

# 2015 Special Operations Essays



**Joint Special Operations University**  
**7701 Tampa Point Boulevard**  
**MacDill AFB FL 33621**

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**On the cover.** Army Rangers of 1st Battalion, 75th Ranger Regiment, execute fast rope training at Hunter Army Airfield, Georgia. U.S. Army photo by Specialist Coty Kuhn.





# *2015 Special Operations Essays*

**Report 15-2**  
*The JSOU Press*  
*MacDill Air Force Base, Florida*  
2015



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This work was cleared for public release; distribution is unlimited.

ISBN: 978-1-933749-96-9

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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 U.S. Army Major Andrew Ruzkiewicz. The runner-up receives \$500; second place is U.S. Army Major James F. Razuri.

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 United States 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 2015 contest. The JSOU intent is that this compendium will benefit the reader professionally and encourage future PME students to enter the contest for 2016. 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



# Assistance Beyond Luck: Synchronizing Engagements in the Global SOF Network

*U.S. Army Major Andrew Ruszkiewicz  
2015 Essay Contest - 1st Place*

## Introduction

You can't surge trust. You must build it, slowly and deliberately, before a crisis occurs. – Retired Admiral William McRaven, former commander, USSOCOM

In December 2012, Mokhtar Belmokhtar, an al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) affiliated terrorist leader in Northern Mali, released a statement calling for the mobilization of fighters to converge on Mali and fight the impending Western military interventions in the war-torn country. An estimated 1,200 terrorists would eventually occupy the northern part of the country. Concurrently, West African governments apprehensively pledged to support the fight against jihadist elements, but were drastically undertrained and under-resourced to meet the challenges. Ansar Dine, AQIM, and their associated groups continued to fortify their positions in the Adrar des Ifoghas mountain range in advance of the coming battles.

In February 2013, a fierce firefight broke out as a Chadian special operations forces (SOF) unit operating in Northern Mali made contact with terrorists entrenched in the formidable mountain range. Hours later, Abu Zeid, the deputy commander of AQIM, and approximately 30 of his fighters lay dead. Only a week earlier, the same Chadian unit had entered the town of Tessalit, helping French forces liberate it and killing nearly 70 fighters in the process.

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*Major Andrew Ruszkiewicz is a U.S. Army Civil Affairs officer. He submitted this paper while attending the Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey, California, where he is currently pursuing a Master's of Science in Defense Analysis with an Irregular Warfare Focus.*

Overlooking the battlefield, Brigadier General Abdraman Mery, commander of the Chadian special anti-terrorist group (SATG), surveyed the damage to his force: over 30 killed and numerous more wounded. The losses were substantial, but significantly less than should have been expected after assaulting a force that held a marked advantage in regard to terrain and time to prepare for the battle. Only weeks earlier, General Mery and his 600 special operators had embarked in their Toyota Land Cruiser trucks with little more than crew-served weapons, and traversed the greater part of some of the most inhospitable terrain in the world: the Sahara Desert. In the span of three months, this force had accomplished a feat most would not have believed possible. A year later, in May 2014, General Mery would arrive in Tampa, Florida, for U.S. Special Operations Command's (USSOCOM) International SOF conference where he would receive an award for his actions during combat operations in Mali. How did this happen?

In order to better achieve synchronization of persistent SOF engagements capable of leveraging partner SOF in an expeditionary manner, USSOCOM must revise the special operations liaison officer (SOLO) program. This essay builds upon previous concepts, such as the Volckmann Program proposed in 2011 by then Colonel Eric P. Wendt, as well as recent recommendations made in "Special Operations Liaison Officer: Looking Back To See The Future."<sup>1</sup> The concept proposed here goes beyond these previous recommendations as it argues for the creation of a regionally aligned, specially trained, SOF liaison program under USSOCOM management. This new concept essentially transforms the SOLO program into a special operations liaison team (SOLT). The SOLT concept would encompass the selection, training, and employment of mid-career special operators from each of the four services to work directly with partner-nation SOF under the Office of Security Cooperation as part of the U.S. country teams. The SOLT would be composed of mid-grade to senior SOF noncommissioned officers, warrant officers, and officers who have completed key developmental jobs in a particular region. SOLT members would be selected for their advanced regional expertise and would receive specialized training in security assistance and security cooperation programs and military advising, prior to their employment. They could be deployed individually or in small, two- to four-operator elements.

The SOLT concept addresses the gaps in long-range planning and synchronization of persistent engagements, episodic engagements, and train and equip funding efforts. It also provides expertise in advising interagency

partners and the host nation on special operations at the national level. Equally significant, this program proposes embedding SOF personnel for approximately three years to truly develop and cultivate relationships to leverage regional expertise not currently enjoyed within USSOCOM. Indicative of this need, U.S. Army Brigadier General James B. Linder, the Special Operations Command Africa (SOCAFRICA) commander, regularly comments, “I’m not interested in what language you speak, I want to know which dialects of the language you speak.” This concept would help address the heart of this statement—truly improving regional expertise.

## How We Got Lucky

Drawing on the example of the SATG, I define luck as having the right people in the right places at the right time. Significant to the successful engagement with the SATG and their subsequent combat success against an internationally declared terrorist organization were the key relationships formed between the SATG staff, the SOF liaison element (SOFLE) and defense attaché at the U.S. embassy, and the Joint Special Operations Task Force–Trans Sahel. Luckily, key personalities in these specific locations allowed for the refinement of training and equipment requests for the SATG. This was no small task; in 2011 alone, the SOFLE drafted, refined, and submitted no less than four separate train and equip proposals totaling over \$20 million, and supported seven separate episodic engagements with the SATG and one Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) exercise. Remarkably, this was accomplished without receiving any training in security assistance, engagement planning, foreign internal defense, or military advising prior to being assigned as a SOFLE.

The activities of building partnership capacity (BPC) included significant use of 1206, 1207, and Title 22 peacekeeping operations funding mechanisms. These train and equip packages were coupled with persistent presence elements such as the SOFLE. Persistent presence with the SATG was further enhanced through episodic engagements, including joint combined exchange training (JCET) and numerous other events. Viewing the multitude of engagements that occurred over time with the SATG, it may be easy to conclude that a synchronized engagement plan was implemented to best leverage these Department of Defense (DOD) initiatives, but that conclusion is false. The real explanation to the successes of BPC activities in regards to the SATG was luck. I know this to be true, as I experienced the lack of

synchronization of engagements first hand while serving as the commander of the SOFLE for nearly a year in 2011. The effects of these engagements still achieved a level of success that is tangible, as General Mery credited much of the success the SATG had in Mali directly to the training and equipping received from U.S. SOF.

The engagements with the SATG may seem well organized, but in reality were suboptimal and lacked coherent synchronization to meet U.S. and Chadian intent for the partnership. The SOLT concept is organized to specifically address these and other issues by synchronizing SOF engagements within a given country. Numerous programs across USSOCOM and the various theater special operations commands (TSOCs) have attempted to address these very issues. At current count, no less than five different named titles exist for managing these types of duties, but none of them specifically train and organize personnel for the actual job.<sup>2</sup> Currently, these duties are performed by rotations of SOF elements, or in some cases, an augmentee from one of the SOF service components.

Throughout the various persistent presence efforts, the narrow-focused and repetitive training of JCETs continued to be an issue for the SATG commander. Although grateful for any support, the SATG commander concluded that in order to improve his force, he needed to create the capacity to internally train his formations. The SOFLE lobbied U.S. SOF force providers via SOCAFRICA and explained General Mery's vision to improve his force. The result was the first internal Chadian cadre of trainers for the SATG. That cadre would soon assist the first of multiple JCETs in training company-sized elements at a time. This was something previously infeasible with the personnel packages provided during JCETs. This capability fundamentally changed the capacity of the SATG to train its force in late 2011. Unfortunately, this initiative came too late to truly bear fruit; less than 15 months later the SATG would be deployed to Mali.

Next came the daunting task of security assistance for our Chadian partners. To state that the SATG was poorly equipped and under-resourced is an understatement. The SATG's monthly operating budget was equivalent to approximately \$20,000 for a unit of more than 1,000 soldiers. Almost the entire amount was spent on the basics of food and fuel for operations. This left no room for training, spare parts, or new equipment. Cannibalization of vehicles occurred regularly to keep the SATG operational.<sup>3</sup> Over 40 percent of the SATG fleet of Toyota trucks was provided through American security



assistance funding. Ironically, many of the orders for these U.S.-purchased trucks had to be altered at the last minute because they did not contain the correct fuel type utilized predominantly by the Chadian military. This critical oversight by an American military planner somewhere in Germany could have had significant negative effects but was luckily caught due to the close relationship between the SOFLE and the SATG staff. If a SOLT with established relationships both within the partner force and with higher headquarters had been present, this issue would have likely never even manifested.

What makes SOLT different is it formalizes these haphazard attempts to address identified gaps in synchronizing in-country efforts of SOF. SOLT not only addresses the gaps, but mitigates the need for ever changing in-theater SOF augmentation requests from the TSOCS. In lieu of receiving augmentation to fill valid requirements, the SOLT concept calls for a pool of regionally aligned, specially qualified personnel retained by USSOCOM for this specific SOF-peculiar mission. In many ways, this concept looks like the SOF version of the foreign area officer program, and as such, for the program to work will require identification of valid candidates who are mid-grade to senior noncommissioned officers, warrant officers, and officers who have also completed key developmental jobs in the same region to address this identified gap. These candidates would opt-in to specialize in this very specific career path.

Face-to-face fighting with the Islamists is over. The Chadian army does not have the skills to fight a shadowy, guerrilla-style war that is taking place in northern Mali. – Idris Itno Déby, president of Chad

Would the presence of a SOLT in Chad from the beginning have improved the outcome of the SATG's initial combat operation in Mali? Would the SATG have been better trained to operate holistically in an irregular warfare environment? Lastly, would the SATG have been able to sustain its successes following major combat operations had they been better prepared to fight what the Chadian president described as a guerrilla war?<sup>4</sup> To answer these questions, we need only look eastward across the continent of Africa to the successes in training and employment of the Kenyan Ranger Strike Force (KRSF), under the tutelage of SOF.

## Beyond Luck: Institutionalizing Success

Just outside of Nairobi, Kenya, a potential model for success has quietly been ongoing since 2006. From 2006 to 2011, a U.S. investment of approximately \$40 million was spent to establish the Kenyan Ranger School.<sup>5</sup> The KRSF was soon deployed, operating against al-Shabaab in Somalia. These successes were due to the results of two critical persistent presence elements under USSOCOM. First was the calculated placement of SOF at the KRSF headquarters. This daily interaction with the Kenyan Ranger School, as well as with the KRSF commander and staff, were essential in developing the KRSF capabilities. Second was the assigning of a senior SOF officer as the SOLO in Kenya, tasked to help synchronize resources and engagements, directly furthering the KRSF capabilities in support of U.S. national interests. These two positions are at the very core of what the global SOF network (GSN) should attempt to emulate as it moves forward in implementation.

