question, what constitutes power in these circumstances? In this arena, military force advantages do not translate cleanly into relative power advantages. The exercise of power is not just a function of capacity for violence, but acts of finely crafted discrimination. It is not just enabled by information, but by narrative. It is not just shaped by a political elite, but it is of the whole society.

The present-day U.S. counterterrorism model reflects its great military strength, and yet lacks the comprehensive power to effectively cope with asymmetric organizations like al-Qaeda. Though frustratingly close to being fit for the task, the overall U.S. national security enterprise still approaches the counterterrorism mission with an inappropriate mindset of employing military mass and attrition-style warfare. Within the counterterrorism realm, one means of shifting the balance of power in America's favor is to

refine its approach in four critical areas: (1) purpose, (2) organization, (3) permissions, and (4) resourcing. A given counterterrorism task force can be more pointedly successful if it is built for a situation-unique outcome, and oriented toward a specific enemy disposition. It should be armed with comprehensive (yet duly limited) authorities, and be nationally resourced.

A common mantra among today's counterterrorism professionals is, "See, Say, Do." But in the case of task force organizational design, many may see the problem, but only some say something about it, and even fewer do anything to solve it. With long-term costs rising, resources becoming scarcer, and terrorist groups like al-Qaeda continuing to grow, should the U.S. counterterrorism approach depart from its current path? There is little doubt it will. The U.S. counterterrorism enterprise is always in motion. But an effort must be made to guide the next evolution of this vital U.S. capability away from technical solutions and toward a more comprehensive approach to maximize American power effects. U.S. counterterrorism actions should not hinge on the decisions of terrorists, but rather on American leaders who rethink purpose, organization, permissions, and resourcing of the counterterrorism enterprise. If so, the might of America could render the enemy's 'vote' irrelevant. That is the relative superiority the United States needs and can possibly have over its terrorist opponents.

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Bringing the Alliance Back to SOF: The Role of NATO Special Operations Headquarters in Countering Russian Hybrid Warfare

U.S. Army Major Tim Ball
2016 Essay Contest - 2nd Place

> They have launched a subtle war of diplomatic maneuver, propaganda, deception, and calculated intimidation. It is a war of incidents rather than campaigns. It is a war in which carefully timed show of force can be more effective than a pitched battle. It is an economic, political, and psychological struggle. It is the sort of war that is new to the American Army.[1]

Introduction

In early 2014, "little green men" began to appear in Crimea. Working with ethnic Russian groups on the peninsula, these men soon began inciting protests and convincing members of the local population to shift their allegiance to the Russian government in Moscow.[2] The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) soon began to use the term hybrid warfare to describe Russian actions in Crimea, and later in Ukraine. The early phases of Russian hybrid warfare are similar in nature to unconventional warfare, and rely heavily on Special Operations Forces (SOF) that employ linguistic and cultural skills to leverage social movements and organizations within a population.[3] NATO can effectively counter or prevent these actions by utilizing the existing institutional structure of NATO Special Operations

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Headquarters (NSHQ) to create small, country-specific SOF teams with the linguistic and cultural backgrounds to facilitate their interaction with a contested population.

Hybrid Warfare, Unconventional Warfare, and Social Movements

Russia's version of hybrid warfare is frequently attributed to Russian Chief of the General Staff Valery Gerasimov, who places particular emphasis on the irregular and political aspects of strategy.[4] Recognizing that the mobilization of populations could be a key component to achieving strategic objectives, Gerasimov advocates using SOF to influence these populations.[5] By doing this, social movements could be created and manipulated to potentially destabilize a region, or simply shift the population's allegiance away from the existing government.

Gerasimov envisioned this happening without the involvement of large-scale conventional forces.[6] His initial phase of conflict, known as "covert origins," focuses entirely on the introduction of Russian operatives to a region in order to influence the population.[7] This effort is then complemented by an extensive information warfare campaign.[8] As the population increasingly internalizes the Russian narrative, the second phase, "escalations," occurs as Russian operatives cultivate the development of regionally specific social movements.[9]

These Russian-sponsored movements then destabilize the region through protests and other actions as conventional forces are deployed to the region under the guise of protecting Russian citizens.[10]

These first two phases of the Gerasimov Doctrine are very similar to the American concept of unconventional warfare, which focuses on enabling a resistance movement. The parallels in a recent study for the United States Army Special Operations Command are apparent in the title, "'Little Green Men': A Primer on Modern Russian Unconventional Warfare, Ukraine 2013-2014." The similarities continue to appear in the recently released Joint Publication 3-05.1: *Unconventional Warfare*. Acknowledging that resistance movements often begin as social movements, the publication also dedicates an entire appendix on how to leverage the movements.[11] Just as Russian SOF are expected to execute the initial phases of the Gerasimov Doctrine, U.S. Army Special Forces are the proponent for conducting unconventional

warfare. Because of these similarities in doctrine, countering Russian hybrid warfare is most feasible in the initial phases, before the introduction of conventional troops.

However, there are significant obstacles when operating in areas with historical ties to Russia. Russian SOF experienced success in both Crimea and Ukraine in shifting popular support away from the government in Kiev and toward Moscow. The operatives spoke the language of the region fluently, and shared a similar cultural heritage with the population. These factors likely contributed to the development of trust and influence between the operatives and targeted movements.

Trust and Influence Within Social Networks and Movements

When an individual decides whether or not to participate in a social movement, social networks play a large role in the decision process.[12] Within these social networks, trust can be considered one of the most important elements in keeping the network together and functioning.[13] With the introduction of trust, organizations and networks show increased identification with their mission and become more effective in exchanging information.[14]

Because trust is such an important factor in social networks, it is equally important in cultivating social movements. If a third party is attempting to influence or leverage a social movement in another country, trust must be established with the leadership and members of any potential movements. One type of trust that is relevant here is person-based trust, which results from direct interaction with an individual.[15]

There are multiple factors that affect person-based trust, but two are especially relevant for leveraging indigenous social movements: communication and similarity. Communication focuses on the quality of the exchange of information between two parties. That quality can be thought of in terms of the knowledge exchanged or in the interaction itself.[16] If a person speaks a language fluently, they can potentially build trust quicker than someone who struggles with the language. Even speaking in the correct dialect or with the right accent could contribute to a more accelerated development of person-based trust.

The second factor affecting person-based trust is similarity. This covers everything from physical appearance to ethnic, cultural, and religious background. A person instinctively trusts someone who is similar to them.[17] Here,

we see again the disadvantage a non-native individual has when attempting to leverage local groups in a region. Even if an individual speaks the language fluently, or if they have a different ethnic or religious background, it can potentially cause initial mistrust in their interactions with the group, whether the group realizes their bias or not. At the same time, if someone approaches the group that shares their language and their ethnic heritage, the barriers to gaining trust are much lower.

During the seizure of Crimea and initiation of hostilities in Ukraine, Russian SOF had the advantage of working to leverage native-Russian speakers in both regions. Both Crimea and eastern Ukraine have deep historical ties to Russia, and large enclaves of residents who still speak Russian as their first language. When Russian SOF appeared in these communities, they may have initially been regarded as outsiders. But their command of the language and their cultural ties allowed them to not only operate freely, but also to leverage the population toward achieving Russian objectives. Their ability to communicate effectively, coupled with their similarity to the population, allowed them to develop person-based trust and influence social networks in the region. Establishing person-based trust in a quick and effective manner is especially important in a temporary cooperative relationship, where the demand for trust is extremely high.[18]

From these observations, it appears Russian SOF would always have a decisive advantage when dealing with a population that contains ethnic Russians or that speaks Russian as their primary language. These conditions are present in several Baltic countries, making them vulnerable to the same type of hybrid warfare exhibited by Russia in Crimea and Ukraine.

Continued Hybrid Warfare in the Baltics

There are multiple factors that would encourage Russia's use of hybrid warfare in the Baltic region. Estonia and Latvia contain ethnic Russian populations that make up roughly 25 percent of their total populations.[19] The number of Russian speakers in each nation is even higher, representing nearly a third of the total population.[20] Lithuania has a much smaller percentage of ethnic Russians and Russian speakers living within its borders, but still contains significant concentrations of individuals who could be sympathetic to Russian intervention in the country. While none of these countries contain a majority of ethnic Russians or Russian speakers, the

numbers they do possess could cause some concern in the event of Russian intervention. In Latvia, these native Russian speakers often identify with being both Latvian and Russian. Many feel alienated from the Latvian state based on language and culture.[21] This perceived alienation, combined with a shared cultural and language heritage, creates a potentially dangerous social network that could be leveraged by Russian forces.

Another concern for the region is the persistent information campaign from Russia. Because a segment of the population considers Russian its first language, these people often turn to Russian-language news sources for information. Moscow takes full advantage of this through state-controlled or influenced media outlets that promote a pro-Russian message.[22] In both Riga and Tallinn, local politics are often heavily subjected to Russian influence. In 2011, this was seen when the Estonian government investigated the Tallinn mayor for receiving bribes from Russian companies.[23]

With conditions like these existing in multiple Baltic States, what is the appropriate counter against these early phases of hybrid warfare? What can be done to stop "little green men" from appearing in Tallinn or in Riga? The answer can be found by looking to the Cold War for ideas.

The Lodge Act Soldier: The Ideal Unconventional Warrior of the 1950s

The quote at the beginning of this paper appears as if it were written about Russia's recent actions in Crimea and Ukraine. Instead, it comes from a 1953 episode of *The Big Picture*, a U.S. Army-produced TV-series intended to inform the U.S. public on particular aspects of their Army.[24] This particular episode was entitled, "The Lodge Act Soldier" and provides a helpful model for combatting hybrid warfare as we know it today.

Originally known as the Alien Enlistee Act of 1950, the Lodge-Philbin Act allowed for the enlistment in the U.S. Army of foreign nationals from certain European countries. As the narrator of *The Big Picture* put it, "These men give us the knowledge we need to counteract Communism worldwide. These men give us the details with which to blunt the ideological attack of Communism on our country."[25]

The Lodge Act did more than just provide the knowledge on how to defeat Communism. At that time, it also provided the backbone of the Army's newly formed Special Forces. Many of the Lodge Act Soldiers were assigned

to 10th Special Forces Group (Airborne), located in Bad Tölz, Germany. Their primary mission was to be prepared to conduct unconventional warfare behind Soviet lines in the event of a war in Europe.[26] Here, the Lodge Act Soldiers found themselves with the same advantages as Russian SOF in Crimea or Ukraine. They spoke the languages and understood the culture necessary to build extensive networks and relationships throughout Europe.[27] Some Lodge Act Soldiers conducted plain-clothes intelligence operations in East Berlin without being detected.[28] The German-born Captain Ludwig Faistenhammer was so popular that he was nearly elected mayor of Bad Tölz, and in the end was only stopped by the intervention of the U.S. 7th Army.[29]

While the Soviet invasion never came, these Lodge Act Soldiers were the perfect option for a potential unconventional warfare campaign. With their language capabilities and ethnic background, Lodge Act Soldiers were able to operate throughout Europe without being immediately identified as American. Had they been asked to organize resistances or social movements, these men were the ideal candidates for getting the job done quickly.

