On the Cover
The New Threat:
Terrorists groups like ISIS are dominating headlines around the globe. To fight these groups, it is important to understand them. In this issue, we take a close look at two groups.


ARTICLES

09 UW: Putting It All Together
14 The Emergence of the Elite Arm of al-Qaeda: The Khorsan Group
16 The Genesis of ISIS
22 Disruption: Lessons of Application for Unconventional Warfare
25 Strategic Application of Special Warfare In Cyberspace

DEPARTMENTS

04 From the Commandant
05 Updates
27 Career Notes
29 Equipment
30 Fitness
31 Book Review
MISSION: The U.S. Army John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center and School, the U.S. Army's Special Operations Center of Excellence, trains, educates, develops and manages world-class Civil Affairs, Psychological Operations and Special Forces warriors and leaders in order to provide the Army special operations forces regiments with professionally trained, highly educated, innovative and adaptive operators.

VISION: Professionalism starts here. We are an adaptive institution characterized by agility, collaboration, accountability and integrity. We promote life-long learning and transformation. We are THE Special Operations Center of Learning whose credibility in producing the world's finest special operators is recognized and sustained by every single member of our three regiments.

SUBMISSIONS

Special Warfare welcomes submissions of scholarly, independent research from members of the armed forces, security policy-makers and -shapers, defense analysts, academic specialists and civilians from the United States and abroad.

Manuscripts should be 2,500 to 3,000 words in length. Include a cover letter. Submit a complete biography with author contact information (i.e., complete mailing address, telephone, fax, e-mail address).


Submit graphics, tables and charts with source references in separate files from the manuscript (no embedded graphics). Special Warfare accepts only high-resolution (300 dpi or greater) digital photos; be sure to include a caption and photographer's credit. Do not send photos within PowerPoint slides. Prints are acceptable. Photos will be returned, if possible.

All submissions will be reviewed in a timely manner. Special Warfare reserves the right to edit all contributions. Special Warfare will attempt to afford authors an opportunity to review the final edited version; requests for changes must be received by the given deadline.

Articles that require security clearance should be cleared by the author's chain of command prior to submission. A memo of the security clearance should be forwarded with article. If the article talks about a specific TSOC, the article will be forwarded to the TSOC for clearance. No payment or honorarium is authorized for publication of articles. Material appearing in Special Warfare is considered to be in the public domain and is not protected by copyright unless it is accompanied by the author's copyright notice. Published works may be reprinted, except where copyrighted, provided credit is given to Special Warfare and the authors.
More than 52 years ago, President John F. Kennedy, while addressing the 1962 graduating class at the U.S. Military Academy, first spoke of a “new” type of warfare. In his speech, he noted, “Your responsibilities may involve the command of more traditional forces, but in less traditional roles... You may hold a position of command with our Special Forces, forces which are too unconventional to be called conventional, forces which are growing in number and importance and significance.” In line with Kennedy’s comments, we must continue to study today’s evolving threat, and to increase our effectiveness, we must continue to study unconventional warfare and to evolve our tactics, techniques and procedures.

In this edition of Special Warfare, Master Sgt. Edward Ubinas, of the 3rd Special Forces Group (Airborne) has put together an unconventional warfare primer that will stimulate the unconventional warfare thoughts of our readers.

Erin McQuagge and Andrew Jamal, two former Soldiers, take a look at two of the deadliest terrorist groups that have evolved from al-Qaeda: The Khorasan Group is a less well known, but deadly cell that has evolved from al-Qaeda and serves as an elite arm of al-Qaeda with the sole purpose of attacking targets overseas; and the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant, whose bloody march through Iraq and Syria continues to dominate the headlines.

Finally, Lt. Col. Pat Duggan writes about the need for the U.S. to develop cyber-enabled special warfare as an emerging tool to mobilize global networks, decelerate eroding cyber-technology superiority and most importantly, to offer new strategic tools for our country.

Major General Eric P. Wendt
Special Forces Honors Veterans of Son Tay Raid

Nearly 44 years ago, 50 U.S. Special Forces Soldiers took part in a military operation to raid a Vietnamese prison and rescue American prisoners of war. Each volunteered to take part in a secret mission, each hand-picked by Col. Arthur “Bull” Simons to be a part of Special Forces history, in the Son Tay Raid.

Members of the team gathered for their 44th anniversary reunion in early October 2014, in Kansas City, Kan., where they were honored during pre-race ceremonies of the NASCAR Hollywood Casino 400 held at Kansas Speedway. The ceremony was the culmination of weekend activities honoring the veterans of the raid.

In November 1970, more than 500 Soldiers showed up for Simons’ initial call for volunteers. The group was briefed that they had a secret mission, and there was a 50-50 chance they would not come back. Interviews followed and a select few made the final cuts to be a part of the mission.

The mission was a well-orchestrated plan that blended air, sea and land capabilities. After several months of training, rehearsing and planning for the raid, it was time to take action. As the group loaded cargo and prepped for the final movement, their minds were focused on the mission.

“We knew we were going in after guys who had been there for six or seven years,” said Terry Buckler, one of the veterans who took part in the raid.

While the objective of the raid was to rescue POWs at the Son Tay Prison, when U.S. forces landed and infiltrated the camp they found that the POWs had been moved. Buckler described the emotion that came over the group,

“Disappointment, what happened — where did we go wrong?”

Buckler said that while the team was disappointed that the raid failed to rescue the prisoners, he later found out the raid was successful in helping the POWs.

“We really scared the Vietnamese — they consolidated all of their prisoners, morale improved and those who were sick got healthy,” said Son Tay Raid veteran John Gargus, adding, “Tactically, we were successful.”

Some of the POWs knew right away that Son Tay was being attacked, they were close enough to hear the helicopters flying overhead. At that time, the Son Tay Raid was the biggest nighttime battle over North Vietnam.