Using the KRSF as a template, and further incorporating numerous lessons from the Chadian SATG experiences, the value of persistent presence is clear. Going beyond luck, USSOCOM can leverage the SOLT to address this identified gap. The SOLT program would become a career path managed exclusively by USSOCOM, much like the SOLO program is managed currently. The main divergence between SOLT and the Volckmann Program is that Volckmann participants solely come from Army Special Forces. Under SOLT, any SOF personnel would be eligible to apply to the program.<sup>6</sup> Critical to the success of the concept is that SOLT members have longevity for assignment to U.S. embassies on three-year, permanent-change-of-station orders. SOLTs would fall under National Security Decision Directive 38 authorities and directly work for the Office of Security Cooperation and ultimately the U.S. ambassador.<sup>7</sup> Additionally, SOLTs would conduct coordination with the

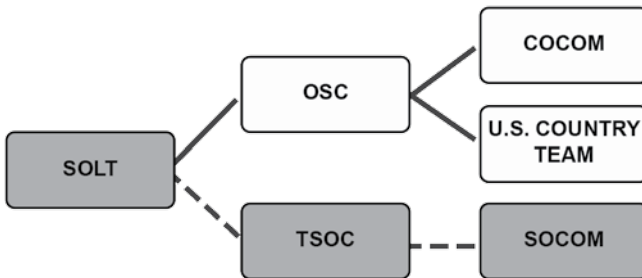


Figure 1. Illustration of possible command and reporting relationships.

TSOC and ultimately USSOCOM. Figure 1 illustrates one possible command and reporting relationship in which command authorities (solid line) rest with the U.S. country team and coordination and operational synchronization (dotted line) rest with the TSOC.

By design, the SOLT program directly addresses the majority of the critical capabilities areas outlined in the 2013 USSOCOM Operating Concept and would specifically address concepts such as sustaining the GSN, cultural and regional expertise, SOF information environment, invisible operator, and expanded authorities.<sup>8</sup> These areas would all be positively impacted through permanent embedding of SOF personnel, at the country team level, who are specifically selected and trained to address these capabilities. Additionally, the SOLT would oversee the preponderance of other in-country SOF operations, synchronizing engagements, and efforts to fully realize their potential and meet U.S. national security objectives. Figure 2 shows just one hypothetical path for this process of becoming a SOLT member.

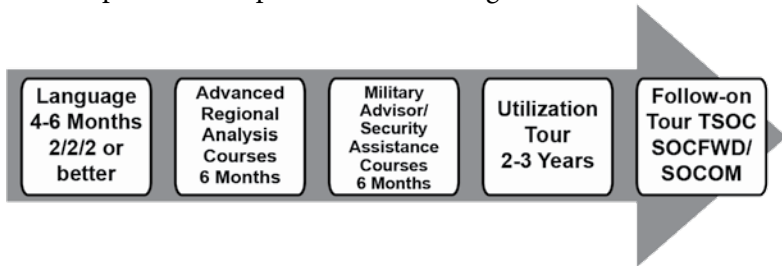


Figure 2. A hypothetical path for the process of becoming a SOLT member.

## Shortfalls and Barriers

Clearly, issues will arise from the implementation of such a type of program. Funding and authorities will have to be negotiated between the services and civilian agencies. Within DOD there will be a need to stress the importance of this type of program and establish its credibility and success as a viable career path for any members to keep themselves competitive. In his Volckmann Program proposal, now Major General Wendt argued these exact points, and provided details on how to avoid making this a career-hampering move.<sup>9</sup>

Moreover, this concept could be perceived as an attempt by SOF to further militarize foreign policy. However, this is not the case at all. A SOLT program would be in the service of the country team, while providing unique

SOF expertise that is the exception and not the rule in the paths of security assistance and cooperation staffs. This institutionalization is required to enhance effects through a synchronized and nested program, such as SOLT.

### **Doing More With Less**

The axiom of doing more with less continues to be vocalized within DOD. Ironically, that is exactly the purpose of SOF and should be capitalized upon as the fiscal constraints of a shrinking DOD budget become evermore apparent in today's environment. The engagement strategy employed in either Chad or Kenya can be adapted across the world with SOF partners. It took only four persistent SOF members in Chad, augmented by quarterly JCETs and train and equip packages, to realize a tangible success: the unilateral employment of a U.S. partner force, without American advisement, against an internationally recognized terrorist organization. Over the nine years of engagement in Chad, the average cost ran between \$500,000 for episodic engagements and \$10 million for train and equip packages. To put it in perspective, the estimated total expenditure on the SATG since 2010 has been approximately \$10 million, and the KRSF has recently surpassed \$45 million, amounting to less than a single day's expenditure to support combat operations in Iraq or Afghanistan. The United States has expended more funds in a week supporting combat operations than it has in over six years in the development of two successful African Special Operations Forces.<sup>10</sup> These types of operations directly address global national security objectives in an inexpensive manner and are devised to prevent the need for entrance of U.S. forces into combat. The SOLT program would serve to further enhance the cost-effectiveness of these engagements.

### **Conclusion**

Previous concepts have not provided a program that creates a capability as proposed in this essay. This concept seeks to select mid-grade SOF personnel and provide them advanced training in their already-assigned regional area, then assign them for a prolonged period in support of U.S. country teams and partner nations with the intent of synchronizing special operations to meet U.S. national objectives. These personnel would be selected from any of the service SOF components and utilized in their areas of regional expertise. Not without obstacles, this concept must address the aspects of

career progression, funding, and expanded authorities required for such a program. If implemented, the SOLT concept would ultimately nest with the vision of the 2013 USSOCOM Operating Concept, while accommodating the fiscal constraints of today's operating environment by producing success over years using a fraction of the cost of what is expended per day for major combat operations. All the while, SOLTs would be meeting U.S. national objectives in a more discreet manner. Chad and Kenya are but two region-specific examples of what the SOLT concept could produce. The SOLT concept, if capitalized upon, would institutionalize the success highlighted in just two examples in Africa and negate the need for luck.

## Endnotes

1. Wendt, Eric P., Colonel. "The Green Beret Volckmann Program: Maximizing the prevent strategy." *Special Warfare*, 24(3), July 2011, 10-16; and Bieganeck, Cory, Leitner, John, and Madsen, Phillip. "Special Operations Liaison Officer: Looking Back To See The Future." Master's thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2014.
2. Some such programs include Special Operations Forces Liaison Elements (SOFLE), Special Operations Liaison Officers (SOLO), Joint Planning and Advisory (or Assistance) Teams (JPAT), Planning and Assistance Teams (PATs), etc.
3. The SATG was not bound by a posse comitatus law and were the premier force employed by the Chadian Ministry of Defense, National Security Agency, and sometimes directly by the president to conduct counterterrorism operations within the country's own borders.
4. Interestingly, upon his return from Mali, Brigadier General Mery conveyed that some of the most important training his force had received was that of Civil Military Operations (CMO). The fact the SATG received CMO training at all was largely an effect of the only persistent SOF presence from 2010 to 2012 of a SOF Civil Affairs team.
5. "'3D' in Nairobi: An overview of diplomacy, development, and defense at the U.S. Mission, Nairobi, Kenya, April 2011," slide presentation. Accessed at: <https://www.conferences.state.gov/RM/programevaluation2011/Related%20Documents/Defense%20Workshops/3Ds%20in%20Nairobi%20-%20An%20overview%20of%20diplomacy,%20development,%20and%20defense%20at%20the%20U.S.%20Mission,%20Nairobi,%20Kenya.pdf>.
6. Wendt, "The Green Beret Volckmann Program," 10-16.
7. NSDD-38 is often a point of friction between the Department of State (DOS) and Combatant Command commanders within their specific area of responsibility when dealing with DOD personnel working from a U.S. embassy. According to the DOS website: "The National Security Decision Directive (NSDD) 38 dated 2 June 1982, gives the Chief of Mission (COM) control of the size, composition,

- and mandate of overseas full-time mission staffing for all U.S. Government agencies.” Accessed at: [www.state.gov/m/pri/nsdd/](http://www.state.gov/m/pri/nsdd/) on November 30, 2014.
8. United States Special Operations Command Special Operations Forces Operating Concept. May 2013. Accessed at: <http://fortunascorner.files.wordpress.com/2013/05/final-low-res-sof-operating-concept-may-2013.pdf>.
  9. Wendt, “The Green Beret Volckmann Program,” 10-16.
  10. Current estimates project the ongoing war in Afghanistan cost \$10.17 million an hour, and on average the daily cost of air operations against ISIS are approximately \$7.5 million. National Priorities Project, “Cost of Military Programs,” November 14, 2014. Accessed at: <https://www.nationalpriorities.org/cost-of/category/military/>.

# Harnessing the Human Domain in Warfare

*U.S. Army Major James F. Razuri  
2015 Essay Contest - 2nd Place*

## Introduction

The last 12 years of sustained combat operations between Operation Enduring Freedom and Operation Iraqi Freedom have demonstrated the need for considering human factors and their effects on a strategy. Both theatres have blended a counterinsurgency and counterterrorism approach, which have seen successes and shortcomings. The common denominators have been people and culture. Anticipating such human factors in war and strategy is nothing new. Clausewitz defines war as, “an act of force to compel our enemy to do our will.”<sup>1</sup> War is a battle for influence, sometimes by physical force. The human domain has been and will continue to be a complex yet critical aspect in warfighting. Success in future and uncertain operating environments will be determined by how well we are able to understand, influence, and, in some cases, counter a movement before it escalates to direct combat actions.

As the military reflects back on the Iraqi conflict and begins to draw down from Afghanistan, it is imperative to consider the main lesson of these conflicts—the importance of understanding people. This essay is divided into three sections. First, it will identify an analytical process to understand human interactions better and highlight the concept of centrality. The role of Egyptian women will be used to validate this concept as will the use of social media during the 2011 Arab Spring. Second, the essay will introduce recently developed software programs currently being used in the military

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*Major Jimmy Razuri is a U.S. Army Infantry officer and has served in both the 82nd Airborne Division and the 75th Ranger Regiment. This paper was written in fulfillment of his Masters in Military Studies while attending the United States Marine Corps Command and Staff College.*

that have proven helpful in visualizing the human terrain. Finally, this essay will identify military-specific initiatives that address the human domain. The overall intent is not to provide a solution to dominate within the human domain, but rather describe a framework to understand and influence in what Rupert Smith coined, “war amongst the people.”<sup>2</sup>

## Understanding Social Networks

**Social Network Analysis.** Social movements develop out of the need to address grievances and occur within a social or familial circle. Social network analysis (SNA) is a useful tool to identify these interactions and assess which actors are most important or influential within a group. Often mistaken for link analysis, both are similar analytical tools but differ in approach.<sup>3</sup> Link analysis, a tool common with military analysts, compares two different actors (people to objects), whereas SNA compares similar actors (people to people) and can provide more qualitative information on their relationships.

**The Concept of Centrality.** Central actors within a network who possess a higher degree of interactions with its members enjoy many advantages, such as access to information and resources.<sup>4</sup> Subsequently, they become very influential in a network. There are four different types of centrality: *Degree* centrality is how many ties an actor has within a network; *Closeness* centrality is how close an actor is to all the other actors; *Betweenness* centrality indicates the shortest distance between actors or groups; and *Eigenvector* centrality measures the amount of ties to more central actors. Analyzing an actor’s centrality within a network can determine which one, or ones, are the most influential.