Where can a modern version of the Lodge Act Soldiers be found? Historian Max Boot and former Ambassador Jeane J. Kirkpatrick point out that the U.S. military's biggest deficit today is its "lack of knowledge about other cultures."[30] They go on to note that it is far more efficient to recruit native speakers than to try and teach those languages to native-born Americans.[31] Instead of looking at unilateral options to counter hybrid warfare in Europe, the U.S. should look to its NATO partners, where solutions already exist. At the center of this idea is NSHQ.

NSHQ, the SOTT, and Countering Hybrid Warfare

Originally known as the NATO Special Operations Coordination Center, NSHQ was established in 2007 at Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe in Belgium.[32] Today, nearly 30 countries contribute almost 250 personnel to NSHQ. While the NSHQ Commander reports directly to the Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR), NSHQ is not currently a component command of Allied Command Operations. Despite this, NSHQ possesses a deployable SOF Command and Control Core (SOCC-Core), to provide operational command of NATO SOF upon the request of the SACEUR. By design, the SOCC-Core would command and control multiple

special operations task groups (SOTGs), who in turn command and control the smaller NATO SOF elements, special operations task units.

NSHQ possesses SOF from all over the alliance, with a variety of skills and expertise. Country-specific SOF commands from across the alliance coordinate daily with NSHQ and use it as a focal point for sharing ideas and techniques related to special operations. NSHQ also runs a NATO Special Operations School, which is now teaching a course on countering hybrid warfare for NATO personnel. With this knowledge base and access to a network of diverse special operators, NSHQ is the ideal organization to command and control a NATO-directed campaign to counter hybrid warfare. However, further innovation is necessary to maximize effectiveness in this campaign.

To properly combat hybrid warfare, a new type of unit must be organized within NATO SOF. The special operations task team (SOTT) would be a three to four man element composed of qualified NATO SOF members from the same country. Each SOTT would be dedicated to operating within their home country, and if necessary, could be supported by a member from a different NATO country serving as a mentor. The SOTT's mission would be to counter hybrid warfare by denying Russian access to social networks and movements within alliance countries.

The United States has already attempted a similar proposal when it reorganized Army Special Forces to provide regionally aligned experts in special warfare.[33] Designated as the Jedburghs, these elements would be tasked with identifying, building, developing, and operationalizing networks.[34] The problem with the U.S. model is that it does not take into account an adversary's advantage of employing a shared language and ethnic ties with the targeted population. The original Jedburgh teams of World War II comprised French, American, and British members. The exact composition varied, but every single team had at least one Frenchman since they were expected to operate inside France.[35]

Though the concept of deploying SOF to conduct these activities would be difficult to gain approval for within NATO, the framework for the creation and employment of SOTTs already exists within NATO doctrine. Currently, there are three missions assigned to NATO SOF: direct action, special reconnaissance, and military assistance. Military assistance includes, "engagement with local, regional, and national leadership or organizations, and civic actions supporting and influencing the local population."[36] The SOTT

concept is directly in line with military assistance and could be approved by NATO as such.

The composition of the SOTTs could also alleviate NATO members' concerns. By ensuring that each SOTT consists of operatives from the same country who operate only in that country domestically, NATO members would be assured that foreign SOF would not operate within their borders.

SOTGs are a natural choice to direct the SOTTs since they are generic organizations that are molded to specific missions. In this case, SOTGs would be created to cover certain regions within NATO. Since the concerns of hybrid warfare in the Baltic region differ from countries in Western Europe, the regional alignment of the SOTGs would reflect these national caveats. While the SOTGs would report to the SOCC-Core, it is also important to create lines of coordination with each participating country's command and control structure. By keeping member states informed of SOTT operations and encouraging collaboration, this NHSQ-led initiative will help alleviate concerns that some NATO members may have.

There are two possibilities for the employment of the SOTTs. First is the deployment of the SOTT prior to any confirmed presence of Russian operatives in a region. Though this is the most difficult scenario to coordinate NATO approval for, advocates of this preemptive approach have noted the value in obtaining information about existing and potential networks in an area.[37] If a SOTT is deployed into its home country to map human networks and relationships, then that information could help prevent future Russian efforts to manipulate and coerce social networks.

The second option involves deploying teams only upon confirmation of Russian agents operating in a region. Though easier to gain authorization to conduct, these operations would be much harder for SOTTs to execute. While the teams would lack the information that would be provided by the first option, they would still be able to quickly deploy into a region, make contact with targeted networks, and attempt to deny Russian influence on those networks. In this scenario, their shared language and culture with the target population is even more important, as it allows them to quickly establish trust and influence.

Both these options are made feasible by the team's composition. For example, a SOTT could be created using three members of Estonian SOF. The team would then be deployed into a town or village where the majority of the population speaks Russian. The team's ethnic background would

allow them to blend into the area with ease and would provide them with an even bigger advantage than a Russian SOF team. As native Estonians, they would be able to quickly build trust within the population's various networks and could properly identify which of these networks would be best suited to evolve into a social or resistance movement in the event of Russian intervention.

Finally, NSHQ should immediately adopt a new directorate focused on information warfare. The Gerasimov Doctrine calls for a dedicated information warfare campaign to support its operatives in the "covert origins" phase. To counter this, NSHQ should employ psychological operations personnel within its ranks. These personnel would synchronize their efforts with the deployed SOTTs to counter Russian manipulation of media outlets in NATO countries. This synchronization would be vital in helping SOTTs 'out-influence' any type of Russian opposition in their areas of operation.

This information warfare directorate would need to be integrated into the SOCC-Core and at the SOTG level. As information warfare capabilities are increased across the alliance, individual experts could also be assigned to SOTTs as the fourth member. They would provide an additional capability for SOTTs to use when attempting to contact and map existing social networks and organizations.

Conclusion

The Russian method of hybrid warfare relies heavily on the use of SOF who share both language and culture with their targeted population. To counter this, NATO must provide a similar force of natives who speak the language fluently and can identify with the ethnic heritage of a region. Using SOTTs, NATO can preemptively deny Russian access and influence to vulnerable populations. By directing NSHQ to enlist and employ these teams, NATO can ensure that the alliance remains firm and united in the face of future Russian aggression.

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Collaborative Warfare: Countering Hybrid Threats through Convergence

U.S. Army Chief Warrant Officer 3 James Allbright

Success and Failure

In 2011, seizing on the collapse of governance and security in Syria, al-Qaeda in Iraq transformed from a defeated terrorist organization to a cross-border insurgency known as the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS).[1] Displaying a mix of terrorist and conventional tactics, ISIS advanced through Syria's eastern and northern population centers to gain a substantial territorial foothold that stretches from Raqqa and Aleppo in the east to Mosul in the west.[2] More importantly, although in competition with jihadist groups and anti-Assad militias, ISIS recruited an army of over 30,000 fighters over the last four years.[3]

In 2013, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) began a covert paramilitary operation to train and equip Syrian rebels fighting against the Assad regime. Although the Syrian fighters claimed some victories against regime forces, they have not achieved any enduring success that has compelled Assad to negotiate for peace.[4] The following year, the Department of Defense (DOD) began an unconventional warfare campaign to train and equip Syrian fighters battling ISIS. During the first year, the campaign committed $500 million to recruit 5,000 Syrians; however, plagued by difficulties vetting potential troops, the program became an abject failure after it was reported having produced only four or five fighters.[5]

How did a decimated terrorist organization co-opt the Syrian population, while the United States' two premier paramilitary organizations were

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unsuccessful at leveraging that same population to advance U.S. interests? Analyzing ISIS as a hybrid threat provides a powerful answer to this question. Frank Hoffman, a leading expert on the subject, characterizes a hybrid threat as "[a]ny adversary that simultaneously and adaptively employs a fused mix of conventional weapons, irregular tactics, terrorism and criminal behavior in the battle space to obtain their political objectives."[6] ISIS' ability to simultaneously employ a full range of tactics at the same time allowed it to achieve success, while the United States' divided effort between the CIA and DOD led to failure.

How does the United States counter hybrid threats? This question, already relevant, will only increase in importance as the U.S. intelligence community and military continue to confront challenges in the gray zone, the space between traditional war and peace where these threats thrive. To defeat hybrid threats, indeed to defeat ISIS, it is imperative to understand the importance of convergence. Hybrid threats converge their tactics, from regular to irregular and terrorist to criminal, and employ those tactics in a simultaneous and complementary manner.[7] To counter this approach, the United States must seek a similar level of convergence in its own tactics.

Countering hybrid threats demands a unified effort between the CIA and United States Special Operations Command (USSOCOM), more than any other agencies, because they are the two national security organizations that historically operate in the gray zone. The CIA and USSOCOM must move beyond the current divide between paramilitary operations and unconventional warfare, toward a model of collaborative warfare that unifies and synchronizes both efforts. To prove this argument, this paper is divided into four parts. The first two sections explore the importance of convergence in hybrid warfare juxtaposed with the historical divide between paramilitary operations and unconventional warfare. The third describes an approach to collaborative warfare that leverages interagency task forces and officer exchange programs to create convergence, while the final section addresses potential counter-arguments to this approach.

Hybrid Threats and Convergence

Since hybrid threats entered onto the military stage, defining them has been as difficult as countering them. Critics of the term claim it is simply the latest buzzword to characterize irregular or asymmetric threats; moreover,

both the military and academia have failed to provide a universally accepted definition.[8] Hoffman describes four characteristics that differentiate hybrid threats from other asymmetric adversaries. Hybrid threats blend modalities, combining conventional and unconventional tactics with terrorism and criminal behavior. They employ these modes in a simultaneous and coherent way. They are composed of a mix of soldiers, guerrillas, and criminals. Finally, they rely on criminal activity for economic sustainment or as a mode of warfare.[9]

ISIS' development into a hybrid threat stems from its origins as a jihadist terrorist organization combined with the influence of former Baathist military officers. ISIS has followed an effective model while gaining territory and growing in size; it starts a campaign against a new population center with coordinated suicide bombings, followed quickly by an infiltration of the local population to gain control of key terrain, and finally unleashes a frontal assault to claim victory.[10] ISIS has leveraged its success to build a fighting population through both coercion and ideological recruitment while relying on extortion, stealing, and other criminal activity to fund its insurgent campaign.

