UNITED STATES ARMY

SPECIAL OPERATIONS COMMAND

White Paper

Comprehensive Deterrence

12 April 2016

Comprehensive Deterrence White Paper

Executive Summary.

The emerging concept of Comprehensive Deterrence is an initial effort to broaden strategic options for our National leaders to meet current and emerging security challenges. Comprehensive Deterrence internalizes the challenge from then Secretary of Defense Hagel's Defense Innovation Memorandum (15 November 2014) to pursue innovative ways to sustain and advance U.S military superiority for the 21st Century. Comprehensive Deterrence also acknowledges the guidance from General Martin Dempsey, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, on 11 January 2015 when he noted that, "We're going to have to think our way through the future, not bludgeon our way through it."[1]

Comprehensive Deterrence seeks to expand upon traditional concepts of deterrence to account for the totality and the variety of the threats we face in the early 21st Century security environment. It posits that deterrence, particularly on the left-side of the operational continuum, is not only about preventing something from happening, but also about preventing something from escalating beyond our strategic depth and our capability to respond, in a manner consistent with our National values.

Comprehensive Deterrence is defined as the prevention of adversary action through the existence or proactive use of credible physical, cognitive and moral capabilities that raise an adversary's perceived cost to an unacceptable level of risk relative to the perceived benefit.

Key themes within the concept of Comprehensive Deterrence include: 1) Existing theories of deterrence generally focus on high-end conflict conducted by Nation States on the right-side of the operational continuum. Investment in deterrence thinking on the left-side of the operational continuum is warranted to meet the growing challenges the United States and its Allies face in the Gray Zone; 2) The totality of the security challenges and the varied nature of these challenges require reframing of what constitutes strategic power and strategic risk in a complex and unpredictable world; 3) The growing trans-regional aspects of competition and conflict require new planning models, new operational constructs, new ways of thinking, and fully integrated partner networks to rescale security challenges earlier in their trajectory; 4) Select state and non-state actors are effectively operating in the Gray Zone, which demands study of how we build the nuanced inter / intra governmental multi-year campaigns that are required to successfully compete and win in this space; and 5) Comprehensive Deterrence points to a grand strategy to deliver more effective security for the Nation.

The conceptual lines of effort within Comprehensive Deterrence are; 1) Expanding the Strategic Start Point, 2) Rethinking Strategic Power and Reframing Power Projection with two sub-components, Partner Based Power and Population Based Power, 3) Rethinking Asymmetric Approaches, 4) Rethinking the Strategic Nexus between the Land and Human Domains, 5) Broadening Considerations of Strategic Risk, and 6) Expanding Technology Solutions for the Human Domain.

Comprehensive Deterrence White Paper

The concept of Comprehensive Deterrence is an outgrowth of the United States Special Operations Command's (USSOCOM) and the United States Army Special Operations Command's (USASOC) futures and wargaming platforms. The adjective, comprehensive, speaks to deterrence across the operational continuum and to the application of a Whole of Government / Whole of Partner framework to enable its full realization.

<u>Framing Assumptions.</u>

The following assumptions framing the emerging concept include; 1) The operating environment will remain complex, and disordered, 2) International norms will continue to constrain the application of force, 3) The totality and variety of the security challenges demand a relook at what constitutes strategic risk in the early 21st Century operating environment, 4) The fiscal reset will likely continue to reduce governmental resources which presents obvious challenges. However, it presents opportunities to consider new frameworks, new operational approaches and new capabilities, 5) The political will to conduct large scale military campaigns as the primary approach will likely continue to wane, and 6) The march of commercial technology and its militarization will likely accelerate in the coming years.

<u>Central Idea.</u> Existing theories of deterrence largely focus on deterring state adversaries capable of employing large scale conventional forces and nuclear weapons, with conflict occurring on the right-side of the operational continuum. The U.S. must always be ready to win decisively in this space, but must also be prepared to compete and win on the left-side of the operational continuum, in the Gray Zone between peace and war, where select state and non-state actors are effectively challenging U.S. and Allied interests.

> *Based on the totality and complexity of security challenges facing the U.S. and its Allies, now and into the foreseeable future, we no longer have the luxury in terms of operational time, fiscal resources, and political will to allow these challenges to escalate to a level that exceeds our strategic depth and ability to respond, in a manner consistent with our National values.*

> **We will lead with a long-term perspective. Around the world, there are historic transitions underway that will unfold over decades. This strategy positions America to influence their trajectories, seize the opportunities they create, and manage the risks they present. Five recent transitions, in particular, have significantly changed the security landscape, including since our last strategy in 2010. (February 2015 p.4-5)**
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> - **Power among states is more dynamic.**
> - **Power is shifting below and beyond the nation-state.**
> - **The Increasing interdependence of the global economy and rapid pace of technological change are linking individuals, groups and governments in unprecedented ways.**
> - **A struggle for power is underway among and within many states of the Middle East and North Africa.**
> - **The global energy market has changed dramatically.**