The Combined Arms Center Special Operations Cell at the Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth worked with the veterans on several of the reunion activities. Veterans were able to view a static display by Soldiers from the U.S. Army Special Operations Command’s 5th Special Forces Group (Airborne), who interacted with the Vietnam veterans and POWs, briefing them on the latest technology and weaponry for today’s Special Forces teams.

Even after 44 years, the veterans were sharp on tactics and weaponry. Students from the college were given the opportunity to participate in open-forum discussions asking questions about the raid, comparing today’s technology with what was available during the Vietnam War.

The Hollywood Casino 400 pre-race activities at the Kansas Speedway included a special tribute to the veterans. The USASOC command parachute team, the Black Daggers, conducted a combat equipment jump demonstration in honor of the veterans. The overall intent of the weekend activities was to honor the Vietnam veterans and thank them for their service to our country.

The reunion allowed the veterans to reconnect with each other, talk, share stories, bond and to finally get recognition of the mission. — USASOC Public Affairs Office.

N.C. Guard activates third SOF unit

The North Carolina Army National Guard welcomed its newest unit of quiet professionals during an activation ceremony on Oct. 18 at the Claude T. Bowers Military Center.

The Special Operations Detachment, which supports and augments U.S. Special Operations Command elements as required, adds another total Army capability to the North Carolina Guard’s ready units throughout the state.

“The addition of the SOD, coupled with the two Special Forces companies currently in place and in close proximity to Fort Bragg … means North Carolina now has the ability to accomplish worldwide missions,” said Army Brig. Gen. John Byrd, the NCNG’s Assistant Adjutant General for Domestic Operations. Fort Bragg, long known as the “Home of the U.S. Army’s Airborne and Special Operations Forces,” is home to the U.S. Army Special Operations Command and Joint Special Operations Command, and is located one hour south of Raleigh.

The SOD’s mission is to provide planning and mission support to special operations forces.

U.S. special operations personnel, known as quiet professionals for their habit of keeping out of the limelight, include Army Special Forces, Rangers, Civil Affairs and Psychological Operations; Navy SEALs, Air Force combat controllers and pararescue specialists and U.S. Marine Corps special operators.

“SOD personnel will provide the special operations community a broad and diverse perspective when planning and executing missions due to their experiences and knowledge from the civilian sector,” said Army Col. Sean Corrigan, the JSOC Chief of Staff, following the activation ceremony. — by Sgt. 1st Class Craig Norton, 382nd Public Affairs Detachment.
McBroom and Rhyne were awarded the Distinguished Intelligence Cross, the highest award given by the CIA. His military awards and decorations include the Soldiers Medal for Heroism, Bronze Star Medal with “V” device with one oak-leaf cluster, Air Medal, Meritorious Service Medal, Army Commendation Medal with one oak-leaf cluster, Good Conduct Medal, National Defense Service Medal, Armed Forces Expeditionary Medal, Vietnam Service Medal with four bronze service stars, Armed Forces Reserve Medal, Vietnam Campaign Medal, Vietnam Cross of Gallantry with Palm, Vietnam Cross of Gallantry with bronze star, Special Forces Tab, Combat Infantryman Badge, Master Parachutist Badge, Senior Army Aviator Badge and Master Vietnam Jump Wings.

Sgt. 1st Class Melvin Morris joined the 45th Infantry Division, Oklahoma National Guard in 1959, volunteering for active duty as a member of the Special Forces in 1961. Sgt. 1st Class Morris’ military career includes two deployments to Vietnam, working with the Mobile Strike Force (MIKE). During his first tour, he was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross for his valorous actions near Chi Lang on Sept. 17, 1969. While commanding the 3rd Company, 3rd Bn., IV Mobile Strike Force, then-Staff Sgt. Morris led an advance across enemy lines to retrieve a fallen comrade and single-handedly destroyed an enemy force that was entrenched in a series of bunkers piling down his battalion. Staff Sgt. Morris was shot three times as he ran back toward friendly lines with the American casualties, but did not stop until he reached safety. Morris was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross in April 1970 for extraordinary heroism during the battle. After receiving the award, he returned to Vietnam for his second tour. His Distinguished Service Cross was upgraded to a Medal of Honor in 2014. Morris remained with Special Forces, serving in various assignments until 1982. In May 1985, he retired at Fort Hood, Texas. His awards include the Medal of Honor, the Distinguished Service Cross, the Bronze Star Medal with “V” Device for Valor and one oak-leaf cluster, Meritorious Service Medal, Air Medal, the Army Commendation Medal, the Army Good Conduct Medal Silver with one bronze service stars, National Defense Service Medal, Armed Forces Expeditionary Medal, the Vietnam Service Medal with one campaign star, the Vietnam Cross of Gallantry with Palm, Republic of Vietnam Campaign Medal with “60” device and the Republic of Vietnam Civil Actions Honor Medal, First Class. He also earned the Combat Infantryman Badge, Master Parachutist Badge, Expert Marksmanship Badge with Rifle Bar, the Noncommissioned Officer Professional Development Ribbon with Numerals “3,” “2,” Army Service Ribbon, Overseas Service Ribbon with Numerals “4,” Special Forces Tab and the Vietnamese Parachutist Badge.

Capt. Robert Asti entered the U.S. Army in April 1942. Following a brief assignment to the 731st Field Artillery Battalion, he transferred to the Military Intelligence Branch, which led to a career as a Propaganda Officer with the 5th Mobile Broadcast Company, which was responsible for providing tactical PSYWAR support for the Ninth Army, the French First Army and for the Psychological Warfare Division, Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Force. After the war, the 5th MRBC formed the cell for what would become the Information Control Detachment, which controlled publication of German language newspapers, radio broadcasting, movies, music and entertainment throughout the American Zone of Occupation. Asti was discharged in April 1946, and was recalled to active duty in 1950 “for the specific purpose of starting a Psychological Warfare School at Fort Riley, Kan.”

In October 1951, Capt. Asti received orders to train with the International Broadcasting Division, Department of State, for six months. Asti’s professionalism and competency resulted in his receiving orders to report to the 3240th ASU, Psychological Warfare Center, where he worked for the next five months. Upon return to civilian life, he pursued a successful legal career. Asti passed away on Oct. 16, 2005.