**Egyptian Women Example.** An example of its utility in determining influence within a social network is the role of Egyptian women in their informal financial system. Historically, women did not hold any positions in the Egyptian government.<sup>5</sup> However, they have always held a tremendous amount of authority within the *Sha’b*, a socioeconomic group of people that “remain tied to indigenous culture, social norms, and patterns of life.”<sup>6</sup> This term is used to describe a lower class of people. Based on this class difference, this group forms a tight bond and develops its own concept, which Dr. Diane Singerman calls the familial ethos.<sup>7</sup> This idea centers on maintaining the integrity of the family with the onus often falling on the women as the males



struggle to court, marry, and provide for a spouse due to financial disparity across the country. The networking of women of the *Sha'b* helps close this financial gap by establishing an informal banking system.<sup>8</sup> This system serves two purposes: First, it maintains the integrity of their families, and second, it adds more central actors to their network. Herein lies the importance of understanding a social network and the influence, or centrality, of women in some cultures. This example also demonstrates that social networks can serve as an informal system of government.

**Social Media and the Egyptian Revolution.** Social interactions are vital to all humans with current research suggesting that positive social relationships and interactions can increase life span by up to 50 percent.<sup>9</sup> Social networking tools such as Facebook or Twitter aim to build “social networks or social relations among people with shared interests and/or activities.”<sup>10</sup> Social media fulfills this innate need for interaction in a timely and simple manner, which was vital during events in Egypt in 2011.

In comparing the 100 days it took to overthrow the Shah in the 1979 Iranian Revolution to the 18 days in which the Egyptian Revolution ousted Hosni Mubarak, the latter can be attributed to a key catalyst—social media.<sup>11</sup> In particular, Egyptian demographics and the popularity of social media played a pivotal role. The population consisted of a disproportionate number below 30 years of age as depicted in Figure 1, which is expected to continue to be seen in Egypt over the next several decades.<sup>12</sup> The popularity of social media within this demographic was also key, with nearly 78 percent of Facebook users under the age of 30.<sup>13</sup> The combination of these two factors was accordingly a recipe for timely mobilization and messaging.

Social grievances have always been part of Egyptian society, but social media allowed those grievances to be voiced quickly and to an influential demographic. Jon Alterman provides a great metaphor to explain the speed by which media is used to accelerate a movement.<sup>14</sup> He notes that the four elements needed for a campfire are: a spark, which creates a flash; tinder, which turns the spark into a flame; kindling, which grows the flame; and fuel logs, which increase the life of the campfire. In comparison, social media was not the spark of the revolution, but instead acted as both the tinder and kindling to mobilize the high number of Egyptians in Tahir Square. In the end, however, the revolutionaries failed to emplace a structure for enduring change—in essence, they could not provide the logs to fuel sustainment. Just

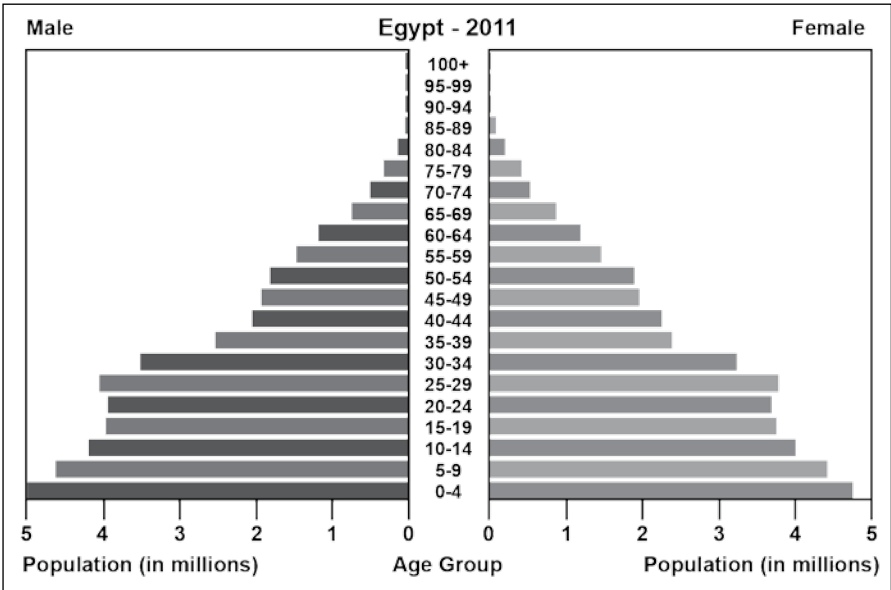


Figure 1. Egypt population pyramid. Source: United States Census Bureau, International Programs, 2011.

as SNA is not a silver bullet for combating illicit networks, social media is not a means for revolution, but instead a critical component of social interaction that can be exploited to help map out the human terrain.

### Mapping the Human Terrain

This section introduces two software tools that have been developed to specifically assist military forces in mapping out the human terrain. Both of these programs were developed at the Common Operational Research Environment (CORE) lab, located at the Naval Postgraduate School (NPS) in Monterey, California. The CORE lab is focused on supporting the education of both U.S. and foreign military officers in information technology that could be used to “understand and analyze network-based adversaries.”<sup>15</sup> It provides a bottom-up approach for military officers to apply information from their parent organizations or countries to conduct real world analyses.<sup>16</sup> Through their coursework, officers return to the field with the means to not only understand or influence the human domain with this emerging technology, but how to operate within it as well.

**Dynamic Twitter Network Analysis.** Just as a topographic map depicts the terrain in an area of operations, the programs developed at the CORE lab—Dynamic Twitter Network Analysis (DTNA) and Lighthouse—take information that is gleaned from social network mediums and provide a map of the human terrain.<sup>17</sup> As Twitter has become a popular social media application, the CORE lab has begun using the Application Programming Interface (API)<sup>18</sup> to sift through its keywords or phrase and generate a visual network analysis in real time.<sup>19</sup> Subsequently, DTNA can provide the user with sentiment analysis based on the information pulled from the Twitter API. Three units within the Department of Defense are testing this program to better assess sentiment in an unnamed location.<sup>20</sup> If used correctly, this program could prove valuable in thwarting attacks on U.S. interests in a specific region. DTNA can also apply Twitter’s hashtags and key phrases to a mapping feature as seen in the following project conducted at the CORE lab.

**Application of DTNA.** Army Major Seth Lucente, a military intelligence officer and student at the CORE lab, analyzed social media in the Syria conflict.<sup>21</sup> Using DTNA, he pulled information from several social media sites to identify the Assad regime’s movements in combating protests and protecting facilities. The under-resourced rebel force was itself using social media to coordinate movement and provide situational awareness including battle damage assessment. From his analysis, Major Lucente was able to provide a snapshot of information depicting the locations of bombings, protests, and government attacks, including embedded videos of battle damage assessment from Syrian airstrikes. Additional sentiment analysis provided the name of a rebel group that was used to protect these sites in the event of a government collapse. This project proved extremely useful in mapping out the human terrain and was conducted in a span of two months. By comparison, conventional means would have taken longer and required more analysts.

**Lighthouse.** The second software, Lighthouse, was developed by two students, U.S. Marine Corps Captain Carrick Longley and U.S. Army Special Forces Warrant Officer 3 Chad Machiela. This Android-based program collects demographic information and produces a geospatial social network map that depicts links between individuals.<sup>22</sup> Like DTNA, this program has been validated in both humanitarian relief efforts and combat operations.<sup>23</sup> For example, Lighthouse was used in a medical action project by the

Marines prior to the start of the 2012 Cobra Gold Exercise in Thailand to determine patient demographics and distance traveled to the medical site.<sup>24</sup> In the future, this information can provide commanders and humanitarian relief experts the ability to measure the effectiveness of relief operations and allocate priorities as necessary.

**Application of Lighthouse.** In 2010, a Special Forces Operational Detachment Alpha (ODA) team in southern Afghanistan successfully applied the Lighthouse program to their Village Stability Operations (VSO) to help identify tribal alignment.<sup>25</sup> At the time, the ODA was located in the Khakrez district and began collecting data on a few hundred villagers to establish a social network map.<sup>26</sup> Within three weeks, the ODA was able to pinpoint a Taliban sympathizer with high centrality in the village that was unreceptive to plans of marginalizing Taliban influence. Subsequently, the ODA reduced his influence to the VSO.<sup>27</sup> Like the Syria project, use of the program took less time than conventional means and provides another example of integrating technology with SNA concepts to generate non-kinetic targeting.

These examples demonstrate that social media and other information integrated with these programs provide a large pool of widely accessible data that can be used to map the human terrain and assess sentiment in order to apply an appropriate approach to a problem. More importantly, this information can be readily accessible as a means for SOF conducting preparation of the environment.<sup>28</sup> Doing so would inform policymakers and operators on the ground which group is aligned with U.S. interests before setting foot in a country. These programs are limited specifically in areas of the world with reduced bandwidth or where a host nation has blocked Internet access. Keeping in mind the fast-moving nature of technology, these tools will be difficult to formalize and will require commanders to understand their value and effectively employ them.

### **The Military and the Human Domain**

The Army and Marine Corps have agreed on the definition set forth by United States Special Operations Command (USSOCOM) as “the totality of the physical, cultural, psychological, and social environments that influence human behavior to the extent that the success of any military operation or campaign depends on the application of unique capabilities that are designed to influence, fight, and win in the population-centric conflicts.”<sup>29</sup> This effort

to define the human domain was the result of similar experiences of the Army, Marine Corps, and USSOCOM operations in Afghanistan and Iraq. Although the two services and USSOCOM provide three distinct purposes for defense, they share a common operating space—land—and, therefore, people. With this commonality, the two service chiefs and USSOCOM commander collectively signed and published a white paper entitled *Strategic Landpower: Winning the Clash of Wills*, establishing the Strategic Landpower Task Force.<sup>30</sup> This task force will assist in capturing the lessons of the last 12 years and provide a DOTMLPF-P<sup>31</sup> framework for building a future force. Of the three services, the Army was the first to introduce the concept of the human domain into doctrine.

**Army Approach.** Mindful of fiscal constraints and global uncertainty, the Army announced 24 specific concerns it anticipates in 2014.<sup>32</sup> Of those, one relates to doctrine focused on the human domain and another to regional alignment. The first will add a seventh warfighting function<sup>33</sup> within Army doctrine. To introduce this warfighting function, the Army's Training and Doctrine Command recently published TRADOC Pamphlet 525-8-4 entitled *The U.S. Army Functional Concept for Engagement*. This publication addresses four imperatives of the future Army force: both Army and partner forces' capabilities will need to be leveraged in future operations; influence in a country or region will require an understanding of human factors by Army forces; the methodology of "by, with, and through" will facilitate host nation capabilities; and support to the joint force commander will require Army conventional and Special Operations Forces (SOF) to work in concert with one another.<sup>34</sup>

The second effort is regional alignment. With the exception of the 82d Airborne Division, which will remain as the Global Response Force, divisions will deploy brigades to each geographic combatant commander's (GCC) area of responsibility on a rotational basis. This will provide the means to build partner capacity and simultaneously posture for securing national interests abroad. One challenge is size; employing a large unit counters strategic guidance of maintaining "small-footprint approaches."<sup>35</sup> More importantly, conventional units do not have the necessary language and cultural skills and are fiscally constrained making prioritization of training and funding critical for success. Doctrinal changes and growing requisite capabilities will

take time; therefore, USSOCOM units are best suited to maintain the lead in the human domain as it relates to warfighting.