> **The application of the military instrument of power against state threats is very different than the application of military power against non-state threats. We are more likely to face prolonged campaigns than conflicts that are resolved quickly…that control of escalation is becoming more difficult and more important…and that as a hedge against unpredictability with reduced resources, we may have to adjust our global posture. (June 2015 p. i)**
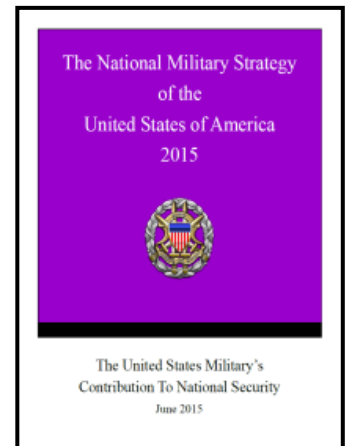
Introduction.

This concept has been informed by the National Security Strategy (2015), National Military Strategy (2015) the Defense Innovation Initiative Memorandum (2014), and the Defense Wargaming and Innovation Memorandum. It has also been informed by USSOCOM's SHADOW WARRIOR, the Army's UNIFIED QUEST and USASOC's SILENT QUEST futures and wargaming platforms. It was also informed by the senior leader insights from USASOC's Modern Russian Unconventional Warfare Case Study Forum in March of this year. Further insights were generated during USSOCOM 's Comprehensive Deterrence Workshop in August of this year This effort to broaden strategic options has also been informed by Secretary of Defense Carter's and former Secretary of Defense Perry's book, Preventive Defense, A New Security Strategy for America.

This concept internalizes three critical takes from the National Security Strategy (2015) and the National Military Strategy (2015); 1) Historic global transitions are underway that must be understood and influenced where and when possible, 2) The totality of the security challenges we face and their varied nature requires reframing of what constitutes strategic power and strategic risk in a complex and unpredictable world; and 3) Delivering more effective security outcomes for the U.S. and its Allies requires a new paradigm, a new planning model, a new operational approach, and fully integrated partner networks to conduct the nuanced inter / intra governmental campaigns to win in the Gray Zone.

Strategic Appreciation in the Early 21st Century Security Environment.

We no longer have the luxury in terms of operational time, fiscal resources, and political will to allow security challenges to escalate to a level that exceeds our strategic depth and ability to respond.

Existing theories of deterrence largely focus on deterring state adversaries capable of employing large scale conventional forces and nuclear weapons, with conflict occurring on the right-side of the operational continuum. The U.S. and its Allies must always be ready to win decisively in this space, but we must also be ready to compete and win on the left-side of the operational continuum, in the space between peace and war, where select state and non-state actors are effectively challenging our interests.

The hypothesis for the emerging concept of Comprehensive Deterrence is that in the current and emerging global security environment, deterrence is not only about preventing something from happening, but also about preventing something from escalating beyond our strategic depth and capability to respond, by imposing, in a manner consistent with our National values, what adversaries perceive as increased costs and risks for their actions.

Strategic Guidance.

The National Security Strategy (2015) states that "Five recent transitions, in particular, have significantly changed the security landscape, including since our last strategy in 2010 ... power among states is more dynamic ... power is shifting below and beyond the nation-state … the increasing interdependence of the global economy and rapid pace of technological change are linking individuals, groups, and governments in unprecedented ways … a struggle for power is underway among and within many states of the Middle East and North Africa… the global energy market has changed dramatically."[2]

Further, the National Security Strategy (2015) also notes that "more than 50 percent of the world's people are under 30 years old. Many struggle to make a life in countries with broken governance. We are taking the initiative to build relationships with the world's young people, identifying future leaders in government, business, and civil society and connecting them to one another and to the skills they need to thrive. The popular uprisings that began in the Arab world

took place in a region with weaker democratic traditions, powerful authoritarian elites, sectarian tensions, and active violent extremist elements, so it is not surprising setbacks have thus far outnumbered triumphs. Yet, change is inevitable in the Middle East and North Africa, as it is in all places where the illusion of stability is artificially maintained by silencing dissent."[3]

The National Military Strategy (2015) states that "the application of the military instrument of power against state threats is very different than the application of military power against non-state threats. We are more likely to face prolonged campaigns than conflicts that are resolved quickly…that control of escalation is becoming more difficult and more important…and that as a hedge against unpredictability with reduced resources, we may have to adjust our global posture."[4]

The National Military Strategy (2015) establishes the following national objectives: "deter, deny, and defeat state adversaries; disrupt, degrade, and defeat violent extremist organizations; and strengthen our global network of allies and partners."[5]

> *It is imperative, given the challenges posed by the contemporary and future operating environment, that the U.S. and its Allies consider new approaches to deliver more effective security in the 21st Century.*

The Operating Environment.