The rise of ISIS, however, is not due to the group's use of hybrid warfare, but rather its inherent grasp of the power of convergence. In 2009, while penning his influential article[11] on the challenges that hybrid warfare will pose to the United States, Hoffman describes the "character of conflict that we currently face [as] best characterized by *convergence*." He details it as the merging "of the physical and psychological, the kinetic and nonkinetic, and combatants and noncombatants." Although Hoffman claims the convergence of modalities of war is the most significant, he also highlights the convergence "of the military force and the interagency community."[12] The true power of hybrid threats is not their use of terrorism or insurgent attacks—it is their mastery of converging those methods in a synchronized manner toward a unified goal.

Paramilitary Operations and Unconventional Warfare

While ISIS has merged terrorist violence with military doctrine, the United States has maintained its divide between paramilitary operations and unconventional warfare. Paramilitary operations are defined as the "equipping and training of large armed groups for a direct assault on one's enemies."[13]

They are a subset of covert action; activities conducted with the intent "to influence the political, economic, or military situation abroad in a manner that hides the role of the US government in the activity."[14] The CIA's Special Activity Center's Special Operations Group (SAC-SOG) manages paramilitary operations, with its officers often serving under the leadership of chiefs of station in the field.[15]

Similar to paramilitary operations, unconventional warfare also uses surrogate forces to achieve a military objective against the enemy. Unconventional warfare is defined as "activities conducted to enable a resistance movement or insurgency to coerce, disrupt, or overthrow a government or occupying power through and with an underground, auxiliary, or guerrilla force in a denied area."[16] The U.S. Army Special Operations Command (USASOC) is the proponent for unconventional warfare. Today, USASOC Special Forces groups provide operational elements to the theater special operations command (TSOC) overseeing an unconventional warfare campaign.[17]

The similarities between paramilitary operations and unconventional warfare stem from the CIA and USSOCOM's shared origin from the Office of Strategic Services (OSS). The OSS was founded in 1942 by Colonel "Wild Bill" Donovan to serve as the United States' strategic intelligence and paramilitary operations service during World War II.[18] Following the end of World War II, the OSS transitioned to become the CIA in 1947, executing paramilitary operations in such countries as Guatemala, Laos, and Afghanistan;[19] meanwhile, U.S. Army Special Forces were founded in 1951, conducting unconventional warfare campaigns in support of the war efforts in Korea and Vietnam.[20]

Following the events of 11 September 2001, the CIA and USSOCOM renewed their cooperative relationship. The United States' initial incursion into Afghanistan was made by a combination of CIA officers coupled with detachments from the 5th Special Forces Group.[21] The CIA's Counterterrorism Center and SOF increased integration for their campaign against al-Qaeda and other terrorist groups.[22] However, this increased cooperation was largely restricted to counterterrorism operations. For other lines of effort, such as paramilitary operations and unconventional warfare, the CIA and USSOCOM have relied on a process referred to as deconfliction, ensuring that they do not disturb the equities of each other's operations.[23]

Paramilitary operations and unconventional warfare have failed to truly converge, because deconfliction has become a false alternative for true collaboration between the CIA and USSOCOM. Deconfliction protects the efforts of the individual organizations—for example, ensuring the CIA and USSOCOM are not working with the same Syrian rebels. However, deconfliction does not achieve the unified and synchronized effort required to counter hybrid threats. If the CIA's and USSOCOM's parallel train and equip missions in Syria are any indicator, deconfliction has not allowed for the level of convergence that has enabled ISIS to succeed.

Deconfliction versus Collaboration

To counter ISIS and other hybrid threats, the CIA and USSOCOM must stop focusing on deconfliction, and instead aim to achieve convergence through collaborative warfare. Although deconfliction and collaboration might appear similar, the underlying focus of each highlights their divergent approaches. Whereas deconfliction protects each organization's operation, collaborative warfare creates a singular operation by sharing resources. While deconflicted operations are concerned with their individual planning and execution, collaborative warfare seeks to orchestrate the operations of several agencies toward a common mission.

Collaborative warfare achieves a unified and synchronized campaign that embraces the principles of convergence. I propose a two-part plan to conduct collaborative warfare against hybrid threats. First, the CIA and USSOCOM should form an interagency task force to fuse paramilitary operations and unconventional warfare on the battlefield. Second, the two organizations should establish a more robust officer exchange program between SAC-SOG and USASOC to provide officers from each organization with a shared understanding of their partner agency's capabilities and culture, and to build stronger interpersonal relationships between the two organizations. Although this paper is focused on countering ISIS, the approach it advocates could be used to counter other hybrid threats as well.

To counter ISIS' hybrid campaign across Iraq and Syria, SAC-SOG and USASOC must combine their battlefield resources into a single interagency task force. Interagency task forces, commonly referred to as joint interagency task forces (JIATFs), are organizational structures combining officers from multiple organizations, brought together in a single location and using a

single communication infrastructure, under a common commander for a common mission.[24] JIATFs leverage the force-multiplier effect of working side-by-side, allowing for the rapid and seamless sharing of information and synchronization of each agency's resources. By collaborating across organization boundaries, JIATFs break down two common impediments created by bureaucracy: compartmentalized information and highly specialized expertise,[25] which can lead to duplicated and uncoordinated efforts. Instead of allowing the information and expertise of each agency to remain stovepiped within separate organizations, JIATFs leverage the two toward a common cause.[26]

Comparing the design of an interagency task force to a regular task force demonstrates the former's effectiveness. A regular task force conducting an unconventional warfare campaign would have liaison officers from several organizations, including the CIA; however, those liaisons would be deconflicting their agency's operations with those of the task force. In a JIATF, those same liaison officers would be designing, executing, and supporting operations by leveraging their parent agency's capabilities and resources. While liaison officers assigned to a regular task force are responsible for protecting their agency's equities, those assigned to a JIATF are empowered to conduct collaborative warfare.

The CIA and USSOCOM can leverage interagency task forces to counter current hybrid threats on the battlefield; however, to conduct enduring collaborative warfare, the two organizations must establish a robust officer exchange program. Under this exchange, Special Forces officers would be assigned within SAC-SOG headquarters and field elements, while SAC paramilitary officers would be assigned to the group and battalion level of USASOC units. These exchanges could be six-month temporary assignments to two-year permanent tours, depending on the operational tempo of the mission. More important than duration, however, is that the exchange officers be fully integrated into their hosting organization: they would need to be focused on the same operations, using the same computer network systems, and rated by the same leadership.

The immersion of the exchange officers would foster an increased level of understanding and trust between Special Forces officers and paramilitary officers. Special Forces officers assigned to SAC-SOG would gain an understanding of the CIA's authorities and planning process for paramilitary operations and covert actions. Paramilitary officers assigned to Special

Forces groups would experience how USASOC units train and deploy in support of TSOC operations. Upon returning to their parent agency, these exchange officers would not only possess a fuller appreciation for their partner organization's capabilities and cultural dynamics, they would also have built a level of trust with their peers that can overcome future organizational divides and drive operational convergence.

Relationships, Missions, and Authorities

No plan is perfect, and any plan that compels two powerful establishments to move beyond their organizational stovepiping will have its opponents. Some may argue that the CIA and USSOCOM have a good relationship and that collaborative warfare is already occurring. They might point to increased integration in training and planning between CIA and USSOCOM headquarters as accomplishing the same goals of interagency task forces.[27] Additionally, they could argue that exchange programs between the organizations already exist through the CIA's Office of the Military Affairs,[28] which is staffed by officers from the USSOCOM community, including the current Associate Director for Military Affairs, Lieutenant General John F. Mulholland, the former deputy commander of USSOCOM.

I agree that the working relationship between the CIA and USSOCOM has improved; however, this improvement has not made significant strides toward overcoming the divide between paramilitary operations and unconventional warfare, which is unnecessarily hampering the United States in Syria. While shared training and planning have allowed for deconfliction on the battlefield, they have not produced a unified and synchronized effort against ISIS, or other hybrid threats. Further, although USSOCOM liaisons are assigned to the CIA, they largely reside outside the SAC-SOG. True cultural change requires that Special Forces officers work side-by-side with paramilitary operations officers and not coordinate with each other from opposite ends of headquarters.

Other critics will counter there are reasons for having two lines of effort, namely the differing missions and authorities of each organization. The CIA's mission in Syria was not to counter ISIS, but rather to combat the Assad regime through a covert action that was non-attributable to the U.S. Government. Moreover, the CIA and USSOCOM operate under different legal authorities, Title 50 and Title 10 respectively, which demand a division

between covert action conducted by an intelligence agency and unconventional warfare conducted by the military.[29] Further, the mixing of soldiers and spies complicates the military's status under the Geneva Convention and creates confusion as to the true chain of command.[30]

I fully agree that the CIA and USSOCOM often have differing missions, the fight in Syria being just one example. However, the nature of collaborative warfare is not to dismiss the goal of one organization over another; rather, it is to empower a unified and synchronized campaign to achieve each goal. A USSOCOM-led JIATF to counter ISIS does not preclude a CIA-led JIATF to counter the Assad regime. In fact, having a JIATF focused on each threat only increases the chances for success, enabling interagency officers to communicate with their parent agency peers in the other JIATF and to effectively coordinate the operations of their respective task force.

Regarding the distinction between intelligence and military authorities, it seems the debate between Title 10 and Title 50 has become a forum for competing organizations to stake out claims. Instead, it should be a medium to decide which organization should take the lead on a combined effort. The division of authorities was not intended to protect bureaucratic interests or produce 'rice-bowl' politics. Further, this author does not mean to downplay the importance of the Geneva Convention or the chain of the command; however, the United States cannot allow operational dysfunction to occur over laws and regulations forged before the dawn of modern hybrid threats. Neither ISIS nor Russia appear to allow the peculiarity between their special forces and their intelligence operatives to hamper operations. They are conducting a unified fight while at the same time exploiting the gaps in our policy to their advantage. The merging of CIA and USSOCOM personnel is not without precedent either. USSOCOM brought CIA officers into a component task force to combat terrorism,[31] while the CIA has seconded USSOCOM officers to its covert actions as well.[32] These mergers could easily happen again to counter hybrid threats.

Conclusion

Hybrid threats are not a new phenomenon. Hoffman notes several case studies of these threats, from the Boers battling the British to the Chechens clashing with the Russians.[33] However, the power of the information age, which allows individuals to leverage technology to improve communications

and organizational learning, has exponentially increased the lethality and effectiveness of hybrid threats. If American military history is a lesson of anything, it is that our enemies will continually seek ways to achieve an asymmetric advantage; hybrid threats are simply the natural progression of our adversaries.