Capt. Alfred J. de Grazia entered the Army on Sept. 4, 1942, and as later assigned to the 2nd Signal Radio Service Section (Psychological Warfare Unit) at Camp Ritchie, Md., which along with the 1st Signal Radio Service Section fell under the command of the Office of Strategic Services. 2nd Lt. de Grazia, along with a handful of other officers, organized the 1st Mobile Radio Broadcasting Company, which was formally activated on April 19, 1943. Consisting of three operational sections and a headquarters element, the 1st MRBC was the U.S. Army’s first self-contained tactical PSYWAR unit, later providing the organizational prototype and operational lessons for four additional MRBCs during World War II.

The 1st MRBC deployed to North Africa in May 1943 in support of the Psychological Warfare Branch, Allied Force Headquarters. For the next two years, the MRBC provided PSYWAR support for the 15th Army Group, and the Fifth, Seventh and Eighth Armies. In the course of the war, de Grazia served as a Propaganda Analyst Officer and in various leadership positions with the 1st MRBC and later Seventh Army’s Psychological Warfare Combat Team. His awards and decorations include a Bronze Star Medal, Croix de Guerre, the European-African-Middle Eastern Campaign Medal with one Silver Battle Star, two Bronze Battle Stars and the Bronze Service Arrowhead, as well as four overseas service bars. He earned campaign participation credit for Sicily, Naples-Foggia, Rome-Arno, Southern France, Rhineland and Central Europe. De Grazia left active service on Jan. 18, 1946. In December 2013, the French government awarded him the Chevalier de la Legion d’Honneur for his lifelong accomplishments.

Mr. Doug Elwell began a 28-year association with the U.S. Army Psychological Operations Units in 1983, working as a project engineer for the design and fielding of PSYOP broadcasting equipment. As a civilian, Mr. Elwell was deployed to Operation Urgent Fury (Grenada) and to Operation Desert Shield (Saudi Arabia), tasked to maintain PSYOP equipment. In 1992, he became a Civilian Broadcast Technical Adviser with the 4th PSYOP Group in the PSYOP Dissemination Battalion. Over the next several years, he established and supervised the Maintenance Support Team responsible for building PSYOP-centric non-program mission-required commercial radio and television broadcast systems.

He also trained Soldiers in the operation and maintenance of these systems. Mr. Elwell, as the subject-matter expert, wrote the technical requirements documents for several U.S. Special Operations Command PSYOP Program systems, conveyed technical design guidance to the Corps of Engineers for construction of the Media Operations Complex and provided technical guidance to higher commands, government agencies and foreign nations in support of PSYOP operations worldwide. He deployed in support of Operation Uphold Democracy, Operation Joint Endeavor, Operation Enduring Freedom-Afghanistan and Operation Iraqi Freedom. Mr. Elwell retired on June 30, 2011. Mr. Elwell’s decorations and awards include the Navy Good Conduct Medal and the National Defense Service Medal. Department of the Army awards include the Armed Forces Civilian Service Medal, the Global War on Terrorism Civilian Service Medal, the Civilian Award for Humanitarian Service, the Southwest Asia Civilian Service Medal, Army Achievement Medal for Civilian Service, Army Commander’s Award for Civilian Service with laurel leaf, Army Superior Civilian Service Award and the Army Meritorious Civilian Service Award. He received his plank-holder certificate as Regimental Piper in the PSYOP Regiment in 1998, was designated Honorary 1st Piper of the 1st SF Regiment in 1999, was inducted as an Honorary Member of the PSYOP Regiment in 2011 and was made Honorary plank-holder of the 4th Military Information Support Group in 2013.

Master Sgt. Timothy L. Hill served in the U.S. Army for 22 years working in various positions within the Psychological Operations Community. During Operation Just Cause, he served as a key player in the development of the PSYOP campaign during both engagement and stabilization. Hill served in first sergeant billets throughout the PSYOP Command. Master Sgt. Hill was hand-picked by the Joint Special Operations Command to staff the first-ever 37F position responsible for the organization and daily synchronization of high-end information-related capabilities by various joint and interagency activities. His last assignment prior to retirement was as Operations Coordinator, Defense Attaché Office, United States Embassy, Mexico City, Mexico. In 2004, he was hired as a Psychological Operations Plans Analyst in the Plans and Program Branch of the United States Special Operations Command’s Joint Psychological Operations Support Element, responsible for all USSOCOM PSYOP support to the U.S. European Command. In 2005, he became USSOCOM’s Deputy Director of the Joint Psychological Operations Support Element-National Capital Region. In 2007, he returned to Tampa to assume duties as the Deputy Director of the Joint Psychological Operations Support Element, now the Joint Military Information Support Command, where he oversaw the spend plan of a $100 million annual budget, guided JMISC interaction with various interagency partners and ensured execution of the JMISC director’s guidance to the unit.

In 2011, Mr. Hill returned to Fort Bragg to serve as USSOCOM’s liaison to the newly stood up Military Information Special Operations Command and the new 8th MISG. He is now the Vice Chief of Staff, 1st Special Forces Command (Airborne) (Provisional).
Night Stalkers receive Soldier’s Medal

Two 160th Special Operations Aviation Regiment (Airborne) Soldiers were presented Soldier’s Medals on Oct. 22 for their heroism and selfless acts that saved the lives of three individuals.


“We are honored to be able to recognize these types of heroics and brave actions within our formation,” Jackson said. “Thank you again for all you do for us on a daily basis.”

The Soldier’s Medal was established by Congress on July 2, 1926 and is presented to any person of the Armed Forces who performs an act of heroism not involving actual conflict with the enemy.

On June 9, 2013, Maj. Hill and his family were vacationing in Gulf Shores, Ala., when he spotted two individuals who were struggling in the water and had been caught in the ocean undertow.