The foreseeable future is characterized by complexity, scarcity of resources, ecological challenges, compelling ideologies, game-changing technologies, resistance movements and opportunistic competitors employing multiple capabilities. A survey of conflict over the past 200 years indicates that 80 percent of conflicts were irregular in nature and that this trend is likely to continue.[6] The Global Trends 2030 Report, *"Alternative Worlds"*, from the National Intelligence Council (NIC), forecasts an increasing diffusion of power to regional competitors and non-state actors.[7]

Secretary of Defense Secretary Carter's and former Secretary of Defense Perry's book, Preventive Defense, A New Security Strategy for America, 1999, states that "Preventive Defense is a defense strategy for the United States in the twenty-first century that concentrates national security strategy on the dangers that, if mismanaged, have the potential to grow into true A-list-scale threats to U.S. survival in the next century, bringing the current era to an abrupt and painful end. These dangers are not yet threats to be defeated or deterred; they are dangers that can be prevented".[8]

In his recent book Strategic Vision, former U.S. National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski noted "the changing distribution of global power and the new phenomenon of mass political awakening intensify, each in its own way, the volatility of contemporary international relations. Accordingly, the U.S. must seek to shape a broader geopolitical foundation for constructive

cooperation in the global arena, while accommodating the rising aspirations of an increasingly restless global population."[9]

USSOCOM's recently published White Paper, *"The Gray Zone"*, further highlights new global security challenges. "The current international order is largely a Westphalian construct, emphasizing human rights, free market economies, sovereignty of the nation-state, representative government and self-determination. In the past, Gray zone challenges typically emanated from state-sponsored groups or nation-states adopting strategies seeking to avoid escalation. Now, non-state and proto-state organizations such as al Qaeda and Daesh (ISIS) can amass resources and connect enough formerly disparate individuals to constitute threats that cannot be ignored… Nation-states remain strong cornerstones of the international system, but the myriad of challenges they face are proliferating and strengthening faster than states' powers. Any international system maintaining a reasonable level of world order must account for numerous powerful non-state actors and multiple sources of legitimacy and governance."[10]

The U.S. and its Allies must consider evolving trends in international competition and conflict and the associated impact on the global security environment.

Evolving Considerations of Deterrence.

Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird published the "National Security Strategy of Realistic Deterrence" on February 22, 1972, in which he described the national security challenges facing the nation. The strategy acknowledged growing fiscal constraints, the political impact of a decade of war in Vietnam, and the emerging challenges presented by the Soviet Union. Laird described the ultimate goal of the strategy is "to discourage - and ultimately to eliminate - the use of military force as a means by which one nation seeks to impose its will upon another."[11] Furthermore, the strategy asserted the primacy of sustaining nuclear capabilities and the "nuclear umbrella." The strategy advocated applying all the elements of national power across the entire operational spectrum by maintaining deterrence through nuclear and technological means as well as addressing a range of lesser threats and building partner capabilities. "The basic purpose of this implementing strategy is to provide, through strength and partnership, for the security of the United States and its Free World allies and friends … It seeks to deter war, but insures adequate capabilities to protect our nation and its interests should deterrence fail."[12]

The National Security Strategy of January 1987 reflects a more traditional approach to deterrence resulting from the longstanding bipolar challenges of the Cold War, stating "deterrence is the most fundamental element of our defense policy and the cornerstone of our alliance relationships. Deterrence must not only prevent conventional and nuclear attack on the United States, but must extend such protection to our allies. Deterrence can best be achieved if our defense posture makes the assessment of war outcome by the Soviets or any other adversary as dangerous and uncertain as to remove any possible incentive for initiating conflict.

Deterrence depends both on nuclear and conventional capabilities, and on evidence of a strong will to use military force, if necessary, to defend our vital interests."[13]

The National Security Strategy for a New Century, May 1997, begins to reflect a more active approach to deterrence as a result of numerous late 20th Century crises such as Iraq and Bosnia, stating "when efforts to deter an adversary occur in the context of a crisis, they become the leading edge of crisis response. In this sense, deterrence straddles the line between shaping the international environment and responding to crises. Deterrence in crisis generally involves signaling the United States' commitment to a particular country or interest by enhancing our warfighting capability in the theater. The U.S. may also choose to make additional declaratory statements to communicate the costs of aggression or coercion to an adversary, and in some cases may choose to employ U.S. forces in a limited manner to underline the message and deter further adventurism."[14]

In more recent history, as a result of the attacks of September 11, 2001, we witnessed the reevaluation of the United States' approach to addressing divergent asymmetric threats in the application of national power. The National Security Strategy of 2002 posited that "traditional concepts of deterrence will not work against a terrorist enemy whose avowed tactics are wanton destruction and the targeting of innocents; whose so-called soldiers seek martyrdom in death and whose most potent protection is statelessness."[15]

As we move forward, U.S. strategic approaches must continue to evolve to provide effective security for the Nation.