**SOF in the Lead.** U.S. SOF units are deployed in over 75 countries to participate in a wide range of operations, from advising foreign partners to combating violent extremist organizations and other sensitive operations. These units' language capabilities, cultural training, and advanced skills far surpass the capabilities of conventional forces. The U. S. Army Special Forces Command has five active duty Special Forces Groups that are geographically aligned to the GCCs.<sup>36</sup> These operators are provided extensive educational opportunities throughout their career to help ensure their success in core activities and operations relevant to the human terrain, including counterterrorism, foreign internal defense, and unconventional warfare (UW). In essence, UW is counterinsurgency in reverse. An example is the U.S. involvement in assisting, training, and advising the Afghan Mujahedeen during the Afghan-Soviet War of the 1980s, and is inherently tied to operating with indigenous people. The degree to which social movements, revolutions, and UW intersect—illustrated in Figure 2—has been captured in SOF curriculum and publications. This understanding underscores SOF's focus on the human domain.

## Conclusion

John F. Kennedy's 1961 inaugural speech provided a glimpse into how warfare changed in the latter part of the 20th century. Kennedy described a type of warfare that was, "New in intensity, ancient in its origin—war by guerillas, subversives, insurgents, assassins, war by ambush instead of by combat; by infiltration, instead of aggression, seeking victory by eroding and exhausting the enemy instead of engaging him."<sup>37</sup> This recognition implied a focus on the human element and continues to resonate today. Social network analysis concepts are a means to understand the complexity of human factors. While the advent of social media is, in military terms, decisive terrain for both insurgent and counterinsurgent, it provides the opportunity for influence. Illicit organizations have taken to this medium to transmit their 12th century ideology using 21st century technologies to increase their followers.<sup>38</sup>

This essay introduced tools that should be used and incorporated by military planners and interagency organizations alike to counter the spread of this ideology. Although there is no single solution for combating terrorism,

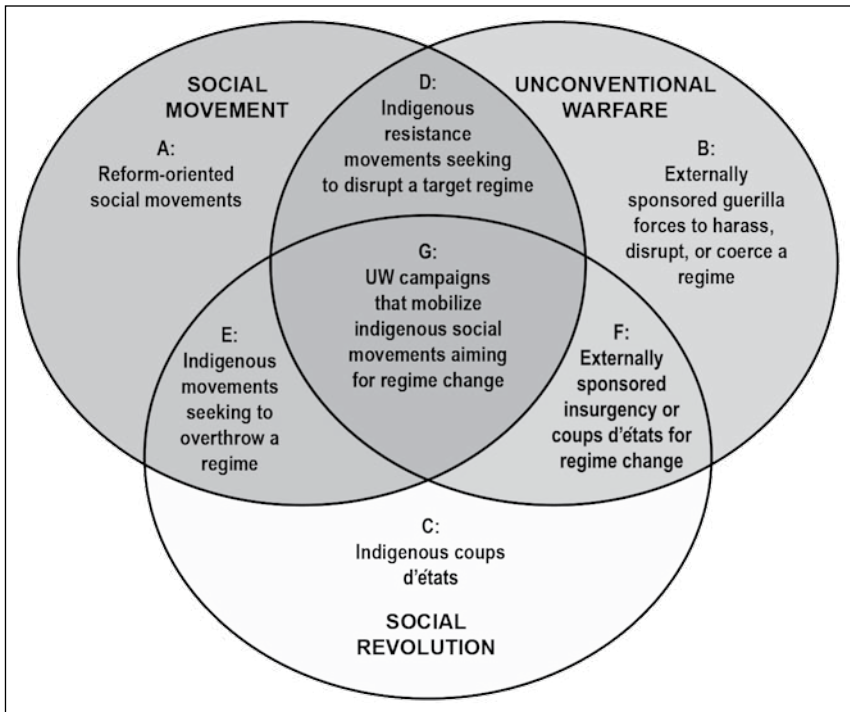


Figure 2. Social Revolution, Social Movement, and Unconventional Warfare. Source: Doowan Lee, “A Social Movement Approach to Unconventional Warfare,” *Special Warfare*, July–September 2013.

the understanding of the human domain and the military’s ability to influence it can prioritize already limited resources as we look toward an uncertain future operating environment.

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# The First Women in SOF: Women Operatives in the OSS and SOE as a Framework for the Modern Enabler

*U.S. Navy Lieutenant Andrea Goldstein*

Four women kneel behind the crematorium at Dachau concentration camp in Germany. It is 13 September 1944. One by one, they are shot in the back of the head by their Nazi executioners. Yolande Beekman, Noor Inayat Khan, Elaine Pewman, and Madeleine Damerment survived months of horrific conditions in Gestapo prisons.<sup>1</sup> Long before they met their deaths at dawn, they endured months of interrogation, shackles, and isolation. Not a single one of them betrayed her country under such duress. All were operatives for the British intelligence organization Special Operations Executive (SOE), plucked from jobs as radio operators and translators and hand-selected to serve behind enemy lines, only captured after betrayal by a double-agent. One of the captured operatives, 30-year-old Noor Inayat Khan, an Indian Muslim of royal descent, was brutally beaten before her execution, and yet uttered the word *liberte* before she was shot.<sup>2</sup> These four women's vibrant lives came to a horrific end in the service of their countries. They had each knowingly assumed the risk to their lives, proud that serving their homelands was a cause to live and die for, a sentiment shared by women who serve in the modern era.<sup>3</sup>

All four of these women, as well as the vast majority of operatives—both men and women—who served in the SOE and its American counterpart, the Office of Strategic Services (OSS, itself the foundation of both the Central Intelligence Agency and modern Special Operations Forces, or SOF), had one thing in common: they spoke French well enough to pass as French. The fact that they were women made them even better suited to operate behind

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occupied French lines because “Femininity was indeed the best disguise.”<sup>24</sup> Noor Inayat Khan, Virginia Hall, and Christine Granville were from different countries (France/England, the United States, and Poland respectively), but had several commonalities. They were privileged and educated, they had traveled and spoke multiple languages, but above all had a thirst for adventure. In a time of total war that drew on the resources of the entire population, it became an absolute necessity to trust qualified women with the most dangerous and critical clandestine missions.

Contemporary American SOF employ scores of women as “enablers”—that is, in billets whose specific mission is not direct action. Yet despite the overwhelming need to engage with the female indigenous populations in deployed environments, Navy Special Warfare (NSW) and Army Special Forces (ARSOF) did not form “Cultural Support Teams” (CST) until 2010, 12 years into the Global War on Terror.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, there are shortfalls within the modern military about properly recruiting, detailing, and retaining those personnel—especially woman—who might bring unique capabilities to the Battlespace. JP 3-05, *Doctrine for Special Operations*, specifically outlines the 12 core tasks of special operations, and direct action is only one of them.<sup>6</sup> Women in the OSS and SOE were actively employed in missions conducting special reconnaissance, foreign internal defense, unconventional warfare, civil affairs operations, military information support operations, and information operations. We can look to the employment of women operatives in the OSS and SOE in World War II as an effective example of how women were recruited, trained, and deployed against the enemy.

Unsurprisingly, in 1940, there was hesitance to employ qualified women who volunteered for hazardous duty in a time of acute crisis, but it was brushed aside in the necessity of total war. OSS Head William “Wild Bill” Donovan wrote in the post-war years that, “The heart of American wartime intelligence was a collection of highly implausible ‘operators’...[who] showed what intellect, diligence, courage, and willingness to get around can accomplish.”<sup>7</sup> Donovan had long since discovered the truth behind the mantra that American SOF has adopted, “Humans are more important than hardware.”<sup>8</sup> In the art and practice of human intelligence (HUMINT), the very person of the collector, or operative as they were referred to in the SOE and OSS, was critical. These women had the same intellect and thirst for adventure as their male counterparts, and their gender as much a needed asset to interact

with the local population—and the enemy Nazis—as their fluency in the local language or adeptness at operating a radio.

Approximately 4,000 women served in the American OSS, though most were based in Washington, D.C., and “were the ones at home who patiently filed secret reports, encoded and decoded messages, answered telephones, mailed checks, and kept the records ... Only a small percentage of the women ever went overseas, and a still smaller percentage was assigned to actual operations behind enemy lines.”<sup>9</sup> The number of operatives, male and female, who went into enemy territory was very small compared to the sheer size of the Allied force. It should be no surprise, then, that the women selected for these treacherous assignments were truly exceptional even before the war.

Virginia Hall was born into privilege in Baltimore, Maryland. She studied at Radcliffe and Barnard Colleges before completing her studies at the prestigious Sorbonne in Paris and *Konsularacademie* in Vienna, becoming fluent in French and German.<sup>10</sup> Following graduation from university, she eventually found employment as a consular clerk at the U.S. Embassy in Warsaw.<sup>11</sup> She had diplomatic aspirations, however a hunting accident led to the amputation of her left leg, which at the time was a barrier to joining the Foreign Service. Equipped with a new wooden leg, which she would name Cuthbert, Hall traveled Europe, and was living in Paris at the start of the war, fleeing to England when France fell in 1940. Fluent in French, and having lived in Paris, Hall was perfectly suited to serve behind enemy lines in France. She served for the SOE from 1941-1944, organizing French Resistance groups. She transferred to the OSS in 1944, and was immediately inserted back into occupied France, where she assisted a Jedburgh team after the D-Day invasion of Normandy.<sup>12</sup> In 1945, she was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross, and remained in the OSS through to its transition to the CIA, where she worked as an analyst for decades to come.<sup>13</sup>

Christine Granville, a Polish beauty queen, was born Krystyna Skarbek in Warsaw to an aristocratic father and Jewish mother. Granville came to adopt the former, her *nom-de-guerre*, as her true name. She grew up largely at her family estate in the countryside, riding horses in the summer, and strapping heavy wooden skis to her feet to ski in the mountains in the winter.<sup>14</sup> Always restless, she spent her secondary school days being expelled from the best schools in Poland, learning French along the way, and eventually graduating. She and her first husband, Jerzy Gizycky, were in Africa, driving from South Africa to his diplomatic posting in Nairobi when they learned the news that

Hitler had invaded Poland, and they had no Embassy to go to. They turned around and boarded a ship bound for London, where Granville volunteered her services to the SOE.<sup>15</sup> While it is unclear how exactly she was accepted into British intelligence, it is apparent that she was dedicated to using her language, skiing, and interpersonal skills to help her beloved country however she could. She was soon skiing over the Hungarian border into Poland with microfilm and subversive Allied propaganda sewn into her clothing. She collected on the tactical situation on the ground, meeting sources in shady cafes or simply blending into the population and reporting what she observed. Granville served all over Eastern Europe, North Africa, and the Levant region, and it wasn't long before she was parachuting into Occupied France well in advance of D-Day forces.<sup>16</sup>