Collaborative warfare is not an original phenomenon either. The term was first coined by General Stanley McChrystal to describe his approach to overcome the lack of interagency collaboration between the Department of Defense and the CIA during operations against al-Qaeda in Iraq.[34] McChrystal commented, "[a]t best we were fighting parallel, fractured campaigns against al-Qaeda; ours had to be unified effort." To achieve that unified effort, McChrystal relied on collaborative warfare, largely fostered by interagency tasks forces, to break down the organizational divides that were creating parallel campaigns. The same level of convergence is required today to break down the CIA's and USSOCOM's fractured campaigns against ISIS and other hybrid threats.

Given that our enemies leverage the simultaneous employment of terrorist violence and criminal warfare to seek an advantage, the United States must transform through interagency collaboration and operational-level exchanges to counter these hybrid tactics. Both the CIA and USSOCOM are personality-driven communities, where personality-based solutions are key drivers of organizational success. Therefore, interpersonal relationships are crucial to achieving convergence between the two organizations. By leveraging collaborative warfare in both the immediate future and over the long term, the CIA and USSOCOM can move beyond their individual cultural dynamics and achieve a shared culture of understanding and trust. It is through this trust that each organization, and ultimately the United States, will find success against hybrid threats.

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An Analysis of the Influence of Clausewitz's Friction, From Nonmilitary Fields Over the Frictions in the Military During the Chavin de Huantar Hostage Rescue

Peruvian Army Colonel Ricardo Benavides

On 16 December 1996, 500 guests, among them diplomats, businessmen, and civilian and military Peruvian authorities, attending a reception at the residence of the Japanese ambassador in Lima honoring the birthday of Emperor Akihito, were kidnapped by 14 terrorist members of the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement, or MRTA. For 126 days, the 'hostage crisis' captured the world's attention. Over 2,000 reporters transmitted live everything that was taking place around the embassy. The kidnapping was followed by a long process of talks, formalized through the Commission of Guarantors in which Peru reaffirmed before the international community its commitment to do everything possible to find a peaceful solution to the crisis and to use force only when the hostages were in danger. The negotiations were affected periodically by threats of summary executions, armed intimidation, and unrealistic demands by the terrorists, which frustrated any peaceful solution. On 22 April 1997—after MRTA leader Nestor Cerpa arbitrarily arranged to limit the medical visits to once a week, which had an effect on the healthcare many of the elderly hostages were receiving in the

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residence—Peru's President, Alberto Fujimori, gave the order to launch the military action, which was planned concurrently with the peaceful resolution. In a high-precision operation conducted by the Peruvian Special Forces, 71 of the 72 remaining hostages (most had been released shortly after their capture) were rescued alive. Two heroic Special Forces soldiers lost their lives, and over 20 were wounded during the raid. Because of the nearly flawless results, it is considered one of the most successful rescue operations in the world. Nonetheless, throughout the hostage crisis, the main actors in the political-diplomatic and information fields put their interest at play to achieve their objectives, many of them in conflict with those of the other actors. These confrontations became sources of friction.

Friction is a military science concept defined by Carl von Clausewitz explaining countless resistance opposing actions when trying to execute what was planned. Keeping in mind that Clausewitz's frictions were present throughout the hostage rescue operation is valid to highlight that the purpose of this essay is to examine what influence Clausewitz's frictions from the fields of national power (diplomatic and information) had over events unfolding in the military operation, and on the different phases and levels of command.

These specific events are:

1. National and international media coverage.

2. The Peruvian Government's diplomatic strategy.

3. The execution of the Special Forces operation.

In order to develop a methodical analysis of the hostage crisis, the author has determined the existence of events, which are segments of time and facts that allow for easy identification of the most relevant moments of interaction between the nonmilitary spheres exerting leverage over the military field (shown in Figure 1).

The first event to analyze is the national and international news media coverage. An important actor during this event was the Peruvian Government. It carefully handled official statements and presidential silence as part of its policy in dealing with the press, in an effort to maintain the secrecy of its military strategy while maintaining full control over the events. What was most remarkable, however, especially at the beginning of the crisis, was the lack of information from official sources. This reaction led the press to

Event: "X" (Period of time)

Actor: A Facts/methods: 1. 2.	F	Actor: B Facts/methods: 1. 2.
	Military objectives	F
Actor: C Facts/methods: 1. 2.	F	Actor: D Facts/methods: 1. 2.

Evaluation criteria:
– Principles of war.
– War functions.
– Operational variables.

F
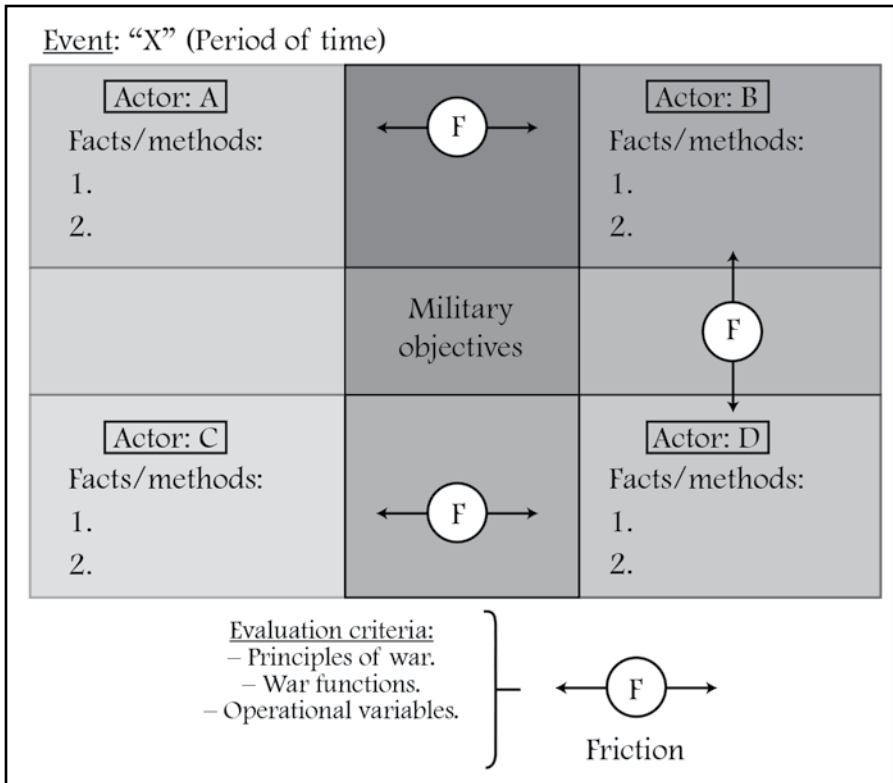
Friction

Figure 1. The author's graphic synthesizing the research methodology followed to determine the influence of friction between the nonmilitary actors (A, B and D) on the military component (C).

speculation: "they have gone beyond the limits of secrecy … I am sorry to say it, but the Administration has no interest in speaking with the foreign press," stated Sally Bowen, President of the Peruvian Foreign Correspondents' Association accredited in Peru (Base Tokyo, p. 157).

A week after the occupation of the ambassador's residence, the Peruvian Government decided to cut all means of communication between the residence and the outside world. These actions brought on positive results and forced the terrorists to free more hostages. The terrorists admitted that as a matter of fact, they (members of MRTA) had no communication from the inside and were forced to rely on the hostages to communicate their demands.

The National Intelligence Service took advantage of the 31 December 1996 press conference as a means to obtain information. By the time the press conference occurred, the military component needed intelligence about the interior of the building. To do this, they contacted a Japanese journalist who was found to be suitable for the job. The ruse involved inviting the accredited journalists covering the crisis to take pictures of the front of the residence. When the Japanese journalist's group was near the main entrance, he took advantage of the 'weakness' of the personnel manning the entrance and broke through the police cordon. He entered the residence followed by other media reporters. Among them were a couple of Peruvian journalists, who in reality were undercover intelligence agents. So, while Cerpa delivered his harangues and speeches without any reservations, the agents took the necessary pictures that were required and crucial to continuing the military planning (El Sol 1999, p. 44).

Other actors included the Peruvian and foreign media covering the crisis. They had a legitimate interest in getting access to the information, and every detail of the government's strategy. During the 126 days of the hostage crisis in Peru, a total of 2,166 journalists were accredited, 1,276 of whom were Peruvian. The remaining 890 were foreigners from 24 television channels and networks, 16 news agencies, and newspapers and magazines from 19 different countries (El Sol 1999, p. 112).

On 2 January 1997, a journalistic indiscretion (specifically a Peruvian radio station) revealed the identity of Pedro Fujimori, the president's brother, who until then had gone unnoticed along with the other hostages at the residence.

In turn, on 6 March 1997, the Peruvian newspaper *The Republic* reported that their reporters had already filmed the movement of police vehicles at night coming out of a house located behind the Japanese ambassador's residence. Such vehicles were said to be loaded with dirt sacks taken from that house. The news spread like wildfire among the media and threatened the hostages' safety as well as the secrecy of the entire operation.

The third actor involved was MRTA. Evidence shows the massive media coverage, especially at the onset of the crisis, had a significant effect on Cerpa losing perspective of his initial objectives. His unrestrained search for stardom and desire to show his superiority to the public included claiming that it was he, not the government, who controlled the events. "Cerpa spoke like a professor … he was like an actor looking for publicity," said hostage Luis

Watanabe (Base Tokyo, p. 151). Nevertheless, MRTA's clear overall objective was to exploit the media coverage.

Maintaining the element of secrecy of the operations throughout the first event was key to the military component if they were to achieve tactical surprise. Press coverage reached excessive levels of interest in the news, heightened by the absence of an official government spokesperson to manage and coordinate the efforts of the media. Ultimately, this affected the military component directly when the operation plans were revealed; fortunately, there were no adverse consequences. Additionally, this situation forced the military component to develop creative deception operations to carry out the infiltration. For example, since the Peruvian National Police were responsible for guarding the residence, the military used their trucks and dressed in their uniforms from day one, which helped their movements go undetected by the press. They also used old, outdated, and wired field phones in the days prior to the military raid, thus preventing radio communication and exposure to radio scanners, a technological resource available to some journalists.