> *Deterrence theory is not new, though the application of deterrence thinking to Gray Zone challenges requires a critical examination of existing paradigms and the utilization of all elements of national power.*

Defining Comprehensive Deterrence.

First, it is important to make a distinction between "Prevention" and "Deterrence". Joint Publication 3-0, Joint Operations, defines deterrence as "The prevention of action by the existence of a credible threat of unacceptable counteraction and/or belief that the cost of action outweighs the perceived benefits."[16] "Prevention" is distinct from "Deterrence" in that prevention is about averting something from ever existing and deterrence is about averting something from happening. It is possible to get far enough *left* of a problem (i.e. during peacetime steady state operations) to recognize the indicators and warnings of nascent threats, and apply measures very early on to avert these threats long before they materialize.

The premise of the concept of Comprehensive Deterrence is that in an era of neither peace nor war (i.e. persistent conflict), where multiple threats are altering the global security environment to the extent that prevention is no longer an option, or at least no longer a priority, the focus now must be on deterrence - preventing these threats from acting, or at a minimum from escalating beyond our strategic depth and ability to respond, underpinning the hypothesis: **"In the current**

and emerging security environment, deterrence, particularly on the left-side of the operational continuum, is not only about preventing something from happening, but also about preventing something from escalating beyond our strategic depth or capability to respond, in a manner consistent with our National values."

Referencing the totality and variety of the security challenges, GEN Dempsey noted "since the last military strategy was published in 2011, global disorder has significantly increased while some of the military's comparative advantage has begun to erode. We now face multiple, simultaneous security challenges from traditional state actors and trans-regional networks of sub-state groups - all taking advantage of rapid technological change."

In a world characterized by increased complexity and unpredictability, "Comprehensive Deterrence" recognizes the need to expand deterrence thinking beyond high end conventional or nuclear capabilities, and consider threats to national security across the range of actors and spectrum of conflict. Though the pre-conflict space (i.e. left-side of the operational continuum) has and will continue to be Department of State led, strategic guidance suggests a Whole of Government approach with increased DoD support is critical to assess, sort, form a response, and rescale security threats long before they spiral beyond the Nation's strategic depth and ability to respond.

In consideration of security threats and capabilities across the continuum, **Comprehensive Deterrence is defined as "prevention of adversary action through the existence, or proactive use of credible physical, cognitive and moral capabilities that raise an adversary's perceived cost to an unacceptable level of risk relative to the perceived benefit."**

GEN Dempsey notes "the National Military Strategy describes how we will employ our military forces to protect and advance our national interests. We must be able to rapidly adapt to new threats while maintaining comparative advantage over traditional ones. Success will increasingly depend on how well our military instrument can support the other instruments of power and enable our network of allies and partners."[17]

There is a strong correlation between <u>Preventive Defense</u> and ideas within Comprehensive Deterrence as both seek to broaden considerations of (strategic) power. The ideas within Comprehensive Deterrence are consistent with Secretary of Defense Carter's book in that it considers the expansion of deterrence beyond its traditional military frame, while also taking into account changes in the security environment since the book was published in 1999. "Preventive Defense is a defense strategy for the United States in the twenty-first century that concentrates national security strategy on the dangers that, if mismanaged, have the potential to grow into true A-list-scale threats to U.S. survival in the next century, bringing the current era to an abrupt and painful end. These dangers are not yet threats to be defeated or deterred[18]; they are dangers that can be prevented."[19] Furthermore, "As a guide to national security strategy, Preventive Defense is fundamentally different from deterrence[20]: it is a broad politico-military strategy, and therefore draws on all the instruments of foreign policy: political, economic, and military".[21]

There is some debate as to whether non-state actors, or even individuals, can be deterred, but that discussion is far from settled. Though those bent on wanton destruction and mass murder in the name of their religion don't have the same cost calculus or possess the same assets to put at risk as a nation state, and may at first appear to be not able to be deterred, "martyrdom" achieved through a highly successful terrorist act is much preferred to that resulting from a failed or lackluster effort. So perhaps the focus could be on deterrence through the delay or denial of action. The main point here is that we recognize containing or disrupting these threats is a strategic imperative…and through deterrence activities in this space, we can successfully prevent these threats from spiraling beyond our strategic depth and ability to respond.