A children's book writer of Indian descent, Noor Inayat Khan would at first glance seem an unlikely candidate for an intelligence operative, but like many of her peers in the SOE, she had a fascinating life well before the war. She was born in Moscow to a Sufi Muslim father from an aristocratic Indian family and an American mother. The family moved to London at the outbreak of World War I, and then to Paris after the armistice. An introvert and a dreamer, Khan studied at the Sorbonne in Paris and chose to write. Her entire family fled to England once the Germans came to occupy France. Though quiet, Khan was also passionate. David Harper wrote, "She was a paradox. She was sensitive, a lover of music and poetry, a musician and writer of children's stories. Yet she was terribly strong-willed and prepared to risk her life for a cause; she was fighting for an ideal, like so many others at that time."<sup>17</sup> With staunch patriotism and a fervor to combat the tyranny of the Nazis, Khan joined the Women's Auxiliary Air Force (WAAF) as a radio operator. Her fluency in French, however, soon came to the attention of the SOE, and by 1943 she was in France, transmitting secret radio transmissions back to London.<sup>18</sup>

Though from a variety of backgrounds, these women were all eager to assume the risks involved with conducting espionage and an unconventional warfare campaign against the Nazis. And they excelled at it. In many situations, their femininity was an advantage, but above all, it was an important factor that added to the toolkit that the Allies had to fight the Nazis, much like the all-female CSTs of modern SOF proved to directly improve village stability operations in Afghanistan.<sup>19</sup>

The persistent cultural stereotype of the female spy is of a hyper-sexual Mata Hari, the ultimate femme fatale, an exotic dancer executed for spying for the Germans during World War I. Indeed, many of the women operatives in the OSS and SOE were attractive—Christine Granville herself was named the second most beautiful woman in Poland when she was 21 years old<sup>20</sup>—but overwhelmingly did not rely on their sexuality in order to be effective operatives. These women were intelligence professionals, and were aware that their femininity was an effective means of gathering information, but solely in the sense that they were aware that their femininity—their mere existence—inspired greater immediate trust from the people they interacted with.

Women were subject to less scrutiny by occupying Nazi forces, and people instantly had a greater trust for them. Former SOE Operative Claire Everett mused in the postwar years, “Women could get by with a smile and do things that men couldn’t, and no matter what you had hidden in your handbag or your bicycle bag, if you had a nice smile, you know, just give [the Germans] a little wink.”<sup>21</sup> Although often strikingly attractive, these women could still “pass” in plain sight.<sup>22</sup> While on a train from Hungary to Warsaw carrying a suitcase full of subversive propaganda, Christine Granville struck a conversation with a Nazi sitting in her compartment, asking if he would carry her luggage past the border checkpoint, because she was bringing contraband tea to her sick mother. The soldier obliged, the thought of a woman being involved in such an operation not even part of his consciousness.<sup>23</sup> Being a woman was the best disguise of all.

Women are tremendously effective when it comes to earning trust of another individual, certainly for engaging with other women. Although it took nearly a decade into the Global War on Terror and wars in Iraq and Afghanistan to be nearly at a close for the creation of all-female CSTs, it was still ultimately recognized as a need. The U.S. Army John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center and School (USAJFKSWCS), which runs the primary CST program, states on their recruitment page, “Cultural support training will primarily focus on basic human behavior, Islamic and Afghan cultures, women and their role in Afghanistan, and tribalism.”<sup>24</sup> It wasn’t until it was clear that all-male units could not engage with half the population due to cultural sensitivities that female CST members were recruited and trained.<sup>25</sup>

Just as in World War II, it was only in a case of extreme need that women were given a chance to succeed. The official publication of Naval Special Warfare, *Ethos*, explains:

Cultural Support Teams first came into existence in late 2010 when it became obvious to commanders that having male soldiers pat down Afghani women for weapons and ask them questions about enemy activity was not working, in fact it was seriously upsetting and infuriating to the very people with whom operators were trying to build trusting and productive relationships.<sup>26</sup>

Like their foremothers in the OSS and SOE, CST personnel are expected to accede to the program with special skills, with USAJFKSWCS listing “nurse practitioner (66P), nurse midwife (66G8D), health care specialist (68W), military police (31B) or military intelligence specialist (35M, 35F, 35P)”<sup>27</sup> as preferred career fields, and language skills, particularly Dari, Urdu, and Pashto are also valued.

As of late 2014, U.S. combat operations have decreased globally, and SOF has primarily shifted to a foreign internal defense approach to defeating terrorism—that is working by, with, and through a partner force.<sup>28</sup> This poses the question: What is to happen to the model of employing women in the force not only for the exceptional professional skills they have developed within their military disciplines, life, and educational experience, but also because of the advantages that the access to indigenous populations that women are uniquely able to gain?

At the end of World War II, the women operatives who had risked their lives and safety for the winning cause were given the highest military decorations, thanked for their service, and then pushed out the door. Virginia Hall, despite having proven herself as one of the most successful American field operatives deployed by the OSS, was relegated to a desk job as an analyst at the newly-formed offspring of the OSS, the CIA, and despite being one of the most seasoned agents in the agency, was underemployed by the leadership, not fitting the “good old boy” profile of many of her World War II peers. “She was a sort of embarrassment to the noncombatant CIA types, by which I mean bureaucrats. Her experience and abilities were never properly utilized. At the very least she should have been lecturing to trainees at the CIA indoctrination ‘farm’ near Williamsburg.”<sup>29</sup>



Christine Granville earned her place in history as one of the SOE's most successful spies, renowned in her own time, and the eventual inspiration for the character of Vesper Lynd in Ian Fleming's James Bond novel *Casino Royale*.<sup>30</sup> Yet in 1945, the SOE all but forsook her. She was short-changed on her military decorations, given a far lower-ranked medal than her male peers whom she had outshone.<sup>31</sup> She was a Pole, a foreigner, and a woman, and despite six years of risking her life for the British Empire, her military decorations, and service record, nobody really knew what to do with her. She was a woman without a country, unable to return to Poland because of her service for the Allies. Britain denied her request to naturalization due to the fact that she had not resided in the country for more than five years, blatantly ignoring that she had operated in Egypt, Syria, Hungary, France, and Palestine on British orders.<sup>32</sup> She was neither suited to, nor did she desire a steady office job, and instead held several odd jobs that allowed her to travel, barely scraping by financially. Her restless post-war years came to a tragic close in 1952, when she was murdered in a hotel lobby by a colleague whose advances she had rejected.<sup>33</sup>

Modern SOF should learn from the lesson of abandoning seasoned women operatives. Special operations doctrine itself espouses the fact that "competent special operations forces cannot be created after emergencies arise."<sup>34</sup> The necessity that stems from total war allows a temporary cultural paradigm shift, allowing women to fill previously nontraditional roles, like soldiers and spies. But it also allows women to prove that they not only belong there in the desperation of wartime, but in the shaping of peacetime environments and ongoing stability operations, and continue to develop professional skills to apply to the next conflict or emergency.

It is this author's hypothesis that the institutional practice of SOF to overlook women as excellent candidates for sensitive, non-direct action missions draws from widespread but antiquated notions that hazardous duty is a man's job. Wayne Nelson, an OSS operative during World War II noted on women operatives, "I still don't like the idea of putting girls in to do a man's work. You feel awful small when you leave them just beyond the lines."<sup>35</sup> There is an unspoken but pervasive cultural fear of women dying for their country, and a need to protect women by barring them from undertaking missions that may have that result. The United States military employs an all-volunteer force, and unconventional assignments such as to SOF again require candidates to volunteer. That implies accepting the risks involved with taking

assignments that are inherently so. Christine Granville was infuriated when she was “treated like a helpless little girl” when she had clearly proven that she could not only take care of herself, but save others.<sup>36</sup> Despite the lifting of the Combat Exclusion ban in 2013, unspoken, unwritten restrictions remain.

As U.S. SOF shift focus from unilateral direct action and more toward the other 11 core activities, there is an opportunity to develop CST personnel and other female enablers as a regularly integrated part of the force. While some units already do this in a de-facto, as-needed basis with female enablers, it should be incorporated as part of routine practice. USASOC is currently conducting the “Project Diane” initiative, named after Virginia Hall, to explore further opportunities to integrate women into SOF combat units.<sup>37</sup> U.S. SOF have a unique opportunity during this period of transition. The shift from two large conflicts to dozens of fractious missions means that specialized skills and the people themselves are most critical. And women should be not be excluded from that effort.

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# Training the Police Forces of a Fragile State

*U.S. Army Major Scott Akerley*

The terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 saw the introduction of a new era for the strategic defense of the United States. The first Director of the Office of Homeland Security was appointed 11 days after the attack and charged to “oversee and coordinate a comprehensive national strategy to safeguard the country against terrorism and respond to any future attacks.”<sup>1</sup> The Transportation Security Administration (TSA) was established on 19 November 2001 “designed to prevent similar attacks in the future.”<sup>2</sup> The U.S. military also responded with the first Special Forces (SF) team infiltrating into Afghanistan on 19 October 2001 to begin the process of destroying the Taliban government which had been providing sanctuary for al-Qaeda, the terrorist organization responsible for the 9/11 attacks.<sup>3</sup> The U.S. military’s involvement in Afghanistan was the initiation of what would develop into over a decade of full-scale stability operations within fragile states exploited by destabilizing threats and terrorist organizations.

The United States National Security Strategy provides guidance for stability operations in an increasingly complex strategic environment, declaring that paramount to success is the need for operations which help establish legitimate, well-governed states.<sup>4</sup> Inherent in the governance of a state is the ability to police itself, thereby creating an environment of law and order. However, the police forces in a fragile state often find themselves disorganized, ill-equipped, untrained, and generally incapable of facing the myriad challenges which confront them. The U.S. executes stability operations to

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assist fragile states, and a number of the stability tasks are focused on law enforcement and establishing a safe and secure environment.<sup>5</sup> The complexity of these stability tasks necessitate that the correct U.S. organization be chosen to lead in the building and empowerment of the police force faced with the challenges often associated with a fragile state. U.S. Army SF are the correct organization to carry out this critical mission. Many of the special operations core activities are aligned with the missions a fragile state's police must undertake. SF possess the cultural and linguistic training necessary to overcome personal and professional boundaries. In addition, they also have the resources and the operational latitude to assist host nation police and help them achieve legitimacy.