With complete disregard for his own safety, Maj. Hill swam 50 yards through the strong currents until he was able to reach the first swimmer, an 8-year-old boy, who had submerged several feet below the water’s surface. Hill was able to secure the child and safely bring him to shore.

Hill immediately reentered the water in an attempt to rescue the boy’s father, but was tragically unable to save him due to the strong currents.

“It feels good to know you did something that made a positive difference in somebody else’s life,” Hill said. “The event itself still seems surreal. Everything felt like it was on auto-pilot. I reacted the way I’ve always been taught, both in the military and by my upbringing.”

Chief Warrant Officer 2 Burdge and Staff Sgt. Luke Stahtley were returning from temporary duty in Ohio on July 25, 2013 when they passed a vehicle that had been in an accident and was burning on the side of the road.

They immediately turned the vehicle around and responded to the scene of the accident. Completely disregarding the fire and toxic fumes that were emitted from the automobile, they pulled both passengers from the vehicle, saving their lives.

“We have to look out for each other,” said Burdge. “There was no doubt or hesitation in our minds with what had to be done.”

Hill and Burdge were honored by the award, expressing that they were just doing what they thought was right, and that they did not think about their actions at the time.

Regiments Induct Distinguished and Honorary Members

The majority of his service was with the storied Special Forces Green Berets. While serving with the Green Berets, Wilson oversaw training at the U.S. Army Special Warfare School at Fort Bragg, completing the foundational work on doctrine for small wars, insurgency and counterinsurgency. In 1961 he was named the Deputy Assistant to the Secretary of Defense for Special Operations, playing a key role in the Cuban Missile Crisis in October 1962. In 1967, he returned to Special Forces, serving as the commander of the 6th Special Forces Group (Airborne) and later as the Assistant Commandant of the U.S. Army John F. Kennedy Institute for Military Assistance, now the U.S. Army John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center and School.

Caryn Bain was inducted as an Honorary Member of the Psychological Operations Regiment. Bain retired in February 2014 as the C4 Chief, Enterprise Network Division, United States Special Operations Command, MacDill Air Force Base, Fla. In 1995, Mrs. Bain arrived at the U.S. Special Operations Command at MacDill Air Force Base, where she expanded her career in acquisition and program management, taking a position as a program analyst in the Special Operations Research, Development and Acquisition Center’s Financial Division. In 1996, she took a position with the Special Operations Acquisition and Logistic’s Center’s Policy Division. In 2000, she accepted a position in the Program Executive Officer for Information and Intelligence Systems as the deputy program manager for the Special Operations Tactical Video System and the Reconnaissance, Surveillance, Targeting and Acquisition System. From 2002 to 2009, she acted as the Program Technical Transition Manager for the six-year Psychological Operations Global Reach Advanced Concept Technology Demonstration program. Once that was completed, she became the deputy program manager for the Media Production Center under the Program Manager for Psychological Operations, which later transitioned to the Program Manager for Command, Control, Communications, Computers and Psychological Operations. In 2010, she was promoted to as the Division Chief for the Military Information Support to Operations and Civil Affairs Systems. On Oct. 1, 2012, she became the PEO, C4, Chief, Enterprise Networks Division, where she worked until her retirement.

On Wednesday, Nov. 5, Lt. Gen. Sam Wilson, U.S. Army, Retired, was inducted as a Distinguished Member of the Special Forces Regiment during a ceremony at the Wilson Center for Leadership on the campus of Hampden-Sydney College. Lt. Gen. Charles Cleveland conducted the induction ceremony.

Wilson, a resident of Farmville, Va., is President Emeritus of Hampden-Sydney College. He joined the faculty after a completing an impressive military career. During his time in the U.S. Army, Wilson fought behind Japanese lines in Burma during World War II and conducted clandestine intelligence, covert propaganda and paramilitary operations with the CIA during the Cold War.
Unconventional warfare as a viable method of war has vexed U.S. policymakers, national security strategists and Department of Defense practitioners alike since its inception. From an adversarial movement perspective, resorting to the use of UW is an expression of weakness born of the inability to compete as a peer in a force-on-force contest. From a United States government sponsorship point of view, UW provides options when the commitment of conventional forces is not feasible due to political constraints, or cost prohibitive in terms of lives and resources.

One of the salient obstacles to the implementation of UW in today’s political environment is the definition itself. The language is provocative and subject to parochial interpretation, arousing distrust from interagency stakeholders who believe the solutions offered are excessive or may perceive they have equities to protect.

To successfully implement UW in the context of steady state pre-crisis conditions requires operations carried out far enough in advance so that they are of operational value when crisis conditions emerge and a decision to intervene is made. These operations are the initial phase of any geographic combatant commander’s preparations against emerging threats and entail “left of the beginning” Phase O, preparation-of-the-environment activities. Using the paradigm of prevent, shape and win, GCC’s develop theater campaign plans that implement UW lines of effort to address regional and global threats. The operational approach to develop and implement a UW plan, and its PE requirements, are what require additional context.

**What is UW?**

The current definition of UW as defined by JP 1-02 is, “activities conducted to enable a resistance movement or insurgency to coerce, disrupt or overthrow a government or occupying power by operating through or with an underground, auxiliary and guerrilla force in a denied area.”

There are three broad phases to UW: (1) inchoate, (2) militarization and (3) transition. Within the second phase, guerrilla warfare is the obvious manifestation of militarization. Guerrilla warfare is comprised of seven stages, consisting of: preparation, initial contact, infiltration, organization, build-up, employment and demobilization.

UW movements are divided into two categories: resistance or insurgency. These are often conflated as being one and the same — they are not. A resistance, or a member of a resistance, can be defined as a movement or an individual who opposes an invasion or an occupying force. The emphasis here is on expelling an alien entity, and the response is typically an immediate one, though not well organized, but rather, an instinctive, visceral reaction to defend home and homeland. This form of UW has been described as patriotic partisan resistance.