The formulation of the concept and definition of Comprehensive Deterrence centers on six conceptual lines of effort; 1) Expanding the Strategic Start Point, 2) Rethinking Strategic Power and Reframing Power Projection with two sub-components of Partner Based Power and Population Based Power, 3) Rethinking Asymmetric Approaches, 4) Rethinking the Strategic Nexus between the Land and Human Domains, 5) Broadening Considerations of Strategic Risk, and 6) Expanding Technology Solutions for the Human Domain.

> *Integrating the Comprehensive Deterrence lines of effort into existing Joint and Partner capabilities will serve to broaden strategic options for the U.S. and its Allies in the early 21st Century security environment.*

Expanding the Strategic Start Point.

The totality of the security challenges facing the U.S. and its Allies and the evolving character of these threats require an operational framework to win early to prevent these challenges from scaling beyond the Nation's strategic depth and ability to respond. An earlier "Strategic Start Point" requires new thinking about the traditional military Phase 0 and most importantly for this effort, new thinking about "Left of Phase 0" campaigns and operations to consider how we assess, sort, form a response and rescale security challenges to win early and preserve strategic depth and decision space for our National Leaders. The framework for this approach centers on a persistent forward presence in and around the people with deep knowledge of the environment to generate decisive situational awareness to better inform the strategic start point for campaigns where the "Win" occurs at a much lower level of National effort. An example of this approach is the U.S. effort to aid the El Salvadoran Government from 1980-1992, which cost approximately $6.0 billion, and consisted of 55 U.S. in-country advisors enabled by an out of country support element that assisted the government in the defeat of the communist backed Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) insurgents.

> *An expanded strategic start point demands a focus far left of the traditional JOPES Phase 0 construct to assess, sort, form a response, and rescale security threats earlier in their trajectory at a much lower level of effort and risk.*

Rethinking Strategic Power and Reframing Power Projection.

Traditional considerations of power projection generally center on long-range stand-off or expeditionary capabilities. Rethinking strategic power to address security challenges emanating from the left-side of the operational continuum considers power beyond traditional warfighting capabilities to examine the full range of National, Allied, Partner, and Population based power. Reframed power projection envisions leveraging bi-lateral capabilities through a focus on extant partner and population based power in and around the operational area in support of nuanced and persistent "Left of Phase 0" campaigns to mitigate threats early in their development and risk profile. In an era of persistent conflict and a political setting wary of large scale military intervention, the utilization of indigenous mass is a fundamental component of power projection.

Partner-Based Power. Partner based power is a vital component of Comprehensive Deterrence and centers on persistent presence to shape, develop, enable, and integrate indigenous governments, militaries, and security forces into a broader consideration of strategic power. It focuses on developing and leveraging host nation capabilities to produce extant power forward to achieve relative superiority over the physical, cognitive, and moral security of key populations and locations in areas we choose to campaign. Enabling partners to provide for the needs of the populace, ensure their own internal security, or to conduct operations either unilaterally or as part of an international coalition substantially increases the capability and capacity of the U.S. and its Allies to address global security challenges[22]. At its core, partner based power is centered on operating "with and through" foreign governments, militaries, security forces, and non-governmental organizations[23] to support local, regional, and global deterrence efforts. Operations in Colombia, El Salvador, and the Philippines offer contemporary examples of partner based power.

Population-Based Power. Population-based power is also a vital component of Comprehensive Deterrence and centers on persistent influence to shape, develop, enable, and integrate local perceptions, attitudes, behaviors, decision making processes, and actions into broader considerations of strategic power. Population-based power relies upon influence over time to address trends in international competition to achieve relative superiority over the physical, cognitive, and/or moral security of key populations in areas we choose to campaign. Population based power includes actions and/or messaging to encourage desired behavior in targeted populations, such as support to legitimate government, counter-radicalization, counter VEO recruitment, etc., or in semi-permissive or denied environments, leveraging select populations, groups, or individuals to facilitate moderation of adversarial regime objectives or policies, or in extreme cases, to facilitate regime change. Persistent influence requires a Whole of Government approach leveraging the Diplomatic, Informational, Military, and Economic (DIME) aspects of power to achieve desired behaviors and actions in indigenous populations in a manner that impacts the adversary's cost calculus. Population based power focuses on achieving desired behaviors in targeted populations, or in some cases operating "with and through" relevant persons and populations, both of which are designed to create indigenous mass forward to

support local, regional, and global deterrence efforts. The "Arab Spring" revolts offer a compelling example of the potential for leveraging population based power.

> *Reframed power projection leverages bi-lateral capabilities through a focus on extant partner and population based power in and around the operational area in support of nuanced and persistent "Left of Phase 0" campaigns to mitigate threats early in their development and risk profile. Persistent presence and influence that enables partner and population based power significantly increases the capability and capacity of the U.S. and its Allies to respond to global security challenges.*

Rethinking Asymmetric Approaches.