The operations in Iraq and Afghanistan are the two most recognized examples of U.S. stability operations and are both operations in which the U.S. military has helped host nation police establish rule of law. An examination of the national police strategy in one of these countries, Afghanistan, reveals that several of the threats identified by the Afghan Minister of Interior Affairs are related to core activities of U.S. Special Operations Forces (SOF), specifically Army SF. The Afghan National Police Strategy (ANPS) identifies five major security threats in addition to normal criminal activities. These security threats are: terrorist threats and armed opposition to the government, unlawful governance and corruption, illegal drug trade, organized crime, and illegally armed groups.<sup>6</sup> The SOF core activities that can be interwoven within these identified security threats include: counterterrorism (CT), foreign internal defense (FID), security force assistance (SFA), counterinsurgency (COIN), and direct action (DA).<sup>7</sup>

Fragile states provide terrorist organizations an environment in which to thrive, as the lack of governance and rule of law allow them freedom of maneuver, access to resources, and an unstable, unsecured population in which to recruit. Police forces within these states must be able to deny these assets by executing effective counterterrorism operations in order to establish civil control.<sup>8</sup> JP 3-05 "Special Operations" states that, "SOF activities used in concert with stability operations, counterintelligence (CI), civil-military operations (CMO), and communication synchronization, enable partners to combat terrorism, deter tacit and active support for terrorism, and erode support for terrorist ideologies."<sup>9</sup>

Denying terrorist organizations the freedom to operate within a state involves police cooperation and coordination with other host nation security

forces. This type of interagency cooperation is difficult to achieve and complex to maintain. The incorporation of police into a nation's overall internal defense is another area of expertise unique to SF. FID is a SOF function which supports a host nation's internal defense and development (IDAD) strategy. Specified within the characteristics of FID is the leverage of law enforcement to support a host nation's IDAD strategy.<sup>10</sup>

The ability of law enforcement to accomplish their missions as part of the larger security strategy will depend largely on their ability to build capable individuals and units. This is a core activity SF have performed repeatedly over the past several decades. SFA typically brings to mind military assistance, but JP 3-05, *Special Operations*, specifies that SFA includes many host nation organizations, including police forces.<sup>11</sup> SF have the expertise and experience necessary to provide training and guidance, specifically in those areas not traditionally considered police roles, such as counterterrorism and combating insurgent networks.

The police forces of a fragile state often have to contend with insurgencies and the significant security threats they impose. Host nation police must be able to skillfully manage both the armed faction of an insurgency and the population the insurgency is targeting. As noted in JP 3-05, the population is the center of gravity of successful COIN.<sup>12</sup> Police are paramount to the security of the population and building support to legitimize a host nation government. SF's proficiency in COIN operations makes them ideal trainers for local police forces attending to this delicate mission. They can teach host nation police forces the fundamentals of a successful COIN, targeting techniques, and "the measured and precise use of force."<sup>13</sup>

Police forces can learn a considerable amount about the use of force through training in another core SF activity, DA. The techniques used during DA missions are similar to those used by a police force, whether in the conduct of COIN, counterterrorism, or while executing traditional law enforcement. DA missions often involve operational techniques and the application of force very similar to those used during law enforcement missions. The missions themselves are similar, as DA includes raids, direct assaults, and seizures, all of which are short in duration and include specific targets.<sup>14</sup>

To accomplish all of these identified missions and tasks, a U.S. force executing stability operations and assisting law enforcement must be able to establish conditions conducive to building strong relationships with the members of the police force they are trying to train. This does not apply

only to the leadership of the unit partnered with a police force, but includes every person within the unit. Building these relationships necessitates a strong understanding of the background and current environment within a host nation, a particular city, a specific ethnic group, or even a unique tribe within that ethnic group. Even the most junior private's failure to recognize and understand cultural differences between a United States soldier and a host nation police officer can have, as Major Lynda Liddy stated in her article *The Strategic Corporal*, "strategic and political consequences that can affect the outcome of a given mission."<sup>15</sup>

SF negate the possibility of the "Strategic Corporal" not only through the experience of its soldiers, but through specific cultural training directed at ensuring they comply with several principles of their own special operations imperatives.<sup>16</sup> Included in these imperatives are: understand the operational environment, recognize political implications, and consider long-term effects.<sup>17</sup> Brigadier General (Ret.) Russell Howard states that SF should, at a minimum, possess cultural awareness, which is "more than an understanding of simple dos and don'ts; it is a basic recognition of the existence of different cultural backgrounds, values, and perspectives that must be considered before conducting operations."<sup>18</sup> This emphasis on culture allows each member of an SF detachment to fully participate in building and training a police force while preventing distractions and setback. It also allows them to better understand their operational environment and coordinate training to match that environment.

Another SF attribute intimately tied to cultural training and awareness is language proficiency. The ability to communicate in the host nation's language is essential to creating a solid relationship and removes an otherwise insurmountable obstacle between SF operators and their police partners. ARTEP 31-807-30 MTP states that SF soldiers must possess a minimum language capability of 0+, 0+ through language-trained soldiers or available translators.<sup>19</sup> This minimum standard, not approached by conventional forces (CF), allows SF to concentrate on building the capacity and capabilities of a police force, and even participate in operations, while avoiding misunderstandings.

Cultural and linguistic training are only two of the many resources indigenous to SF and not found in most CF. SF's wide list of activities and missions gives them access to many other resources which greatly enhance their ability to train and conduct operations with host nation police. Not only do SF have



immediate access to aviation support, unmanned aerial surveillance support, electronic warfare, and communications assets to assist in combined police operations, but they also have other SOF resources to call upon. SF can leverage military information support operations (MISO) and civil affairs operations (CAO) to help reinforce police authority, while simultaneously reducing the legitimacy of the terrorist, insurgent or criminal antagonist.<sup>20</sup>

Another resource available to SF is operational latitude. CF do not have the training of SF in many of the aforementioned missions, and therefore CF leadership is much more reluctant to accept risk with these missions. The CF mission approval process is also significantly slower, often requiring commander's approval several levels higher before a mission can be executed. SF missions inherently come with more associated risk, but the risk is mitigated through training and preparation. Additionally, the approval process for an ODA stability mission is the next higher in-country commander, a much more streamlined process.<sup>21</sup> Also included in SF autonomy is a level of financial freedom. Major Force Program 11 (MFP-11) provides SOF with control over its own resources and the ability to purchase nonstandard items.<sup>22</sup> While MFP-11 is not a blank check, it allows for a certain level of support to host nation police missions.

Given that rule of law is upheld by a host nation police force, an argument can be made that U.S. military police (MPs) would be a more appropriate counterpart during stability operations. This statement would be supported by the military police branch's own operational manual, FM 3-39, *Military Police Operations*, which states:

Military police units provide the capability to train foreign military or civilian personnel and/or reconstitute indigenous constabulary forces. Military police may be required to provide interim law enforcement capability until that capability can be established within the host nation. Military police can also provide the initial mentoring to these forces and temporary law enforcement capabilities until the foreign military or civilian police forces are functional.<sup>23</sup>

Military police also have the benefit of an organic MP platoon task organized within each Brigade Combat Team (BCT), with an additional company of MPs attached to a BCT during offensive, defensive, or stability operations.<sup>24</sup> This organic capability allows BCT commanders more oversight into the capability levels of host nation police forces within his area of operations,

as well as a level of control over the operations and training being executed. An argument can also be made that the U.S. State Department should be responsible for training a civilian police force. The Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs (INL) is a civilian organization specifically designed to support foreign police.<sup>25</sup> By their nature it would seem to make sense for a civilian organization to train a civilian police force.

The fault in this argument lies in the mission itself. As stated in the Afghan National Police Strategy, the major threats during stability operations are not criminal activities, but terrorists, insurgents, and other armed and organized groups indicative of both a fragile state and the need for stability operations.<sup>26</sup> According to the U.S. Department of State website, the INL “promotes peace and stability in areas recovering from conflict.”<sup>27</sup> A fragile state battling terrorists or an insurgency is not yet recovering, and the INL is not equipped nor trained to augment a force fighting these types of threats. Military police doctrine makes note of FID, CT, and COIN missions, but only as a secondary or supporting role, and often supporting SOF. Military Police training in targeting and direct action is minimal, with raids typically limited to special units, and targeting focused more on criminal activity than the more significant identified threats host nation police have to contend with.<sup>28</sup>

Additionally, SF command significant respect and authority with their police partners as a byproduct of SF’s language and cultural training, availability of resources, operational participation, and operational knowledge. In contrast, military police are at an immediate disadvantage simply by their internal organization. An MP platoon leader, the individual responsible for mentoring and training a host nation police force, is typically a 22- to 25-year-old second lieutenant in the Army. As one colonel was quoted in a British review of international policing, “the assignment of a young commanding officer to mentor a senior host nation police chief is insulting to the latter’s rank, experience, and status.”<sup>29</sup>

It is hard to enhance the capacity and capabilities of a fragile state’s police force. The host nation police are fighting a life or death battle against the crushing pressures of parasitic domestic and international organizations that habitually exploit a fragile state. Their success is critical to stabilizing the state and allowing for the emergence of a stable government and return of rule of law, but the path to security and stability is as complex as the environment in which it occurs. With such a critical piece of the overall stability operations

strategy, the U.S. needs to choose the correct organization to lead in the building and legitimization of the host nation's police force.

This organization should be the U.S. Army Special Forces. SF core activities prove they have the training and experience necessary to build a capable police force and combat the antagonists of a fragile state. SF have the cultural and linguistic background to earn the respect of their police partners and ensure against embarrassing personal and political incidents. They also have the resources and operational ability to apply those resources, both of which are not typically found in CF. CF such as the MPs have the ability to partner with a host nation police force, execute training and patrols, and provide guidance in accordance with the BCT commander's overall plan. They would undoubtedly put forth an admirable effort in process. However, with a mission as important as stabilization and a return to rule of law, SF are the correct answer.

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# SOF and the Regionally-Aligned Force

*U.S. Army Lieutenant Colonel Anthony Cruz*

## Introduction

In the time of budget austerity and military drawdown, U.S. Army leaders are developing strategies on how to best defend U.S. strategic objectives overseas with a smaller force. Having rapidly deployable forces that are tailored to the appropriate size, location, and capabilities that match a geographic commander's requirements are challenges for force generation planners. The recent Regionally-Aligned Forces (RAF) concept attempts to create capable U.S. Army forces, before a conflict occurs—through extensive training and education of units and individual soldiers in a foreign nation's language, culture, and geography. Concurrently, the RAF attempts to build partner nations' capabilities through collaborative activities and missions to relieve some of the defense burden on U.S. forces.

In this transitory period toward a regionally-aligned force, Special Operations Forces (SOF) have a potential role in building locally-tailored capabilities beyond the special operations community. Our contingency operations in Iraq and Afghanistan showed capability gaps are best addressed by leveraging strengths of, not only all military forces, but those of the Interagency. Much literature has already addressed the need to build interdependencies between conventional forces (CF) and SOF. But to be truly effective, synergies with the interagency component must be created, as well.

This paper shows that given the extended presence in partner nations and inherent strengths while operating in the human domain and existing mission sets of Foreign Internal Defense, SOF is well positioned to critically

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support the transition towards the RAF concept through strengthening of interdependencies with both CF and Interagency organizations.

In October 2013 at the Association of the U.S. Army Annual Meeting, a panel of senior Army officers met to promote in detail the concept of the Regionally-Aligned Force. As defined by U.S. Army Forces Command, the concept is the Army's vision for providing combatant commanders with tailored, responsive and consistently available Army forces. Regionally aligned forces will meet combatant commanders' requirements for scalable, tailored capabilities to support operational missions, military exercises and theater security cooperation activities.<sup>1</sup> According to the Army Strategic Planning Guidance 2013, Regional Alignment includes Army Total Force organizations and capabilities that are forward stationed; operating in a combatant command area of responsibility; providing support from outside the area of responsibility, including reach-back; and prepared to support from outside the area of responsibility.<sup>2</sup>

The first unit to be aligned along the RAF concept was the 2nd Brigade Combat Team (BCT), 1st Infantry Division out of Fort Riley, Kansas. It was aligned with Africa Command back in Spring 2013, conducting more than 40 missions in such countries as South Africa, Niger, Chad, Djibouti, Malawi, Uganda, Burundi, and Sierra Leone. In August 2013, more than 350 soldiers from the brigade returned from their largest exercise in Africa to date: Exercise Shared Accord with the South African National Defence Force. More than 100 more missions, including participating in exercises and sending mobile training teams to work with host-nation armies on marksmanship or first aid, were planned for fiscal year 2014.<sup>3</sup> The RAF concept supports the Army's "Prevent, Shape, Win" strategy by emphasizing development of capabilities in Phase 0, before the conflict starts. RAF units can come from active, Guard, or Reserve forces, and can vary in size from divisions, to brigade combat teams, all the way down to small teams, to include enablers.