An insurgency or revolutionary movement is characterized differently. The reaction is not immediate; it is deliberately organized and conspiratorial in nature; shared in task and purpose by deep-rooted grievances and a sense of relative deprivation, compelled into action by a lack of redress from the existing political establishment and is the raison d’être of the movement. “The fundamental difference between a patriotic partisan resistance and a revolutionary guerrilla movement is that the first usually lacks the ideological content that always distinguishes the second. A resistance is characterized by the quality of...
When is UW appropriate?

Warfare is generally divided into three basic types, with each having its inherent political restrictions and predicated on a direct application of combat power. The first is total war. Total war is an all-out conflict between state actors where each of the involved belligerents make an affirmatively effort to destroy the other through all available means at its disposal, to include nuclear weapons. This is the most destructive and collaterally damaging form of warfare. The second type is general war, which is an armed struggle between nation states where each belligerent attempts to destroy or defeat the other but is not prepared to use all of its resources, e.g., nuclear weapons, to achieve that end. The third is limited war, which can be described as each participant having limited objectives and using restrained resources and methods to achieve its objectives.

Within the three types of warfare are a myriad of forms to wage war, the primary one germane to an indirect application of combat power is irregular warfare, which is defined as “a violent struggle among state and non-state actors for legitimacy and influence over the relevant populations. IW favors indirect and asymmetric approaches, though it may employ the full range of military and other capabilities, in order to erode an adversary’s power, influence and will.” UW is a subset of IW and is nested in its definition and intent. Under the umbrella of IW, other derivations of population-centric conflicts are also included, e.g., foreign internal defense, counterinsurgency, etc.

With an aversion to excessive casualties, collateral damage and weariness for the deployments of large conventional maneuver elements, the trend for the use of force nowadays is one predicated on an indirect approach to problem solving. The conditions associated with limited war are those in which UW will most likely be encountered, however, UW has utility in all types of warfare given an understanding of the impetus and characterization of each individual conflict.

Challenges exist in today’s world studying and assessing susceptibilities, motivations and allegiances of movements in emerging revolutionary-centric conflicts. From a movement perspective, disaffected, disenfranchised and marginalized individuals and population groups may take part in anti-establishment/government demonstrations and other transient manifestations of dissatisfaction, but stop short of actively taking up arms to displace an incumbent government or political system. This distinguishes reformists from revolutionaries. Reformists are interested in changing the existing process whereas revolutionaries are interested in substantially altering or eliminating the existing system and instituting one aligned with their beliefs. Alleviation by movements to revolutionary causes is more deeply rooted than to reformist grievances. Conversely from a U.S. sponsorship standpoint, penetrating ethnically, culturally and ideologically homogenous societies — in essence, denied areas — in order to conduct UW will be more difficult than allying with a potential resistance group whose motivations are primarily patriotism. To the uninitiated these differences are reduced to esoteric considerations and dismissed, to the properly indoctrinated, these are essential components to correctly framing an ill-structured problem and implementing a viable solution.

There are a myriad of potential adversaries the United States and its allies may have to contend with: North Korea, Syria, China, Russia, etc. State actor threats with revolutionary ideologies require solutions achieved at a global/theater level due to their inherent qualities to propagate the
movement, and in turn, foment regional malignant behavior, or “creeping malevolence.” Iran is an example of a regional hegemon incrementally expanding its influence within and without Southwest Asia via Hezbollah and IRGC proxies. These are primarily, from a U.S. Government sponsorship perspective, insurgencies against closed societies with monolithic political establishments that will have to be penetrated in order to be defeated. Potential future patriotic resistance movements will also have to be planned for as is occurring currently in the Ukraine against Russia, and potentially Taiwan, South Korea, Japan and other countries the U.S. has treaty obligations or vested national security interests.

Developing a Plan

As a result of the 1958 Department of Defense Reorganization Act and the Goldwater-Nichols Defense reorganization of 1986, a geographically aligned unified command system was established, and later refined, to better focus DoD personnel and resources and to curtail the power of the individual services to act independently. Under those reorganization efforts, the respective ground combatant commanders are responsible for all military activity that occurs in their assigned areas of responsibility. GCCs guided by the National Security Strategy/National Military Strategy, biennial Unified Command Plan guidance, and in regular consultation with the Combined Joint Chiefs of Staff, identify and prioritize likely adversarial to anticipate contingencies well in advance of crisis conditions in order to develop appropriate plans.

Using the methodology prevent, shape and win, GCCs implement a theater security cooperation plan in order to achieve security objectives in pre-crisis steady-state conditions. The TSCP is a peacetime bilateral collaboration venue primarily between the GCC, the sub-unified theater special operations commands, the U.S. Department of State and partner-nation counterparts enabled through intermediate military objectives and executed in their respective AORs. The military-to-military benefits and foreign policy value of the TSCP are achieved through persistent engagements, which as a result of habitual associations inculcate a sense of dependence on U.S. doctrine, processes, systems, resources and good will. These cooperation events are ongoing and are positive motivational influences that have preemptive value. Examples are joint combined exchange training events, joint planning assistance teams, small unit exchanges, subject-matter exchange events, etc. Along with those activities are the funding and authorities; Major Force Program-2, MFP-11, Traditional Combatant Command Activities, Developing Country Combined Exercise Program, etc., that enable those venues. These events also have value as demonstrations of force. The ability to project and mass military resources in an expeditionary manner anywhere on the globe is a credible deterrent to any potential state actor opponent. Examples of these are: Cobra Gold, Bright Star, Foal Eagle, Talisman Saber, etc.

Not all nations will respond favorably to bilateral cooperative venues and some will engage in behavior counter to regional or U.S. interests based on self-promotion or external influences. Some threats are not immediately apparent due to the incipient stage of their development or the conspiratorial nature of their activities. GCC/theater special operations command analytical efforts, strive to predict which countries will degrade — incrementally (Venezuela) or spontaneously (Ukraine) — to the point of becoming a crisis prompting the United States to respond.