Joint Publication 1-02 defines asymmetry in military operations as "the application of dissimilar strategies, tactics, capabilities, and methods to circumvent or negate an opponent's strengths while exploiting his weaknesses."[24] "Asymmetric approaches on the left side of the operational continuum seek to optimize forces, capabilities, relationships and operational trust to achieve relative positional advantage in operational time and space to checkmate a competitor's strengths and exploit his weaknesses."[25] One form of asymmetry that warrants further examination is a revitalized variant of Political Warfare. During the Cold War, Political Warfare was a highly sophisticated approach to competing with the former Soviet Union in the contested space between peace and war. In the 21st Century, Political Warfare could serve to inform a thoroughly modern Whole of Government approach to achieve unity of purpose and effort through integrated strategies and cohesive policy options. Modern Political Warfare has the potential to become the centerpiece of deterrence activities on the left-side of the operational continuum, employing subtle, synergistic, and evolving "overt, covert, and clandestine" tools with an emphasis on coercive diplomatic and economic engagement, Security Sector Assistance (SSA), Influence activities, and diverse forms of Unconventional Warfare (UW).[26] An asymmetric approach to deterrence in the Gray Zone focuses on understanding an adversary's strategic objectives from their cultural and ideological perspective, and presenting multiple physical, cognitive, and moral dilemmas that alter their cost calculus, presenting risks or consequences that outweigh the perceived benefit.

> *Asymmetric approaches on the left side of the operational continuum optimize forces, capabilities, relationships and operational trust to achieve relative positional advantage in operational time and space to checkmate a competitor's strengths and exploit his weaknesses.*

Rethinking the Strategic Nexus between the Land and Human Domains.

There is an emerging recognition of the strategic nexus between the land and human domains. Economic, social, political, informational, and ideological trends in international competition are converging among State, Non-State actors, and others for the relative superiority over the physical, cognitive, moral security and adequate governance of populations and increasingly, in a hyper-connected world, the traditional concepts of sovereignty and identity.

The characterization of these trends and the inherent challenges they present is best described in USSOCOM's White Paper "*The Gray Zone*". "Some level of aggression is a key determinant in shifting a challenge from the white zone of peacetime competition into the Gray Zone. The U.S. seeks to address disputes through diplomacy, but has always reserved the right to take military action to defend its interests…The post-World War II international system was established by and to the advantage of the United States and the West. A slew of state and non-state actors now aggressively oppose this Western-constructed international order, but in ways that fall short of recognized thresholds of traditional war. In simple terms, we understand war and peace and how to act during these instances, but there is a vast range of conflicts between these well-understood poles where we struggle to respond effectively."[27] This speaks to the need for an integrated framework that can generate the inter / intra governmental approach this space demands.

Current Department of the Defense planning focuses primarily on campaigns designed for use on the right-side of the operational continuum with the focus of reducing and / or eliminating an adversary's physical forces. Campaigns, in the space between peace and war, occur primarily in the Human Domain with the operational focus being on the population.

Of note, as part of the Defense Innovation Initiative, there is renewed emphasis on research and development in support of leap-ahead technologies to underpin a Third Offset Strategy, a component of which will likely include an examination of the applicability of AirLand Battle Doctrine to meet current and emerging security challenges. As part of this review, it will be critical to consider how we maneuver physically and cognitively across the entire operational continuum with emphasis on how we maneuver in the population-centric Gray Zone. To that end, understanding the strategic nexus between the Land and Human domains will be critical in framing a follow-on version of AirLand Battle.

> *Strategic success in a complex and unpredictable security environment will require greater understanding of the Human Domain and will demand new ways of thinking about the application of power.*

Broadening Considerations of Strategic Risk.

The National Military Strategy identifies several risks, with note of the use of traditional military power against non-state threats, the growing importance and difficulty in controlling the escalation of conflict, and the need for a hedge against unpredictability.

The following assumptions frame the emerging concept include; 1) The operating environment will remain complex and disordered, 2) International norms will continue to constrain the application of force, 3) The totality and variety of the security challenges demand a relook at what constitutes strategic risk in the early 21st Century operating environment, 4) The fiscal reset will likely continue to reduce governmental resources which presents obvious challenges; however, it presents opportunities to consider new frameworks, new operational approaches and new capabilities, 5) The political will to conduct large scale military campaigns as the primary approach will likely continue to wane, and 6) The march of commercial technology and its militarization will likely accelerate in the coming years.

With regard to assumption 2), above, it is likely, in an increasingly hyper-connected world that can readily see and internalize the effects of war, that what is considered acceptable in the application of violence will have major implications for when and how the US and its Partners engage security challenges.