Major General Patrick J. Donahue II, commanding general of U.S. Army Africa/Southern European Task Force, explained that these forces will allow for a "sustained personal relationship" that reinforces developing cultural proficiency, including some linguistic understanding. Much of this is achievable through partnering in training exercises with host nations.<sup>4</sup>

A report from the Strategic Landpower Taskforce also reiterates the necessity of shaping conditions in regions to maintain stability through actions highly focused on human factors.<sup>5</sup> While the operational requirement for

regionally-aligned forces has been articulated, SOF's exact role in supporting this new Army capability has not. The following sections will describe how SOF can support the Army in transition.

## **SOF Strengths Supporting the Transition to a RAF**

Transitioning to a regionally-aligned force will take several years to be realized. However, SOF can be a model for the creation of a total force that has building partner capacity (BPC) capabilities by leveraging SOF strengths in the following areas: human domain, foreign internal defense (FID) and security force assistance (SFA), and a small, persistent presence in a foreign nation. First, SOF are a natural partner in building relationships with foreign nations because of their extensive knowledge in language and culture. Otherwise known as the human domain, it is the totality of the physical, cultural, and social environments that influence human behavior to the extent that success of any military operation or campaign depends on the application of unique capabilities that are designed to fight and win population-centric conflicts.<sup>6</sup> Knowledge of the human domain allows SOF to have a better understanding of the partner nation's culture, a fundamental step in building a better relationship, particularly in areas that are relationship-based cultures.

The other strength of SOF, as related to the RAF concept, lies in their competencies in the indirect mission sets of FID and SFA, which directly support BPC efforts. A recent Council on Foreign Relations report states:

... the abilities of special operations forces, however, extend much further, into military training, information operations, civil affairs, and more. As the United States shifts its focus from war fighting to building and supporting its partners, it will become critical to better define these strategic capabilities and ensure that special operations forces have the staffing and funding to succeed.<sup>7</sup>

Knowledge of the human domain is directly related to the conduct of FID and SFA, as both missions require an intimate knowledge of the partner nation to be able to articulate their explicit needs and wants into an operational context.

While the SOF footprint is generally small, its persistent presence in a foreign country allows for opportunities for both CF and interagency

organizations to leverage those formal and informal relationships that SOF has built to accomplish mission tasks. As an example, gaining and maintaining operational access in a foreign country is a strategic capability for U.S. forces to project power overseas. Particularly in remote areas without a major U.S. diplomatic or military presence, prior relationships that SOF have built are instrumental for attaining and maintaining base access to allow for the application of the elements of national power.

### **Interdependencies with CF and IA**

All 11 Army missions derived from Defense Strategic Guidance consider the total force and strive to achieve joint interdependence and interoperability. In particular, the mission of “Provide modernized and ready, tailored land force capabilities to meet combatant commanders’ requirements across the range of military options” speaks to the interoperability necessity between SOF, CF, and interagency organizations to achieve unity of effort.<sup>8</sup>

There are a number of requirements for creating greater SOF-CF interdependencies, but those related to BPC are of particular interest for developing a RAF. Historically, BPC activities have been conducted primarily by SOF units, but this pattern is changing. SOF constitute less than 5 percent of total U.S. military forces, which precludes them from participating in widespread capacity building over an extended period. As the Iraq and Afghanistan campaigns demonstrated, there may be an operational urgency for a large number of CF to perform advise and assist roles traditionally conducted by SOF units. Because of the limited numbers, SOF usually focus on building partner nation SOF units, not their CF.

As mentioned earlier, the interagency organizations must also be brought into this interdependent relationship to create a true whole-of-government response to a diversified threat, while supporting the building of capacities of our partner nations. According to the Army Strategic Planning Guidance 2013, the complex operational environment consists of regular forces, irregular forces, criminals, refugees, and others intermingling in this environment and interacting across space, cyberspace, social networks, and law.<sup>9</sup> To handle those threats requires the synchronization of a multitude of both military and nonmilitary organizations from both U.S. and partner nations for the development of intelligence and execution of plans. As an example, the overseas counterterrorism mission requires members from the Central



Intelligence Agency (CIA), Defense Intelligence Agency, National Security Agency, National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency, SOF, CF, and other organizations in cooperation with host nation partner agencies.

Operations in Iraq and Afghanistan have given ample opportunity for Department of Defense (DOD) and interagency organizations to collaborate. Although America's strategic successes over the last 12 years were negligible, operations during this period strengthened the CIA/DOD relationship, resulting in a more effective partnership. These improved relations resulted in less parochialism, with officers from both organizations recognizing the value of collaboration and looking for opportunities to work together.<sup>10</sup> Building upon and internalizing those lessons learned about agency collaboration is difficult, but is an important step in institutionalizing and formalizing positive change for the long-term.

## Challenges to Implementing Transition to RAF

Movement to a Regionally-Aligned Force will not happen overnight and needs the collected efforts of multiple agencies to bring this to fruition. Below are the challenges of a coordinated approach for SOF, CF, and interagency organizations in supporting transition to the RAF.

**Budget and Operational Tempo Constraints.** Declining budgets and high operational tempos as we draw down from overseas missions may delay the implementation of regional alignment for years. According to approved RAF talking points, transition to RAF will ultimately be cost neutral for the Army because of the reduced overseas footprint allowed through stronger multinational partners.<sup>11</sup> However, there will still be an upfront cost of training soldiers in language and skill sets necessary to operate in a particular region. In addition, interagency organizations generally do not have the same level of personnel and financial resources as DOD and may experience shortfalls to meet mission objectives.

As part of the shifting burden of BPC activities, the National Guard will play a larger role in security cooperation through its State Partnership Program (SPP). However, there is Congressional concern about the conformity of some SPP activities with the law, the effectiveness of the program, and the relationship of SPP activities to the priorities of U.S. geographic combatant commanders and U.S. ambassadors abroad.<sup>12</sup>

Despite an overall declining defense budget, the Pentagon proposed in the 2015 budget that SOF personnel increase from 67,000 to 69,000.<sup>13</sup> The Army as a whole is seeking to play a bigger role in BPC, with SOF potentially taking on larger responsibilities in that function.

**Diversions from Crisis in Other Regions.** Regionally aligning units to one particular area may provide flexibility of response within a particular regional combatant command, but may have limited utility when forces are called elsewhere to meet a crisis outside of that aligned region. Overall numbers of troops will be declining, thus providing a greater incentive to draw troops from one region to meet another crisis.

Even for units aligned within a combatant command area of responsibility, the human terrain contains a multitude of countries, governments, tribes, languages, cultures, and geography which are very dissimilar from each other. This dissimilarity may limit the usefulness of the skill sets trained on by a RAF unit for only one particular human domain problem set.

**Uncertainties of BPC Effectiveness.** BPC takes time, money, and a sizeable amount of patience. The ultimate payoff is a capable partner nation that can relieve some of the defense burden from the U.S. While SOF, and eventually CF and interagency organizations, can build highly capable military units or government security forces, there is always skepticism as to whether those newly developed forces will operate in accordance with U.S. standards or national interests. The risk of human rights violations conducted by forces trained by U.S. personnel should always be considered. Military analyst Maren Leed, of the Center for Strategic and International Studies, said, “Building partner capacity is intuitively appealing, but you don’t know when it works and when it doesn’t, or how long it lasts. We have no organizing theory, no systematic understanding of what the relationship is between shaping activities and outcomes.”<sup>14</sup>

**Institutionalization of RAF for Long-Term Sustainability.** Achieving interoperability between SOF, CF, and interagency organizations must be institutionalized in order to be made permanent. Major General Bennet Sacolick wrote, “Integration that relies on personal relationships forged on the battlefield, however, is transient unless made operational and institutional and instilled in our forces from the very beginning of professional military education and throughout all planning and training.”<sup>15</sup>

USSOCOM wanted to establish Regional SOF Coordination Centers (RSCC) to make a sustained commitment to strengthen, educate, and develop local partners, as well as increase interoperability and coordinate operations in the region. That concept was not approved for implementation, and even without the RSCC, the theater special operations command should be actively involved in creating the conditions for better integration in the target nation.

A recommendation for improving institutionalization of collaboration is the use of the Special Warfare Center at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, to formally develop and teach curriculum to CF and interagency personnel involved in building foreign nation capacities. Much conceptual work on interoperability between SOF, CF, and interagency organizations is needed in analyzing the Universal Joint Task List, creating mission essential task lists for RAF units, and then creating specific task objectives. Through the formal training and education process, habitual collaborative relationships can be developed that would have long-term sustainability.

## Conclusion

SOF have demonstrated their expertise in the human domain and would be an excellent model for supporting CF in transitioning to a RAF. As the defense strategy relies upon building partner nation capacities as a way of reducing the overall burden on U.S. forces and preventing conflicts before they happen, BPC will take a greater prominence in future mission sets overseas. SOF must impart those BPC skills to the rest of the Army in support of this strategy. In addition, to accomplish a holistic total force, SOF, CF and interagency organizations must also create synergies that leverage each other's strengths to meet the diverse threats of the 21st century. Finally, as the war in Afghanistan winds down, the U.S. military must take those lessons learned and actually learn them. The institutionalizing of the learning process to make collaboration between SOF, CF, and interagency organizations habitual in nature at the tactical, operational, and strategic levels must occur in order to make changes that are long lasting.

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# Special Operations Forces and the Professionalization of Foreign Internal Defense

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FID is the participation by civilian and military agencies of a government in any of the action programs taken by another government or other designated organization, to free and protect its society from subversion, lawlessness, insurgency, terrorism, and other threats to their security. – Joint Publication 3-22

A world with rapidly evolving instability has required U.S. Special Operations Forces (SOF) to assume a global posture. Through an examination of SOF support of persistent global operations, it is easy to identify the successes. Striking raids conducted by secretive, highly specialized units against terrorist organizations perforate the 24-hour media cycle. These highly publicized successes such as the killing of Osama bin Laden or the rescue of Captain Phillips from Somali pirates does well for the U.S. military, the administration, and the SOF community. However, if the community chooses to take an honest look across the spectrum of special operations' core activities, one of these "core activities," foreign internal defense (FID)<sup>1</sup>, has failed consistently. In this era of persistent global conflict, we do not have to look back even as far as the 1970s and 1980s to see the challenges and failures of FID. Rather, a review of the first 14 years of the 21st century is telling. FID is facing serious challenges in Afghanistan and has catastrophically failed in Libya and Iraq. FID is failing now. The solution is to create a mid-career SOF FID specialization for SOF officers from all four special operations service

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components to build long-term institutional knowledge of regional issues and personal relationships with foreign SOF organizations.