Once conditions requiring a response have been reached, a decision is made to prepare the environment (shape) in anticipation of crisis conditions. A PE plan is developed and is initiated subsequent to a Secretary of Defense/Joint Chiefs of Staff issued execution order. This PE plan can be developed as an annex to an existing GCC CONPLAN. The PE EXORD is the basis for granting permissions to the force provider executing the plan in the form of an operations order.

PE plan articulated tasks as authorized in the execution order drive PE lines of effort; development of infrastructure and mechanisms by specialized organizations operating out of appropriate platforms. Individuals and or teams working out of designated platforms, execute missions nested in and serving a theater PE plan. To that end, any benefit derived by the U.S. country team is incidental to the main effort; achieving effects at the theater level. These are two of the principal flaws to some the previously initiated preparation of the environment programs: Unfocused, open ended PE activities that attempt to achieve results at the country team (tactical) level as opposed to theater (operational) level effects. The aggregate of individual dispositions primarily serving country team taskings with little to no operational value does not equate to a cogent theater plan.

It is important to understand that undertaking PE activities is not executing unconventional warfare. UW and PE are mutually complementing, but PE is not limited exclusively to supporting UW lines of operation. PE operations should be defined by the effects achieved and the primary beneficiary of those effects, as opposed solely to who is executing the tasks, e.g. surrogates. Those activities can serve CON-
PLAN/OPLAN objectives, UW branches or sequels, or a standalone UW line of operation. These operations can occur sequentially or simultaneously, depending on how a commander designs, understands, visualizes, describes his overall campaign or is constrained from higher.

Having invested in the PE process early in the shape phase, and now having developed mechanisms in place, the GCC/TSOC has options to facilitate follow-on success once a military intervention is warranted. These interventions now progress into the realm of covert/overt bilateral operations to include UW, and, if required, conventional maneuver element combat operations. Hybrid plans that synthesize advantageous elements of both a clandestine unilateral and a covert/overt bilateral UW operations. These are expressed primarily as engaging targets of opportunity, confidence targets and progressively expanding the influence of the movement. The next method is disruption. Disruption should be understood and expressed as engaging threat or adversary centers of gravities, defined principally as critical vulnerabilities from which an opponent derives its operational strength. These COGs are tangible, physical components such as key infrastructure, as well as abstract, intangibles such as, propagating themes, eroding opponent political will, etc.

The final defeat mechanism in a UW movement is the overthrow of a seated government or occupying power. Given all the political vagaries and the pejorative connotations associated with the concept of forcibly displacing an installed government, this is the most vexing option when considered as an response to a state actor who may not pose a clear and present danger at the time when USG sponsorship efforts are being made to obtain consensus for that eventuality. It is on this aspect of the UW continuum where the majority of inter-agency contention and debate will transpire. Substitution of the word “overthrow” with “defeat” may suffice to make the entire equation a palatable solution to all stakeholders. In this manner “overthrow” should be considered a component subordinate to the end state of the defeat mechanism.

“Activities conducted to enable a resistance movement or insurgency to coerce, disrupt or defeat a government or occupying power by operating through or with an underground, auxiliary and guerilla force in a denied area.”

The primary element executing the majority of these operations is the guerrilla force. Assisting the guerrilla force, are the indigenous underground and auxiliary elements in a supporting capacity, although the focus of effort may shift depending on the requirements and conditions encountered at the time. In areas where a guerrilla operating force may not be tenable, a covert underground effort may be better suited to the task until it is feasible for a guerrilla element to operate in that area. The auxiliary primarily supports the guerrilla force and underground by providing active as well as passive support via indigenous civilian population groups primarily operating in the areas where they work and reside. Providing purpose, focus and direction is the area command in conjunction with the Special Forces Operational Detachment Alpha. The SFODA assists with mission command in concert with resistance/insurgency leaders,

WIN A U.S. Army Special Forces Soldier works with Afghan Commando counterparts to ensure they are fully trained and prepared to conduct operations necessary to defeat threats. U.S. Army photo by Sgt. Enoch Fleites, 3rd Special Forces Group (Airborne).

Executing UW

The win phase of the prevent, shape, win UW model begins when the decision is made to execute UW operations using the three primary components in the definition: coerce, disrupt and overthrow.

The least invasive is coercion. For coercion to be an appropriate option there must be a common understanding of what coercion is, and its value to UW. In order for operations to have coercive effects they must be of significant consequence to the intended target and attributable to the sponsoring element. The intent at this stage is to compel a change of behavior from your adversary. This coercive stage is the departure point to sequel from clandestine unilateral PE activities to covert/overt bilateral UW operations. These are expressed primarily as engaging targets of opportunity, confidence targets and progressively expanding the influence of the movement. The next method is disruption. Disruption should be understood and expressed as engaging threat or adversary centers of gravities, defined principally as critical vulnerabilities from which an opponent derives its operational strength. These COGs are tangible, physical components such as key infrastructure, as well as abstract, intangibles such as, propagating themes, eroding opponent political will, etc.

The final defeat mechanism in a UW movement is the overthrow of a seated government or occupying power. Given all the political vagaries and the pejorative connotations associated with the concept of forcibly displacing an installed government, this is the most vexing option when considered as an response to a state actor who may not pose a clear and present danger at the time when USG sponsorship efforts are being made to obtain consensus for that eventuality. It is on this aspect of the UW continuum where the majority of inter-agency contention and debate will transpire. Substitution of the word “overthrow” with “defeat” may suffice to make the entire equation a palatable solution to all stakeholders. In this manner “overthrow” should be considered a component subordinate to the end state of the defeat mechanism.

“Activities conducted to enable a resistance movement or insurgency to coerce, disrupt or defeat a government or occupying power by operating through or with an underground, auxiliary and guerilla force in a denied area.”