Reference assumption 3), above, the most telling example is highlighted in the foreword of the 2015 National Military Strategy where GEN Dempsey notes that "since the last military strategy was published in 2011, global disorder has significantly increased while some of our military comparative advantage has begun to erode. We now face multiple, simultaneous security challenges from traditional state actors and trans-regional networks of sub-state groups, all taking advantage of rapid technological change."[28]

Broadening considerations of strategic risk is a critical component of Comprehensive Deterrence requiring appropriate perspective, thinking, and models. Measuring strategic risk is a function of considering the following; 1) Positional Advantage: the degree to which we are able to assess, sort, form a response, and rescale challenges while preserving strategic depth and decision space, 2) Strategic Power: the degree to which adversaries are compelled to expend strategic power while we preserve ours, 3) Influence: the degree to which we retain influence, legitimacy, and prestige, 4) Governance: the extent to which we can set conditions for adequate governance, partner nation stability, and rule of law, 5) Access: the extent to which we are able to maintain physical, cognitive, and moral access to other countries and populations, and 6) Cumulative Effects: the degree to which we are able to mitigate the effects of multiple, simultaneous challenges that could potentially impact strategic depth and ability to respond.

We no longer have the luxury in time, resources, will, and norms to wait for security challenges to clearly present themselves as envisioned in the Joint Operations Planning (JOPES) construct. In the aggregate, Gray Zone security challenges pose a potential systemic risk to the U.S. and its Allies. The danger we face is failing to understand and to interdict the trajectory of these security challenges much earlier in their development.

Expanding Technology Solutions for the Human Domain.

Forward presence and proximity in and around populations is paramount to maintaining a competitive advantage in the Human Domain. To that end, technology based deterrence solutions have long been a key element in the national security calculus. During the Cold War deterrence required a new level of technological sophistication to counter the former Soviet Union and roll back the spread of Communism. Early on, the focus was on state-on-state conventional as well as nuclear capabilities enabled by a purposeful and robust investment in technology. In the 1970s, Secretary of Defense Harold Brown and Under Secretary William Perry implemented a plan to again emphasize advanced technology solutions to deter the former Soviet Union and gain technical superiority, but this time focused on stealth capabilities, precision strike weapons and improved command, control, communications, computers, intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance (C4ISR).[29] Historically referred to as the First and Second Offset Strategies, both approaches enabled the US to attain a sizable, albeit temporary, comparative advantage over our adversaries.

The contemporary and future operating environment requires technology solutions for the Human Domain. Social, political, informational, and economic trends in international competition are converging among state, non-state actors, and others for relative superiority over key populations. Such technologies to address these complex challenges may include enhanced cyber-enabled collection and analytical capabilities leveraging open source information and a robust reachback to subject matter expertise to conduct social media exploitation and analysis, human terrain mapping, sentiment analysis, trend analysis, pattern-of-life analysis, and predictive analysis.

Leveraging technology solutions, informed by the social sciences, is fundamental in furthering our understanding of how we maneuver and better compete in the Human domain.

Key Findings to Date.

As noted earlier, the framing of the emerging concept of Comprehensive Deterrence has been informed by USSOCOM's and USASOC's futures and wargaming platforms with emphasis on the senior leader insights garnered from USASOC's Modern Russian Unconventional Warfare Case Study Forum from March of this year. Several key findings have emerged that support the emerging concept of Comprehensive Deterrence. These findings are binned in terms of policy, thinking, Strategic / Operational, and Institutional. In terms of policy, there is a need to develop a Defense Planning Scenario that exercises the deterrence of war and our readiness, across a Whole of Government framework, to compete in this space. In terms of thinking, there is a need to update Political Warfare for the early 21st Century security environment. In the strategic / operational bin, there is a need to develop strategic indicators and warning for the non-standard campaigns that state and non-state actors are pursuing on the left-side of the operational continuum. In the institutional bin, there is a need to develop a cadre of DoS and DoD planners

for campaigning in the Gray Zone. Finally, there is a need to define what a "Win" or strategic success looks like in the world we face. To that end, USASOC has attempted in its White Paper, "Redefining the Win in a Complex World," to outline the characteristics of a win. We acknowledge we are not done on this effort. However, given the rapidly changing security environment in the early 21st Century, a win may be more accurately framed as the retention of positional advantage in terms of time, forces and trust to advance U.S. and Allied interests. [30]

Conclusion.

State and non-state actors are increasingly employing irregular and hybrid strategies on the left-side of the operational continuum to achieve their objectives. Russia's actions in Eastern Europe, China's activities in the South China Sea and the rise of the virtual caliphate are contemporary examples that suggest a need to relook deterrence thinking and what a "Win" looks like in the Gray Zone.