<table>
<tr><td colspan="3">1st Event: National and international news media coverage occurring throughout the entire hostage crisis (Dec 17, 1996–Apr 22, 1997).</td></tr>
<tr>
<td>Actor: Peruvian government
Facts/Methods:
1. No official negotiator.
2. Handle official silence while analyzing the threat.
3. Take advantage of press conferences.</td>
<td>F
– Secrecy vs. Prominence.
– Take the control</td>
<td>Actor: Terrorist group "MRTA"
Facts/Methods:
1. Get influence before public opinion.
2. Release their demands (exploit initiative).
3. Demonstration of political and military strength (loss of strategic perspective).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– Search of intelligence</td>
<td>Protection (OPSEC)</td>
<td>– Political proselytism.
– Pursuing "the scoop", oversize MRTA.   F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actor: Peruvian Special forces
Facts/Methods:
1. Deception operations.
2. Develop HUMINT.</td>
<td>– Blow covers and reveal military plans.
F</td>
<td>Actor: Media
Facts/Methods:
1. Looking to get the last news (the exclusive).
2. Tremendous 24/7 covering.
  1. 1,296 Peruvian journalists, 870 foreigners.
  2. 24 TV stations from 19 countries.</td>
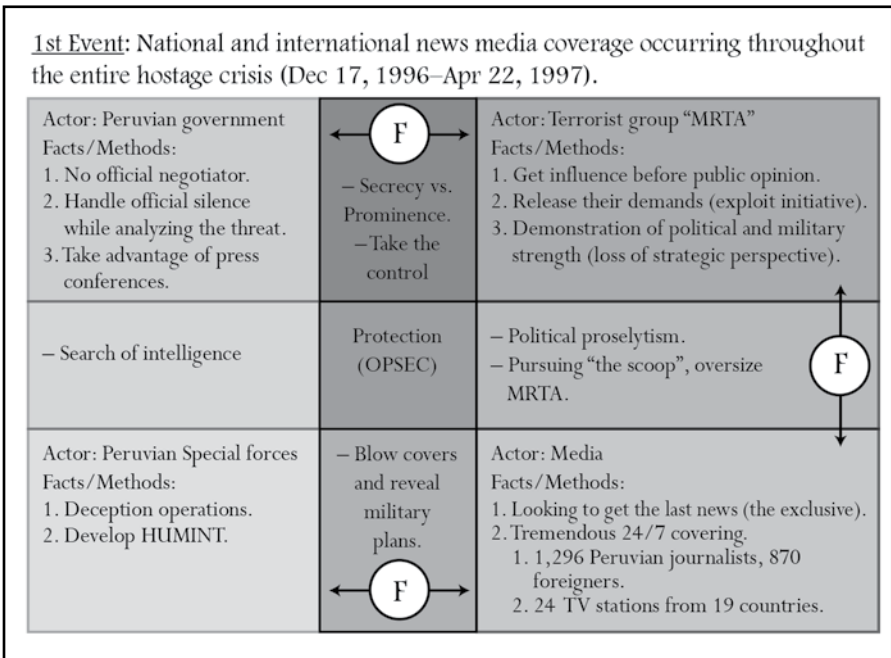</tr>
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Figure 2. Author's graphic representation summarizing the frictions among key actors during first event.

The next event was the actions that made up the diplomacy strategy that the Peruvian Government undertook throughout the hostage crisis.

One of the key actors was the foreign governments. Some of them (mainly Japan) pressured Peru to choose a peaceful solution and protect human life above all else. However, other nations expressed respect and strong support for Peru's sovereignty. On 18 December 1996, the day after the occupation, Japan's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Yukihiko Ikeda, arrived in Peru to coordinate with the Peruvian Government. Before his return trip to Japan, he stated, "We will continue communicating with the Peruvian Government to do everything in our power to solve this situation in a peaceful manner." (Rospigliosi 1998, p. 61).

On 2 January 1997, Japanese Emperor Akihito directly asked President Fujimori for a fast and peaceful resolution to the crisis—even more when the rounds of negotiations came to a standstill. On 26 January, Japanese Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto called President Fujimori and strongly reaffirmed, "today I called and had a serious 50-minute conversation with Mr. President … I urged him to find a peaceful resolution as soon as possible … let me add that our conversation was very serious." (Rospigliosi 1998, p. 66).

Pressures grew stronger as the days passed. On 26 March Cerpa sent Fidel Castro a letter expressing their refusal to abandon the demands. Additionally, that same day, Prime Minister Hashimoto urged the President to agree to the demand and reiterated the idea of releasing the terrorists, while also warning him about the disastrous consequences of an armed raid.

From the beginning, President Fujimori declared that he would reject any form of external pressure so as to maintain maneuver capability: "what I needed was to create an atmosphere of tranquility for my strategy … I sedated the Japanese and the 'emerretistas.'" (El Sol 1998, p. 9). He also used any international forums (such as the Toronto Agreement) available to clarify the fact that the MRTA was a terrorist group. He also wanted to show that his government was committed to a peaceful solution that did not tolerate blackmail. On another note, the 'direct diplomacy' strategy included a series of presidential trips to Europe and America to spread the message where Peru would use every diplomatic resource available to find a peaceful solution.

All of these frictions granted the military component freedom of action. Since external pressures were addressed and minimized politically, the military component was allowed to focus entirely on developing operation plans. Therefore, the government's policy contributed to the terrorist group's

2nd Event: Diplomacy strategy carried out by the Peruvian Government (Dec 17, 1996–Apr 22, 1997).

Actor: Peruvian government Facts/Methods: 1. Show strength and control. 2. Label to MRTA according to Intl Law (as terrorist group). 3. Gain international support	(F) — Stabilize and strategic communication. — Respect for Peruvian sovereign position.	Actor: Foreign government Japan, US, UK, Canada Facts/Methods: 1. Japanese Government exert persuasion and strong pressure to preserve Japanese hostage life. 2. Maintain trust on the Peruvian strategy 3. Opposition to an armed raid.
	— Deprive resources. — Legitimacy (F)	
	Actor: Peruvian Special Forces Facts/Methods: 1. Maximize combat power. 2. Physical isolation of the MRTA. 3. Gain national support.	

Figure 3. Author's graphic representation summarizing the frictions among key actors during second event.

international isolation—depriving it of the economic resources these organizations often collect from uninformed foreign civilians. In addition, the international isolation turned into physical isolation for the terrorists inside the residence, a requirement for the military attack.

The last event for analysis is the execution of the military option. One of the main actors of this event was the MRTA, which initial objectives clashed over time as a result of the long period of confinement.

Starting in mid-March, at the same time his deputies were questioning Cerpa's leadership, the initial objectives came into conflict. "There was a difference of opinion among the MRTA members. One of Cerpa's priorities was the release of his wife while the terrorist known as the 'Arab' apparently just wanted to raise some money … the others were interested in the redistribution of wealth as a way to start a new life," said Vice Admiral Luis Giampetri, hostage (Peruvian Army 2010, p. 105).

The long confinement time inside the residence caused the MRTA terrorist group's leadership and unity to suffer: "a sense of uncertainty was present

among the terrorists … the delay disappointed them; that is why Cerpa came up with the idea of playing soccer to ease the anxiety," said hostage Jorge Gumucio (Base Tokyo 1997, p. 216). It also brings the terrorists closer to the hostages: "one of the MRTA men opened the door, took the safety off his weapon, pointed it at me and … he turned around and closed the door … after so many days talking, we had developed an emotional connection," hostage Rodolfo Muñante said (Base Tokyo 1997, p. 196).

As the situation drew out, the terrorists relaxed in their routine. The terrorists assumed that as the days went by and negotiations were delayed, relatives of the hostages would react by publicly pressuring the government to find a solution to the conflict.

On the other hand, Cerpa's limited political skills became obvious in time. One can conclude that the long negotiations (more than 10 rounds in four months) weakened the unity of the terrorist leadership. The one in charge of negotiations was the terrorist known as the "Arab" (Rolly Rojas), not Cerpa. He believed that his rank entitled him to negotiate with President Fujimori since they held equal 'positions.' This was merely a pretext to cover up his political and negotiating ineptitude.

Nevertheless, the confinement also affected the hostages. On the second floor of the residence was a reinforced steel door that opened from the inside. Through the pager that one of the hostages had managed to keep in spite of the searches, the military hostages were made aware of the need to open the door. It took them about a month to figure out a way to open it, and it turned out to be the door to the Japanese ambassador's bedroom. This door was considered vital for the force to gain access to the second floor. These events demonstrated that while the extended period of confinement unsettled some of the hostages, abandoning themselves to long naps that lasted over 17 hours, the military hostages tried to get to know the "emerretistas," their weaknesses and strengths, and above all, be able to report on their movements and routines.

In fact, the decision to keep hostage military personnel and police was their first tactical error because from the beginning, these hostages managed to establish a crucial communication network.

The Peruvian Government was a key element for this event. The order clearly indicated the Government's political objective: to rescue the hostages alive and restore the rule of law at the ambassador's residence. In order to shape the legal framework, on 27 December 1996, the government declared

a state of emergency in the district of Lima (where the Japanese residence was located). It entailed a moratorium on certain constitutional rights, such as freedom of assembly and inviolability of domicile.

The military component took advantage of the four months necessary to implement the strategy and of the frictions it generated, thereby allowing it to perfect the planning and training. During this sixth event, there were times when audacious and creative responses were required. One of them was the noise produced during the construction of the tunnels because the soil was very soft. To minimize it, 12 huge speakers were installed at the entrance of the residence and used to play loud music.

Furthermore, luck, a factor characteristic of military friction, was present at this event. A week before 22 April, Cerpa, who outspokenly suspected the construction of a tunnel underneath the residence, ordered the Japanese hostages to go up to the second level and settle there. No hostages remained on the first level. This simple order was crucial, for it established the government conditions: no hostage should be hurt as a result of the initial explosion while the terrorists play soccer on the first floor.

Principles of war, such as unity of command, were meticulously followed by the government. The president, top leader of the government strategy, appointed a single military commander to be responsible for the unity of effort from start to finish, Colonel José Williams, from the Peruvian Army, who had full authority and direct communication with the president. The equipment required for the assigned mission ensured compliance with another principle: moderation.

Quoting Clausewitz once more: "Is there any lubricant that will reduce this friction? ... Only one; combat experience ... this experience provides valuable self-control at all levels." (Clausewitz 1983, p. 61). This "combat experience" is the defining factor that enabled the military strategy. In the more than 17 years of civil war (since 1980), the Peruvian Special Forces had fought and defeated terrorists in the mountains and jungles, which ensured their vital combat experience became the core factor of their success.

Conclusion

If we use the level of violence as a discriminator, one could conclude that the 'hostage crisis' was a conflict from start to finish. The conflict had periods of escalating violence, running the gamut from stable peace before the 17

December assault, to a violent act of terrorism by the MRTA that initiated the crisis, followed by a period of unstable peace, and concluding with the highest period of violence (as we can see in the next illustration).