The failures of the last decade of FID do not belong to any one part of the Department of Defense (DOD). Nor is it solely an outcome of the foreign policy decisions such as the 2011 end to the U.S. FID mission in Iraq. It is, however, highly probable that specially trained SOF FID officers could have done more to assist conventional planners to understand the needs of the host nation and the needs of newly minted conventional military advisors sent to train them. As it stands, Iraqi units such as the Iraqi 8th Army Division were described by conventional advisors as “top-tier, arguably the best in the Iraqi Army in terms of tactical competence” in 2009. Less than four years later, this same unit was found to be wholly combat ineffective against the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL).<sup>2</sup> Drinking a few cups of tea and teaching host nation soldiers to all shoot in the same direction is no longer a sufficient measure of success in this era of persistent global instability.

Long-term investment in SOF FID will not produce the nearly instantaneous politically marketable results of the raid culture of direct action. Nor will it have much effect on the short-term “prop-up” FID intended to buy time to exfiltrate U.S. forces from a given theater. It will, however, add consistency to SOF operations over the next decades if SOF leaders embrace the professionalization of FID as a long-term operational capability and an investment. In keeping with the first SOF Truth, “Humans are more important than hardware,” FID requires recruitment, training, and long-term forward deployment of SOF officers specifically training in regional FID. Globally, the U.S. has had a poor record of predicting the next destabilizing crisis that will require U.S. support or intervention. The challenge of predictive analysis, which can identify future FID requirements, has become more difficult with “globalization with its subthemes of technology diffusion, free flow of information, interdependent and competitive economies, and relative empowerment of weak state, non-state, and individual actors.”<sup>3</sup> The fact is crisis and conflict will evolve rapidly in regions where the U.S. military is unprepared to respond effectively. U.S. Special Operations Command (USSOCOM) needs to place SOF FID officers in as many countries as is practical, building partnerships with foreign SOF.

Critics unfamiliar with the complexities of FID will argue the task of building foreign military relationships and the Foreign Area Officer (FAO)

Program already serves the FID mission. The FAOs, which come from each of the four branches of service, have distinct responsibilities to:

provide regional expertise from the political-military and strategic perspectives for planning and executing operations, observe and report on international military issues, serve in liaison, attaché/military-diplomat, and representational roles to other nations, serve as arms control inspectors, and oversee military security assistance.<sup>4</sup>

The last task in the FAO job description to “oversee military security assistance” has not provided the ground-level relationships or SOF partnerships essential to current and future operations. Oversight of security assistance is not enough in this era of global instability. Additionally, the majority of FAOs do not have a SOF or even a combat arms background, which limits the FAO program’s ability to assess the needs of host nation forces and SOF with any level of ground truth. This gap in FAO capability and tasking and the failures of FID over the recent years clearly identifies the need for SOF FID officers. However, the foreign environments in which SOF FID officers will serve require that they share many of the language and training requirements of the FAO program.

“Competent SOF cannot be created after emergencies occur,” arguably more than other special operations core activities, is a SOF Truth that FID planners need to embrace. At the strategic level, the SOF officer cannot acquire that acute knowledge of operational environment or build personal relationships with foreign SOF after the crisis arises. Personal relationships and trust, like SOF competencies, cannot be forced into being the morning after a coup d’état. The relationships developed by SOF FID officers in peacetime amount to a strategic force multiplier for the larger SOF community and the DOD at large. A SOF FID officer who serves as a liaison, a partner, and possible mentor of foreign SOF will build relationships unobtainable through the current exercise model for SOF partnerships, the Joint Combined Exchange Training (JCET). This model will not replace the JCET exercise, but the SOF FID officer will be able to focus the mission of the JCET and will drastically shorten the incoming U.S. SOF elements’ local adaptation period with foreign SOF partners. If history tells the U.S. military anything, it is that foreign SOF will be at the epicenter of future regional instability either as the defender of the status quo or as the vehicle of unrest to displace the foreign governments. In the case of the destabilization of a regional

partner state, decision makers would be able to draw upon experienced SOF FID officers who had lived and worked in the region and possess a tactical and strategic knowledge of the crisis. Additionally, the ability of U.S. SOF FID officers to reach out personally to foreign SOF is the equivalent of the Cold War Moscow-Washington hotline.

In addition to the personal relationships built with foreign SOF forged by FID officers' foreign assignments, the SOF contingency and rapid response planners will benefit from an institutional knowledge of environmental variables such as the people, culture, and terrain. Knowledge attained by SOF FID officers will provide the tactical-level SOF planners and decision makers with the key to what Admiral William McRaven called 'Relative Superiority.' Relative superiority is defined as "the condition that exists when a smaller force gains a decisive advantage over a larger or well-defended enemy."<sup>5</sup> In his master's thesis at the Naval Post Graduate School, Admiral McRaven endeavored to develop a theory of special operations focused on the key elements of successful direct action operations conducted by SOF units and therefore did not address FID. However, his theory emphasizes reducing Clausewitz's "Friction"<sup>6</sup> through the application of his six principles of special operations—simplicity, security, repetition, surprise, speed, and purpose—which in turn allow SOF direct action missions to achieve and maintain 'Relative Superiority' over the enemy force.<sup>7</sup> Future SOF FID officers offer an important key to gaining McRaven's 'Relative Superiority' in regions or nation states where the U.S. military has limited institutional knowledge. The SOF FID officer who has local experience and relationships will be invaluable to the information environment of the SOF decision makers and planners during the onset of deteriorating stability. Historically, a lack of local knowledge has led to SOF mission failures during the 1980s and 1990s. Tomorrow, SOF could be asked to operate in a region or environmental conditions foreign to units who have adapted their tactics and equipment to a specific climate. The ability to call upon a SOF FID officer with extensive experience in a jungle or a tumultuous region and knowledge of foreign SOF will be invaluable for SOF commanders in Phase 0 of an operation.

The first necessary step is the establishment of a Joint FID Management Office at USSOCOM Headquarters, tasked with the program development and the long-term career management of SOF FID officers. The SOF FID officer designation would work best as a U.S. Army Functional Area and its sister services equivalent, with the FID officer course contributing to



the individual officer's joint professional military education (JPME). This Joint FID Management Office would be the vehicle that assists the services in determining joint requirements across the SOF service components. The creation of a SOF FID 'functional area' would require the creation of a significant number of additional O4-O5 billets at USSOCOM Headquarters. These positions housed at the headquarters, outside the SOF service components, would allow USSOCOM the ability to retain a larger portion of the investment made in SOF officers who may be forced to leave SOF based on the availability of SOF service component billets.

The core candidates for the SOF FID officer program should come from the officer corps of U.S. Army Special Forces, U.S. Naval Special Warfare SEALs, U.S. Marine Corps Special Operations, and U.S. Air Force Special Tactics.<sup>8</sup> There would likely be opposition to diverting already highly trained officers from line positions in their respective SOF service components. However, if we are to accept Dr. Turnley's contribution to SOF theory, which argues SOF service members are uniquely qualified to be "warrior-diplomats," then SOF must embrace the need for this level of character and experience for the sometimes ambiguous world of FID.<sup>9</sup> To advance Dr. Turnley's assumptions, we must extend her model to our foreign SOF partners and competitors who to varying degrees will be warrior-diplomats with whom relationships can be built. Turnley notes that the SOF service components embrace the warrior-diplomat concept with varying enthusiasm.<sup>10</sup> She specifically makes the point that "becoming a warrior diplomat is a nontrivial process involving far more than just learning a language and a few behavioral do's and don'ts."<sup>11</sup> The concept of the warrior-diplomat must not be solely embraced as a second or third order effect of SOF training and experience, but must become a formal 'functional area' and an advanced specialization within the SOF community.

The argument can be made the SOF officers are already trained in FID and a specialized course is not necessary. The counter point, however, is again the fact that FID is not only facing a more complex operational environment, but also has had little success in creating sustainable security as demonstrated by the striking collapse of Western-trained Iraqi Divisions or Libya security forces in the face of Islamic extremists. Obviously, what is being done now is not sufficient to properly assess the needs, the institutions, and the cultural challenges of the persistent FID mission around the world. Therefore, the SOF FID candidate, already a trained and experienced SOF

operator, would follow a pipeline similar to the previously mentioned U.S. FAO, only with a focused specialization in SOF FID requirements. A joint SOF FID officer functional area training course must be developed, piloted, and managed at the Joint Special Operations University (JSOU). Following the function area training a graduate level education program is essential. Numerous DOD educational institutions provide regional training as well as formal graduate-level education. For the SOF FID officer 'functional area,' the best choices for graduate education are JSOU and the Naval Postgraduate School (NPS), the latter of which has a long history in graduate education in special operations topics.

A significant number of SOF officers already possess language skills but for service in the FID functional area, language training would need to be conducted at a higher level. The Defense Language Institute (DLI), which hosts six to 12 month programs, should support this task with quotas specifically designed for SOF FID officers. The Joint FID Management Office should endeavor to follow the FAO model, matching skills and capabilities of SOF FID officers to the region for which they are trained. The Joint FID Management Office would put an end the old military cliché of sending Chinese languages speakers on operational tours in Italy.

Following a utilization tour in the SOF FID officer's region of specialization, the Joint FID Management Office would be responsible for assisting in identifying follow on positions best suited for these highly specialized officers. Of course, a certain number of SOF FID officers will return to their SOF service components, however every effort should be made to continue to match skills and experience to the follow on position. Additionally, positions should be established or opened to these highly specialized officers as members of the staff or advisors to the combatant commands and theater special operations commands. Outside the SOF community, these unique skill sets would be invaluable as JSOU/NPS instructors, DOD and service branch contingencies planners, or joint staff assignments, which require regional specialization.

Another challenge is allocation of funding for a long-term program in a fiscally constrained environment. "Enhancing stability and preventing conflict are more cost-effective than fighting wars."<sup>12</sup> The cost of training and deploying SOF FID officers, to include the contributions these experienced officers will contribute in future assignments, is a minuscule cost in comparison to the estimated \$25 billion spent training and equipping Iraqi

Army divisions, which collapsed in the face of ISIL. In comparison to the highly popular overhead platforms, SOF FID officers would be considerably cheaper than these systems, which will never provide any insight into the causes of the instability or crisis. Overhead platforms can only serve as mechanical witness where the relatively low cost SOF FID officers can provide analysis and outreach to the foreign partner. Another administrative concern is the status of SOF FID Officers during the utilization tour in a foreign nation. Whether this program operates under individual Status of Forces Agreements or as part of State Department Country Team, or both, will depend on the politics of the day and is beyond the scope of this essay.

The simple fact is our long-term efforts to promote global stability are not working. In the late 1990s, al-Qaeda amounted to a few hundred radical Islamists renting land from the Taliban government. Today, groups that have embraced al-Qaeda's radical Islamist ideology physically control territory in at least seven countries. The challenges of the 21st century FID efforts have made it evident that FID requires and deserves an independent professional SOF workforce to counter present and future vehicles of instability, including al-Qaeda and a multitude of other current and potential threats. Experienced special operations officers, from all four SOF service components, trained and educated as FID professionals, are the key to the successful long-term goal to "support training, advising, and equipping HN security forces."<sup>13</sup>

## Endnotes

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