Comprehensive Deterrence considers deterrence across the entire operational continuum to confront low and high-end competitors in the early 21st Century security environment. It offers a way to address the escalation of many security challenges we face earlier in their development and risk profile. In doing so, it will broadens strategic options in terms of time, decision space and approaches for our National leaders.

> *We must possess the thinking, capabilities and readiness to "Win" in the Gray Zone.*

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[1] General Martin Dempsey, interview by Chris Wallace, Fox News Sunday, Fox News, January 11, 2015, http://www.foxnews.com/on-air/fox-news-sunday-chris-wallace/2015/01/11/gen-dempsey-reacts-paris-attacks-sens-hoeven-coons-talk-keystone-showdown.

[2] *National Security Strategy of the United States* (Washington, DC: The White House, 2015), 4-5.

[3] *National Security Strategy of the United States* (Washington, DC: The White House, 2015), 21.

[4] *The National Military Strategy of the United States of America,* Washington D.C.: Chairman Joint Chief of Staff., 2015, i.

[5] *The National Military Strategy of the United States of America,* Washington D.C.: Chairman Joint Chief of Staff., 2015, 5.

[6] Sebastian Gorka, *Army Special Operations Forces Operating Concept Strategic Setting Paper*, Virginia Tech Applied Research Corporation and Threat Knowledge Group, September 2013, 7-8. See also Sebastian Gorka and David Kilcullen, "An Actor-centric Theory of War: Understanding the Difference Between COIN and Counterinsurgency," *Joint Force Quarterly* 60 (1st Quarter 2011), 14-18.

[7] National Intelligence Council, *Global Trends 2030: Alternative Worlds* (Washington D.C.: U.S Government Printing Office, December 2012), ii. The Megatrends are individual empowerment, diffusion of power, demographic patterns, and food, water, energy nexus.

[8] Ashton Carter and William Perry, Preventive Defense: A New Security Strategy for America (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institute, 1999), 14.

[9] Zbigniew Brzezinski, *Strategic Vision: America and the Crisis of Global Power*, New York: Basic Books, 2013, 1.

[10] U.S. Special Operations Command, "The Gray Zone" White Paper (09 Sept 2015), 4.

[11] Melvin Laird, Secretary of Defense, "National Security Strategy of Realistic Deterrence," 17 February 1972, 21.

[12] Ibid, 2.

[13] *National Security Strategy of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: The White House, 1987), 21.

[14] *National Security Strategy of the United States* (Washington D.C.: The White House, 1997), 14-15.

[15] *National Security Strategy of the United States* (Washington D.C.: The White House, 2002), 15.

[16] JP 3-0, *Joint Operations*, 11 August 2011, GL-9.

[17] *The National Military Strategy of the United States of America,* Washington D.C.: Chairman Joint Chief of Staff.*,* 2015, i.

[18] The term "deterrence" throughout "Preventive Defense" refers to "traditional" concepts of deterrence, i.e. state on state, high end conventional or nuclear deterrence.

[19] Ashton Carter and William Perry, Preventive Defense: A New Security Strategy for America (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institute, 1999), 14.

[20] The term "deterrence" throughout "Preventive Defense" refers to "traditional" concepts of deterrence, i.e. state on state, high end conventional or nuclear deterrence.

[21] Ashton Carter and William Perry, Preventive Defense: A New Security Strategy for America (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institute, 1999), 18.

[22] Lt.Gen Charles T. Cleveland and Lt. Col Stuart L. Farus, "A Global Landpower Network Could Be the Ultimate Anti-Network," *Army*, August 2014, 55-56.

[23] The U.S. Army defines mass as: "Concentrate the effects of combat power at the decisive place and time." FM 1-02, *Operational Terms and Graphics*, September 2004, 1-121.

[24] Joint Publication 1-02, DOD Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms 08 November 2010, as amended through 15 November 2014, http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/dod_dictionary/index.html.

[25] "SOF's Role in Comprehensive Deterrence." Lecture, Combined USSOCOM J5/USASOC G9 Deep Dive Draft Briefing Notes from Mr. Miller, USSOCOM J5 and Mr. Warburg, USASOC G9, MacDill, AFB, February 26, 2015.

[26] U.S. Army Special Operations Command, "Support to Political Warfare" White Paper (29 April 2015), 11.

[27] U.S. Special Operations Command, "The Gray Zone" White Paper (09 Sept 2015), 3.

[28] *The National Military Strategy of the United States of America,* Washington D.C.: Chairman Joint Chief of Staff.*,* 2015, i.

[29] Robert Martinage, "Toward a New Offset Strategy: Exploiting U.S. Long-Term Advantage to Restore U.S. Global Power Projection Capability," (PowerPoint Presentation), Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments, 2014, 5.

[30] "Redefining the Win." United States Army Special Operations Command G9 White Paper, 06 January 2105.

Page for Reader Notes / Comments

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