Clausewitz defined friction as, "the only conception which distinguishes real war from war on paper." (Clausewitz 1983, p. 59). In other words, he defined friction as part of the actions and reactions of an army's mechanism during combat. However, history shows that during a period of conflict or general war, the sources of friction that Clausewitz determined existed in war are also found in the other components of national power, since the mechanisms that comprise those powers interact with one another during the conflict and will exert their influence within the military arena in the manner we have established in this essay. On this basis, the author proposes an evolution of Clausewitz's concept of friction and its application to events of action-reaction in other areas of national power.

<u>3rd Event</u>: Execution of the military option (Dec 17, 1996–Apr 22, 1997).

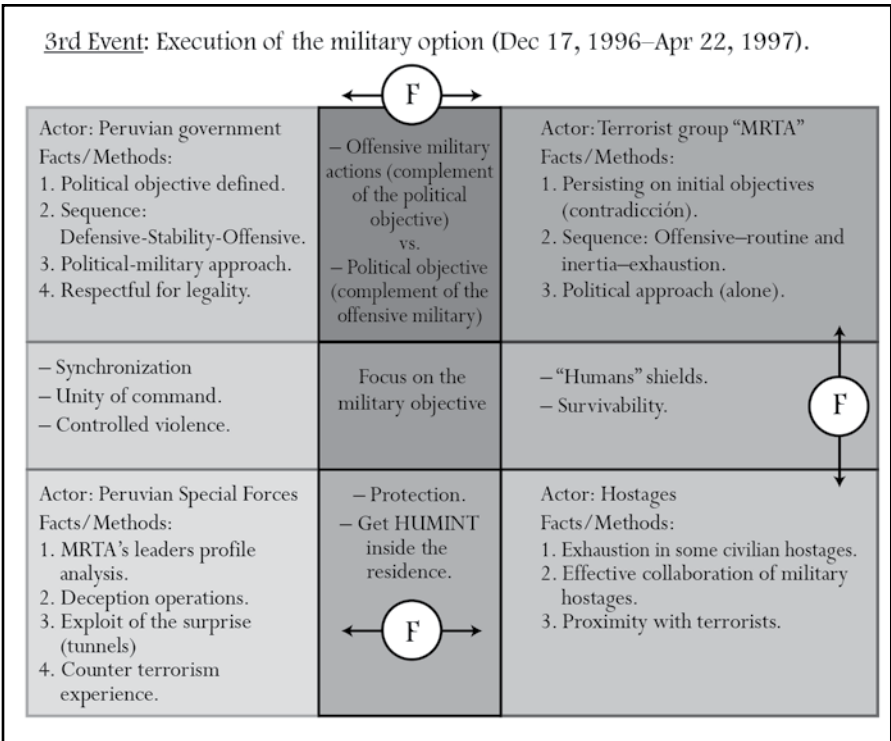| Actor: Peruvian government Facts/Methods: 1. Political objective defined. 2. Sequence: Defensive-Stability-Offensive. 3. Political-military approach. 4. Respectful for legality.	F — Offensive military actions (complement of the political objective) vs. — Political objective (complement of the offensive military)	Actor: Terrorist group "MRTA" Facts/Methods: 1. Persisting on initial objectives (contradicción). 2. Sequence: Offensive–routine and inertia–exhaustion. 3. Political approach (alone).
— Synchronization — Unity of command. — Controlled violence.	Focus on the military objective	— "Humans" shields. — Survivability. F
Actor: Peruvian Special Forces Facts/Methods: 1. MRTA's leaders profile analysis. 2. Deception operations. 3. Exploit of the surprise (tunnels) 4. Counter terrorism experience.	— Protection. — Get HUMINT inside the residence. F	Actor: Hostages Facts/Methods: 1. Exhaustion in some civilian hostages. 2. Effective collaboration of military hostages. 3. Proximity with terrorists.

Figure 4: Author's graphic representation summarizing the frictions among key actors during third event.

The diplomacy-political variable shaped the operational environment in a way that enabled the military component to achieve its objective. This variable was responsible for decreasing the sources of friction through the government's efforts as to the legitimacy of both the peaceful and military options. Furthermore, on the government's side, the person guiding the political strategy was the president, who was able to harmonize the actions and timetables to achieve the national political objective. In order to conduct the military option, there was only one military commander designated, which allowed for a flexible and functional system of command and control. As to the terrorist's own command and control system, terrorist Néstor Cerpa was not only the political leader of the group, but also its military commander, and as part of the group, helped to implement his own strategy. This combination of functions obfuscated his vision and understanding of the situation, and overwhelmed him.

Relating the information variable, the fact that no single person was designated as spokesperson to coordinate the government's messaging did increase the incidences of friction with the media; this produced a negative effect on the military component. However, the effective strategic media campaign the government promoted at the international level gained the backing and support of key countries around the world for its strategy.

Relating the military variable, the military component's members' sense of mission, capabilities, courage, and professionalism gave President Fujimori the confidence to issue the order, choosing the precise time and space of the incursion. Additionally, the time variable was misunderstood by Cerpa, whose equation was that, "the more time passes, the greater the national and international pressure on the Government."

On the other hand, the government's equation was, 'the more time passes, the greater the psyche-physical, military, and media deterioration of the terrorists.'

This essay has validated the hypothesis proposed—that effective management of the sources of friction from the political and information spheres contributed significantly to decreasing friction and ensuring the successful achievement of the military objectives.

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Measuring the Immeasurable: Assessing the Effectiveness of Engineering Civic Assistance Projects

U.S. Army Major Orlando Craig

One of the struggles of U.S. foreign policy in the modern era continues to be how to achieve national objectives through the use of the military instrument of national power in conflicts that increasingly center among people and populations. This struggle requires a different approach. U.S. Marine Corps Lieutenant Colonel Neil B. Mills described this approach in his master of military arts and science thesis:

> The Western strategy has been to assist the underdeveloped countries to maintain their political independence … and to improve their standard of living. Civic action has been a significant element of this assistance.[1]

Without any context, one would surmise that he made these remarks in reference to recent events and strategies. Most would be surprised to learn this is an observation made in 1964 by a student at the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College as he examined civic assistance in the context of U.S. military and coalition operations in the Philippines, Malaya, Laos, Korea, and Vietnam.

Nearly 50 years later, humanitarian and civic assistance (HCA) is still a significant part of U.S. strategy. Since the attacks of 11 September 2001, their use increased exponentially as the geographic combatant commands (GCCs) increasingly rely on HCA projects as a way to shape their areas of responsibility. However, the current limitations of the U.S. defense budget

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threaten to reduce or eliminate these projects. In light of these conditions, and despite their touted successes, it is fair to question the effectiveness of these programs in achieving national security objectives as prescribed by U.S. law and Department of Defense (DOD) policy.

After researching this question, it was determined there is not an adequate system in use to measure the effectiveness of these projects in meeting national security objectives. This finding is due to gaps in policy governing HCA and the method of assessing these programs. Drawing such a conclusion required answering two secondary questions, which this paper discusses. First, one must determine the objectives that HCA is used to achieve. In order to provide adequate context, this includes reviewing U.S. law, DOD policy, and the historical evolution of HCA. Second, one must evaluate the current methods of assessing the effectiveness of these programs. Analyzing these two areas provides a holistic understanding of the topic and facilitates a comprehensive assessment.

Given the extensive use of HCA by the DOD, this essay focuses primarily on a form of HCA known as engineering civic assistance projects (ENCAPs). Monetarily, these account for the preponderance of HCA projects. Furthermore, they have an extensive history of use by the U.S. that lends to in-depth analysis.

What are the Objectives of Engineer Civic Assistance Projects?

The first step to ascertaining the effectiveness of ENCAPs is to determine the objectives of the program. Primarily these objectives are established in U.S. law and further refined in DOD policy. However, just looking at these documents merely scratches the surface. Verifying their relevance requires studying ENCAPs from their historical origins to their modern equivalents. Examining these two areas together provides context for their use and allows one to assess the validity of the prescribed objectives.

HCA, and as a result, ENCAPs, find their modern framework established by U.S. law. The National Defense Authorization Act of 1987 amended Title 10 United States Code, which established civic assistance into law and formalized both the term and definition for HCA. It also required that HCA, if utilized, would be "provided in conjunction with military operations."[2] Additionally, the law authorized the DOD to execute HCA activities if those

activities promote "the security interests of both the United States and the country in which the activities are to be carried out; and the specific operational readiness skills of the members of the armed forces who participate in the activities."[3] The DOD further requires that HCA activities improve basic living conditions; enhance the legitimacy of the host nation; promote interoperability; generate long-term positive perceptions; and enhance security. These requirements form the baseline of the objectives of modern ENCAPs. However, to confirm that these objectives are relevant, one needs to turn to the development of the program since the Civil War.

The history of ENCAPs divides into three distinct periods: the Civil War through World War I, the inter-war period through World War II, and post-World War II. Each period saw changes in the scale and use of ENCAPs as the strategic interests of the U.S. were different with each period. However, throughout each period, the overall objectives of ENCAPs remained relatively consistent. Lieutenant Colonel Robert L. Bullard, who served in the Philippines in the early 1900s, summarized these efforts as "all means, short of actual war, used by the dominating power in the operation of bringing back to a state of peace and order the inhabitants of a district lately in hostilities."[4]

This first period, between 1860 and 1920, saw a dramatic expansion of the U.S. in terms of both territory and power. With this increase, the requirement to manage and administer newly acquired territories increased exponentially. As a result, the U.S. military gained significant experience in small-scale contingency operations that would serve as the foundation of HCA doctrine of the future. This experience primarily came from Civil War Reconstruction, the Indian Wars, and operations in newly acquired territories. During his tenure as military governor of Cuba, beginning in 1899, Major General John R. Brooke "maintained law and order, gave wartime refugees emergency assistance, enforced new sanitation codes, and built roads, sewers, and schools."[5] With the onset of World War I, the military lost much of the vast experience and lessons of these operations. The emphasis to capture these concepts did not begin again, albeit haphazard at best, until the inter-war period.

The second historical period of ENCAPs occurred during the inter-war period through World War II, from the 1910s through 1945. Both the U.S. Army and the U.S. Marines recognized that the U.S. military needed the capability to conduct operations that focused around administering new

territories. The Marines, because of their small size and their ability to deploy rapidly, garnered this experience through operations in support of the Department of State. Often the Marines would deploy in areas along the coasts of foreign countries in an effort to protect American lives, property, and interests. This often required working with the respective country on projects, such as the construction of roads and bridges, as part of larger efforts to establish order. Operational war planning drove the development of civic assistance concepts for the Army, especially as the specter of war loomed large in both Europe and the Pacific.