The primary element executing the majority of these operations is the guerrilla force. Assisting the guerrilla force, are the indigenous underground and auxiliary elements in a supporting capacity, although the focus of effort may shift depending on the requirements and conditions encountered at the time. In areas where a guerrilla operating force may not be tenable, a covert underground effort may be better suited to the task until it is feasible for a guerrilla element to operate in that area. The auxiliary primarily supports the guerrilla force and underground by providing active as well as passive support via indigenous civilian population groups primarily operating in the areas where they work and reside. Providing purpose, focus and direction is the area command in conjunction with the Special Forces Operational Detachment Alpha. The SFODA assists with mission command in concert with resistance/insurgency leaders,
if, and when, they accept USG sponsorship. There are other specialized units that execute operations with further granularity in support of all of these operations but those explanations are beyond the scope and the parameters appropriate in this forum.

Conclusion

An understanding by all levels of the national security enterprise is required in order to facilitate UW as a viable solution given the nature of today’s emerging conflicts. Leaders who understand that not all threats are existential, but instead incremental and insidious, and have to be prepared for far in advance, are required in order to plan and execute UW. As an attendant prerequisite to executing unconventional warfare, preparation of the environment activities should be considered a core component and carried out as a traditional military activity to facilitate future success of anticipated operations.

Cognizant of what the “definition of a definition” is, but also realizing that a dogmatic insistence on what some view as an esoteric concept, limits the strategic utility of UW and serious consideration should be given to revising the operative parts of its definition to make it more amenable to joint DoD/inter-agency implementation. As a corollary, much has also been written lately about who “owns” the UW mission. The deliberation and decision to execute UW is reserved for senior echelons of the national security staff and national command authorities but the campaign planning and tactical execution of those operations are best suited for optimized force provider and mission command elements, e.g., ARSOF, GCC, sub-unified TSOCs and appropriate SOJTFs. Unconventional warfare is a viable and practical strategic option if understood, planned and executed appropriately. Our nation needs this strategic option. SW

Master Sgt. Eduardo Ubinas currently is the NCOIC of the Office of Special Warfare Training Detachment. Prior to his current position Ubinas served 31 months as an ODA team sergeant with the 7th Special Forces Group (Airborne) where he and his ODA planned, coordinated and executed compartmentalized preparation of the environment operations in the U.S. Southern Command and U.S. Central Command areas of responsibility. The views reflected here do not necessarily reflect those of the Office of Special Warfare.

Notes

1. Joint Publication 1-02, Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated terms, 2010
2. Brig. Gen. Samuel B. Griffith, USMC (Ret), Mao Tse Tung on Guerilla Warfare, Praeger Publisher’s, 1961
3. It is important to note that Col. Russell Volckmann defined unconventional warfare and wrote FM 31-21 in the context of total war conditions like those that existed during WWII between the US and Japan. However, in today’s context those conditions would now be considered general war, given the overwhelming aversion to using nuclear weapons in any capacity. In 1951, Col. Volckmann, a U.S. Army Infantry officer, was tasked by the Chief of staff of the Army Gen. J. Lawton Collins to create two documents codifying all of his guerilla experiences in the Philippines during World War II, and, along with formally establishing unconventional warfare doctrine with Col. Aaron Bank, created an enduring organization to carry out that mission. The result was the publications of FM’s 31.20 & 31.21 and the creation of U.S. Army Special Forces. Volckmann at the time defined Unconventional Warfare “as the interrelated fields of guerilla warfare, evasion and escape, and subversion against hostile states (resistance). Unconventional warfare operations are conducted in enemy or enemy controlled territory by predominately indigenous personnel usually supported and directed in varying degrees by an external source.” It was in that FM that the term unconventional warfare was first utilized. Prior to then, the term guerrilla warfare was in essence unconventional warfare in both word and deed. War had already been declared between Japan and United States and there had been no preparations by the US Army prior to the invasion of the Philippines. This is an example of a resistance and is the basis for the U.S. Army John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center and School’s Special Forces Qualification Course culmination exercise, Robin Sage, that all SF soldiers participate in as their culmination exercise.
5. United States Code, Title 10, Section 1111, Joint Combined Exchange Training. The primary purpose of the JCT program is to train U.S. SOF in their UW and FID Mission Essential Task Lists. Over time that primary purpose has been lost in translation and the program’s original intent has been usurped to that of another regional bilateral engagement venue with little consideration as to the primary beneficiary of that program.
6. Contingency conditions may arise out of “strategic surprises” and spontaneous geo-political events, to include coup d’etats, natural catastrophes, etc., and trigger conflicts as a result of poor governance in response to those events. These may require solutions that may not have been initially calculated and planned for, so there will always be a requirement to successfully conduct crisis action planning where no prior preparations have been conducted. That requirement will never be completely eliminated.
7. Lt. Col. Mark Grdovic, SOCCENT CEG, Deputy Commander and Commander
8. During a visit to a Special Forces Group Headquarters, a GCC commander, when asked what his threshold was for conducting PE activities in his AOR, stated he felt that “we were doing stuff, just to do stuff”, implying there was no real purpose to the activities being executed.
You’ve may have heard the name in the news or perhaps around
the water cooler…The Khorasan Group. The group’s name is unfa-
miliar to most, and rightly so, as it is considered to really be an un-
named group, so you would not be alone in your absence of knowl-
edge of the Khorasan Group. Prior to the recent airstrikes against the
Khorasan Group, and to some extent even after the airstrikes, not
much was known about the group by anyone, including seasoned
journalists who specialized in Middle Eastern affairs. Included in this
group of those who were unacquainted with the knowledge of the
Khorasan Group, were experienced analysts and even other insur-
gents, whom some may consider to be the of individuals who would
surely have a wealth of knowledge on splinter groups.