In 1940, students at the U.S. Army War College authored a study that served as the initial Army field manual for "The Administration of Civil Affairs in Occupied Alien Territory." As World War II progressed, the crucible of the world's most cataclysmic war created a fertile ground for the development of civic assistance. Though primarily focused on reconstruction operations, the U.S. developed organizations and theories that gave rise to the concepts of security cooperation and civic assistance that initiated the third period of ENCAP development.

The third evolution of ENCAPs occurred post-World War II and continues through today. This timeframe saw the re-establishment of the use of ENCAPs from principally being associated with reconstruction to being used as a mechanism to achieve national interests. This period began in earnest at the dawn of the Cold War in the 1950s, with the U.S. Government focused on countering the communist influence of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The first major program was known as Armed Forces Assistance to Korea. Together, Korean and American military forces conducted combined operations to construct schools, clinics, markets, and other projects to "help raise this nation from the depths of poverty, giving a people strength to resist the nearby communist plague which feeds on adversity."[6]

Following the success of this program, the United States expanded HCA activities throughout the world including Latin America, and, in particular, Southeast Asia. During the latter portion of the Vietnam War, the United States implemented the Civil Operations and Revolutionary Support Program, which combined both civilian and military civic assistance efforts. However, as the Vietnam War grew increasingly unpopular amongst the U.S. population and its policymakers, this success was lost, and civic assistance became a target of blame for the war. Due to changing dynamics of the political and military environments, civic assistance fell from the limelight

as an element of U.S. policy. It was not until the 1980s that the U.S. slowly re-elevated HCA as a viable option for engagement within a region. The GCCs continued to expand civic assistance programs within their AORs, especially in Africa and the Pacific. Today, the combatant commanders continue to use HCA as a strategic tool to influence and shape their respective operational environments utilizing many of the same principles and concepts developed from the earliest execution of ENCAPs.

Understanding the requirements of ENCAPs as prescribed by U.S. law, and further established by DOD policy, is critical to assessing their effectiveness. With this, it is necessary to evaluate these objectives against their historical use to ensure their relevance. Though terms have evolved over time, the DOD utilized ENCAPs in essentially the same manner that it always has. From operations conducted in the Philippines, China, and Cuba in the early 1950s, through Korea and Vietnam in the 1950s to 1970s, the general objectives mirrored those currently outlined by U.S. law and DOD policy. Establishing this linkage then allows one to evaluate the effectiveness of ENCAPs in achieving these objectives.

How Does the U.S. Military Assess Engineering Civic Assistance Projects?

To determine if ENCAPs achieve national security objectives requires analysis of the military assessment process. This requires determining the assessment requirements and from where they emanate. With this information, the requirements can be analyzed and separated into two categories. The first category consists of the factors that directly influence the assessment process. The second category comprises those factors that indirectly have an impact on the assessment and evaluation of ENCAPs. By first scrutinizing the direct factors, it allows for greater evaluation of the indirect factors. Comparing this analysis to other methods will ascertain its overall effectiveness.

The requirements to assess the effectiveness of ENCAPs emanate from four different sources. Since HCA is a military operation, joint force doctrine is the first source and prescribes an assessment process as it applies to military operations. Similar to doctrine, the Universal Joint Task List serves as the second source. It identifies two tasks that specifically relate to HCA. Both of those tasks include assigned metrics to aid in the assessment process. U.S. law and DOD policy are the third sources of assessment requirements.

Finally, the GCC commanders have the latitude to implement any theater specific evaluation criteria to assess the programs' effectiveness. Understanding this, sources and requirements reveal gaps in the assessment process.

The primary factor that affects the assessment process stems from gaps in the DOD policy itself. The policy creates a gap in the consistency of ENCAP evaluation. Specifically, the DOD only requires that HCA activities be assessed twice at most. The first assessment occurs within the first 30 days after completion; this evaluation is the after-action review for the project. The second required assessment occurs one year after project completion. However, DOD Instruction 2205.02: *Humanitarian and Civic Assistance Activities*, only mandates that projects have this second assessment completed if considered cost effective. Furthermore, if the combatant command decides that conducting a one-year assessment is feasible, it is up to their discretion to decide which and how many ENCAPs or other HCA activities to assess. Furthermore, none of the currently utilized assessment templates captures baseline data.

This leads to the second policy gap; there is no forcing function to capture baseline data. Therefore, there are no effective indicators through which to measure change. This creates a gap for evaluation, as progress cannot be assessed if the original inputs and conditions are unknown. Thus, the focus of assessment becomes quantitative, that is, focused on measures of performance, as opposed to measures of effectiveness, which assess a change in the behavior of the system.

Together these factors affect the DOD's ability to determine the level to which a particular ENCAP achieved particular objectives. The Government Accountability Office conducted at least two studies on this topic in the recent past. One study, carried out in 2012, found the DOD could not directly link HCA activities, including ENCAPs, to specific effects or objectives. This was similar to the results of a study conducted in the 1990s. There is little doubt that one could consider a clinic in Mongolia, a school in Thailand, or a bridge in the Philippines a humanitarian gesture. Regardless of that perception, within the current system, the extent to which a particular project achieves its objectives is unknown. To assess ENCAPs requires a comprehensive approach that assesses all elements of the course of the project cycle and the project assessment cycle.

A Proposed Model for Assessing the Effectiveness of Engineering Civic Action Projects

Development of a comprehensive model for assessing the effectiveness of ENCAPs needs to focus on improving two phases of the entire process. Most importantly, baseline data needs to be collected within all areas that are being evaluated. Without that, there is truly no objective way to evaluate effectiveness. Furthermore this data collection needs to expand beyond DOD humanitarian assistance and GCC objectives. Three other areas should be assessed as well. First, it must include an evaluation of engineer specific qualities of the project. Second, the efficiency of the project needs to be evaluated in terms of overall costs. Finally, the assessment must include specific U.S. training objectives to provide an accurate appraisal of the project's training value. All of these elements together will provide a holistic assessment of the ENCAP.

Crucial to the entire process is the development of indicators that allow measurement of progress toward desired outcomes. Once the indicators are in place, it is essential that the project manager collect baseline data on the indicators. This data provides the starting point for measuring change due to the particular project. Without this initial data, the entire assessment becomes purely subjective and based solely on the assessor's' judgment and perception. Collecting baseline data is not restricted to desired outcomes; it applies to engineer specific qualities of the project as well.

ENCAPs provide a lasting, visual symbol of U.S. cooperation with the respective host nation. Therefore, assessment of the quality of the engineer specific tasks and outputs is necessary over the long-term. This ensures project quality in terms of sustainability and ergonomics. Since the vast majority of ENCAPs consist of construction, or renovation of structures, infrastructure assessment is the logical model assessor to evaluate the structure over the long-term. First, Overseas Humanitarian Shared Information System[7] should capture project as-built drawings as attachments to provide baseline data regarding final construction. The American Institute of Architects defines as-built drawings as "drawings ... prepared by the contractor [that] show, in red ink, on-site changes to the original construction documents."[8] Those conducting assessments in the future could reference the as-built drawings, if necessary, during or after the infrastructure assessment. The *SWEAT/IR Book* published by the United States Army Engineer School

provides a very basic methodology for evaluating the critical components of infrastructure that does not require a trained engineer to execute. When performed over time, this would facilitate changes to facility plans and components to provide a final product that would enhance the long-term positive perception of the U.S. Government.

To better assess the overall cost of an ENCAP, the assessment should incorporate other funding sources used throughout the project cycle. Broadly speaking, these costs delineate into three additional categories beyond HCA appropriation: transportation, life support, and host nation support. The sources of funding vary for these categories based on the type of exercise and project. However, incorporating these costs will aid in providing context to the true value of the ENCAP as it relates to assessment. This is relevant to maximizing the effects of ENCAPs given today's fiscal uncertainties.

To complete the comprehensive evaluation of ENCAPs requires U.S. military units to define their specific training objectives for their unit when selected to participate in an ENCAP. Once specified, units need to assess their proficiency prior to and after ENCAP execution. When compiled, these results would provide specific data on specific mission essential tasks for the DOD to quantify an ENCAP's effects on the operational readiness of U.S. forces beyond just a qualitative assessment.
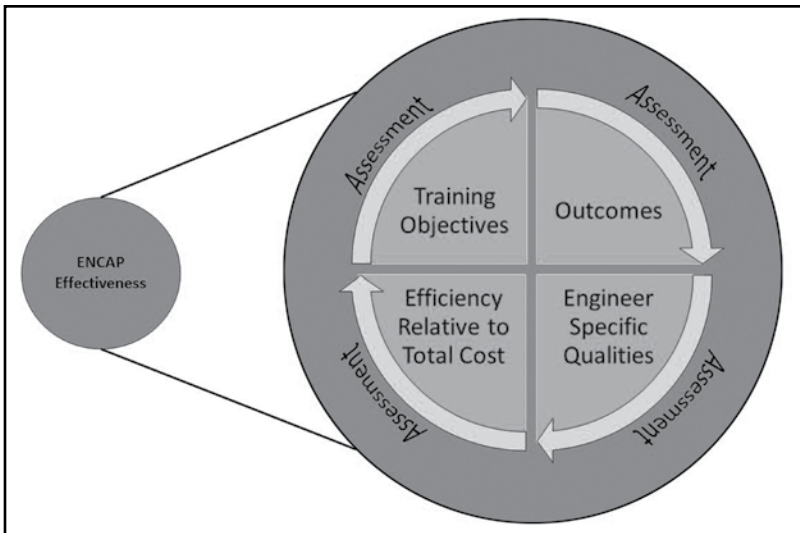

Figure 1. Proposed DOD ENCAP Assessment Model.
Source: created by Author

Figure 1 begins to address these shortcomings across four areas. First, indicators regarding the effectiveness of ENCAPs in regards to outcomes need to continue to be refined. Second, assessment needs to include a framework by which to evaluate the specific engineer components of the project. Third, all the costs associated with an ENCAP need to be captured to aid with the cost-benefit analysis. Finally, the assessment process needs to evaluate the training value received by U.S. military personnel through the construction of the ENCAP. This model is by no means complete. To aid further development requires discussing recommended changes to policy and areas warranting further research.

The primary change to policy should occur within the language of DOD Instruction 2205.02: *Humanitarian and Civic Assistance Activities*. It should direct the GCCs to conduct a long-term assessment of a portion of their ENCAPs. If this change is made, these assessments should be incorporated into a searchable database to facilitate rapid and precise analysis of lessons gleaned from ENCAPs across the entire DOD.

Given the recommended policy change, several topics warrant further research. First, given the relative similarity of the types of ENCAPs, development of a standardized list of indicators would ease the burden of the assessment process. Multiple sources already exist that contain a wide variety of indicators for deeper analysis. Furthermore, because HCA covers a wide variety of activities, the DOD should expand research beyond just that of ENCAPs. Examining these activities would further enhance the DOD's HCA efforts. However, this evaluation needs to balanced and, therefore, mandating the long-term assessment of every project is unsustainable. Therefore, researching what HCA projects to assess, and how often to assess them, would be of great utility in today's fiscally constrained environment.

Conclusion

As the military winds down the conflicts that have defined it for over a decade, it will gradually assume a role where it postures and prepares for the next conflict. As a result, GCC commanders will continue to attempt to shape their areas of responsibility in order to influence their complex operating environments. One of the tools they will continue to utilize to do this is HCA projects. However, the lack of long-term assessment prevents the DOD from assessing the extent of ENCAPs' effectiveness. Given widespread

employment of ENCAPs across the combatant commands, addressing this gap is necessary. Particularly, it would enable the GCCs to employ ENCAPs to maximize their effects in a fiscally constrained environment.

This article proposes a model that forms an initial approach to address the existing evaluation gap. However, the model only serves as a guide to the evaluation of ENCAPs based on the factors discovered during research. As Lieutenant Colonel Mills noted in his 1964 master's thesis, "the most important factor of all, and the one upon which all ... guidelines are dependent, is the [military] officer himself. ... It is for his consideration and use that they are offered."[9]

Endnotes

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7. The Overseas Humanitarian Assistance Shared Information System (OHASIS) enables Humanitarian Assistance (HA) offices, including embassy staff, country team members, Combatant Command leads, and DSCA to manage and visualize HA projects on a web-based map display, automate report generation, and perform a variety of analysis.

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Seizing the Initiative through Violence: The Hybrid Warfare Counteroffensive

U.S. Army Chief Warrant Officer 4 Stephen M. Dayspring

Hybrid warfare involves the combination of political warfare and limited levels of violence. It is a way to force a victim to accept an aggressor's will without the risks associated with traditional warfare. What, then, is the difference between the aggressor who successfully employs hybrid warfare and the victim who fails to defend against it? The answer lies in the nature of each state and perceptions of the international system, but it reduces to a single factor—the use of violence. The hybrid aggressor is willing to further his political objectives by inflicting death and destruction on a victim. The aggressor is willing to sponsor terrorists, insurgents, and other instruments of violence, so long as they remain below the threshold of open war.[1] The victim of hybrid warfare, on the other hand, typically worries about provoking an escalation in the conflict. Therefore, he restrains his response to the passive hardening of points of vulnerability. He fails to inflict pain and hardship in kind; worse yet, he fails to even consider it. Was Russia's arming and direct controlling of proxy rebels in Georgia violence? Of course. Was Russia's use of militia and "little green men" in Crimea violence? Absolutely. What were the responses to these acts of violence? Sanctions, strongly worded resolutions, and anything but violence. The result was that Russia developed a sense of being able to inflict harm while incurring little risk of suffering painful retribution. Russia was not deterred from continuing to employ violence in eastern Ukraine and continues to maintain the initiative for violence against other neighbors. The appropriate counter to

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hybrid warfare is the employment of selective violence against the aggressor state's armed forces.

Hybrid warfare is a way of synchronizing the range of possible means toward achieving a desired end, while minimizing the risks associated with direct military confrontation. Traditional warfare involves risk to a state's means, and to the state itself.[2] Estimations of force can be mistaken. Weaker defenders can repel stronger attackers. Domestic populations can lose their enthusiasm for a costly conflict. The overt use of force exposes the military means of national power to destruction by third parties. A hybrid aggressor chooses other-than-traditional warfare as a way to bypass conventional mechanisms of deterrence, minimizing his expected cost and maximizing his benefit.[3] The cost/benefit calculation moves further in the aggressor's favor when he controls the initiative for the use of violence during a time of supposed 'peace.' When hybrid warfare is linked to an actor's strategic choice and desire to preserve his military means of power, it is clear that an effective counter will be the one that denies this insulation. An aggressor must be forced to calculate losses and damage in unexpected places and unknowable scales. Violent counteractions to hybrid warfare also serve to reestablish the defender's initiative for the use of further violence.

The Russian occupation and annexation of Crimea is often used as a contemporary example of Russian hybrid warfare. Unfortunately, the overt phase of the military operation from late February to late March 2014 is too narrow to describe the total hybrid effort Moscow used to force its dominion over Kiev. For 10 years prior to the occupation, Russian operatives carried out a concerted effort to undermine Ukrainian sovereignty.[4] They rigged Ukrainian elections, manipulated financial markets, shut off energy and heating fuel in the dead of winter to force political concessions, issued Russian citizenship to Ukrainian residents, and directed the state police in the violent suppression of pro-democracy movements. Russia pursued all of these actions to support Moscow's strategic themes of preserving Putin's hold on Russian power, projecting Russian dominance in the post-Soviet space, and undermining the resolution of Russia's greatest geopolitical rivals—the United States, European Union (EU), and NATO.[5] Russia undertook these efforts despite numerous pledges to respect Ukraine's sovereignty, most notably the 1994 Budapest Memorandum, which resulted in Ukraine surrendering the world's third largest nuclear arsenal. Twenty years later,

Russia exploited the political chaos created by its proxy in Kiev and invaded Ukraine under the façade of supporting local self-determination.

The options for degrading an aggressor's means to date appear to be limited to economic sanctions and diplomatic reprimands. Without the real threat of force and expectation of harm to the aggressor's most visible means of projecting power, these actions have a poor track record of modifying an aggressor's behavior. Despite sanctions, Russia still occupies Crimea. Regardless of international condemnation, Russian troops continue to enforce the defacto borders between Georgia and the rebel Abkhazia and South Ossetia regions. The purely defensive-minded counter to hybrid threats remains focused on the passive hardening of vulnerable sectors. These methods will suggest diversifying points of economic leverage. They will identify the need to remove agents of influence. They will promote legal restrictions to limit a potential aggressor's access to a vulnerable area. The military aspect of this approach will similarly consider how to counter terrorists and saboteurs and will struggle with the military's role in confronting violent proxy social movements. These actions should be included in the normal functions of a healthy state that wishes to preserve its sovereignty, but are hardly an innovative counter to an act of deliberate, albeit deniable, aggression. The offensive responses to these forms of warfare will complement the defensive effort by degrading the aggressor's ability to threaten to employ increased levels of overt force. They will aim to weaken the military pillar of an aggressor's national power and subsequently undermine the stability of the aggressor's government.

What penalty did Russia suffer for its use of hybrid warfare against Georgia? In the decade prior to the 2008 Russian invasion of Georgia, Russia armed and sponsored rebels in Abkhazia and South Ossetia.[6] Russia continued to escalate and manipulate the conflicts in both regions while Georgia exercised restraint at the behest of its intended EU and NATO partners. Russia paid little cost for the promotion of violence against Georgia and was not deterred from the overt invasion in 2008. Russia's decision for an invasion might have been influenced if the earlier use of violence had resulted in significant costs to its military strength. At any point following the Russian sponsorship of violence in either case, Georgia, Ukraine, or their ostensible Western allies should have considered possible methods for introducing selective levels of violence against Russian targets. With respect to preserving Western values that restrict the targeting of civilians, these efforts could

have been limited to the Russian military and critical elements of state power. Russia's promotion of violence should have been answered with the provision of anti-armor weapons to Chechen separatists, the sabotage of Black Sea Fleet ships while making visits to foreign ports-of-call, the demolition of rail bridges over the Volga, or the physical destruction of pipelines, power transmission facilities, and munitions production factories in the Russian interior.

Through the covert employment of SOF and the use of surrogate organizations, the West should seek to counter hybrid warfare through the infliction of damage to military and strategic targets. The surrogate actor does not even need to be an ideological ally to the West. The Russian state has little respect for the rule of law, and organized criminal organizations permeate every level of Russian business and administration. It would not take much imagination to solicit a desired effect utilizing the platforms of Russian criminality on the dark web by soliciting an action through nonattributable cryptocurrency. By using Russia's own lawlessness and corruption against it, damage can be inflicted against the means of state power at little risk to a Western operator. In the modality of 2015, $100,000 dollars in anonymous Bitcoin, paid to the confirmed saboteur of a Russian military factory, could spark a cottage industry of expendable saboteurs-on-demand within the Russian Federation. These actions would necessitate only the thinnest veneers of plausible deniability to mitigate the risk of escalation, but continued diplomatic engagement should leave little doubt of the linkage between aggressive Russian coercion in one location and a military or economic loss suffered in another.

Hybrid warfare is a whole-of-government approach to waging limited warfare in order to minimize the risk associated with traditional war. The key to countering hybrid aggression lies in employing a similar range of means to mitigate the vulnerabilities that make hybrid warfare possible. If the nature of hybrid warfare is not recognized before the introduction of overt forces, then those forces should be the targets of relentless violent reprisals. It should be a declared matter of U.S. policy that the United States will aid and support any Tatar or Ukrainian resistance movement in occupied Crimea. Russian divers should be forced to work nonstop to ensure that the hulls of Black Sea Fleet ships remain free of Western-provided yet locally emplaced limpet mines. Russian maintenance officers should be cleaning sugar out of T-72 gas tanks and replacing intentionally cracked road wheels

to cripple their already antiquated and taxed logistics system. A hybrid warfare practitioner like Russia will of course exploit any offensive action for propaganda purposes. This simply needs to be understood and considered at the outset of a counteroffensive. Fear of escalation will slow any consideration of action, but for as long as there is no expected cost associated with the employment of hybrid warfare, there will be no deterrence of its practice. Unless countered effectively, a hybrid aggressor will maintain the initiative to use increased levels of violence against target states and international bodies when it suits the aggressor's purposes.[7] States who wish to preserve the existing international order must regain the initiative for the use of select levels of violence as a necessary component in countering a hybrid threat.

Endnotes

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3. Paul Huth, *Extended Deterrence and the Prevention of War*, 8.

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6. Andei Illarionov, "The Russian Leadership's Preparation for War, 1999-2008," in *The Guns of August 2008: Russia's War in Georgia*, eds. Svante E. Cornell and S. Frederick Starr (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2009), 51.

7. George F. Kennan, *The Long Telegram (from U.S. Charge D' Affairs in the Soviet Union to the U.S. Secretary of State)* (Washington, D.C.: 1946), part 5(1). Kennan observed that Russia (then the Soviet Union) would test international resolve, but it would plan for off-ramps to back away from unnecessary conflict when it encountered strong resistance and a demonstrated will to use force.