Origins of the Khorasan Group

Where did the Khorasan Group come from? And where did the
term, “Khorasan Group” originate? The term, “Khorasan Group”
is actually a term that originated from the United States. After the
major airstrikes in late September 2014, it was revealed by Rear Adm.
John Kirby that these airstrikes were targeting not just members of
the extremist group, the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant, but also
targeting the Khorasan Group.1

This was perhaps the first time the term was mentioned to the
public. During a press briefing Rear Adm. Kirby also then defined the
Khorasan Group to the public, and to perhaps the world. In his words,
the Khorasan Group is “a network of seasoned al-Qaeda veterans.
These strikes were undertaken to disrupt imminent attacks against
the United States and western targets. The group has established a safe
haven in Syria to plan external attacks, construct and test improvised
explosive devices and recruit westerners to conduct operations.”2

Many experts believe that the Khorasan Group is within the unit
of al-Qaeda known as Jabhat al-Nusrah,3 an already elite faction of the
terror group. Jabhat al-Nusrah, more commonly known as the al-
Nusrah Front, is also referred to as the Nusra Front or Al-Nusrah.
Jabhat al-Nusrah’s leader, Abu Muhammad al-Julani, was picked by
arguably one of the most effective terror group leaders, Islamic State
leader, Abu Bakr Al Baghdadi.4

Despite the large size of Jabhat al-Nusrah, which is estimated
at 5,000-6,000 personnel,5 the Khorasan Group is believed to be
comprised of approximately 50 core members, just a fraction of the
well-equipped Jabhat al-Nusrah. They are also believed to have a
slightly larger number of support staff. The Khorasan Group mem-
bers are from various regions including Pakistan, Afghanistan, North
Africa and even Chechnya, but they also likely include members
from more than just the listed nations and regions.6 Based on their
strong connections with Jabhat al-Nusrah and the core components
and leadership of al-Qaeda, the Khorasan Group is also thought to be
well-funded and well-equipped.

The leadership of the Khorasan Group is somewhat muddled. It
was originally believed that Mushin al-Fadhli was the leader as well
as one of the major targets of the recent airstrikes conducted by the
United States, although many analysts disagree on whether or not he
was actually the leader. Al-Fadhli was believed to be the leader of the
group because he was a close associate of Osama Bin Laden, and one
of the few top al-Qaeda operatives who had knowledge of the 9/11
attacks against the United States.7

Al-Fadhli’s leadership of the group has been contested amongst
experts. Mustafa Alani of the Gulf Research Centre in Dubai, stated
that Muhsin al-Fadhli is “more a preacher than a commander.”8 In
fact, some believe that al-Fadhli is number three in the hierarchy of
the Khorasan Group leadership, and that the current leader of al-
Qaeda Ayman Al-Zawahiri’s close compatriot, Mohammed Islam-
boui is the actual leader.9

The history of the Khorasan region

The members of the group do not actually acknowledge the name
of the Khorasan Group, but rather it is thought that it is the name
assigned to the group by the U.S. The term Khorasan is actually an
expansive region covering northeastern Iran, southern Turkmenistan
and northern Afghanistan.10

The area is rich in history, including at one point in time being part
of the Persian Empire.11 The history of the Khorasan region is also
abundant in conflict, which held battles of Seljuk Turks and later also
had areas that were contested by the great Mongol leader Genghis
Khan. In one notable historical even, not unlike present day tactics, the
reigning Shah of the region beheaded the Mongol ambassador, enraged
Genghis Khan and incurring the wrath of his Golden Horde unit.12

Comparable traits to elite units

With Rear Adm. Kirby’s definition of the Khorasan Group, we can
see that the Khorasan Group is feasibly the elite arm of al-Qaeda.
With its experienced, veteran fighters who research and develop improvised explosive devices as well as recruitment and attack planning outside of normal al-Qaeda areas of operations, one should be able to see some parallels of this group with today’s special warfare or special operation units.

Explosives development certainly is no easy task, even for those who are trained in basic combat. In fact, there are numerous reports detailing the death of an extremist or member of a terror group who has accidentally injured or killed themselves in the emplacement of improvised explosive devices, in the use of projectile rockets or training others to use such weapons. There are also videos meant to be humorous of such events spread widely across the Internet.

A recent article in a prominent news outlet reported such an incident, in which a trainer for the terror group, the Islamic State of Iraq and Al-Sham, was training others in the use of an explosive belt. During his demonstration, the explosive belt he was using for demonstration, exploded and killed the trainer, as well as killing 21 other individuals associated with the Islamic State of Iraq and Al-Sham. The capability to develop new improvised explosive devices is only one aspect of what makes the Khorasan Group elite. One of the key terms Rear Adm. Kirby used in describing the Khorasan Group was that of “external attacks.” External attacks can mean quite a few things, but to put plainly, it means attacks outside of normal al-Qaeda area of operations. Al-Qaeda, depending on the branch, conducts a large number of its attacks throughout the Middle East and the Horn of Africa. It has also had quite a few spectacular and catastrophic attacks outside of its normal area of operations, but with much less frequency. The Khorasan Group may have been the bridge to succeeding more frequently in their attacks outside of the Middle East and the Horn of Africa, which would fall in line with their ultimate goals of hurting the western world and its influences. A cell of any paramilitary unit dedicated to the purpose of external attacks would surely bring to mind some of the elite military and government units in which its sole purpose is to attack targets overseas.

Some may believe that the Khorasan Group is al-Qaeda’s answer to the growing and popular terrorist group, the Islamic State. The Islamic State goes by many labels, it may be referred to as the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria, the Islamic State in Iraq and Al-Sham, theISIL and the Islamic Caliphate. Despite the number of names, labels and traits of the Islamic State, the Khorasan Group is not likely al-Qaeda’s contender or answer to the Islamic State or any of its other labels. U.S. Attorney General Eric Holder stated in an interview that “this is a group that has been known to us for two years.” This timeline puts it right about the time of the Islamic State’s emergence, making it difficult for it to really be considered al-Qaeda’s answer to the Islamic State.

Although the Khorasan Group may not likely have been initially brought up to be a contender against the Islamic State, there are some reports that indicate that there is rivalry between the Khorasan Group’s parent organization, Al Nusrah Front and the Islamic State. The current rivalry between the groups stems from the falling out the Islamic State had with al-Qaeda leadership during the Islamic State’s infancy.

The tactics of terrorism and extremists constantly evolve to match the technology and the times. The Khorasan Group can be seen as one of these terrorist groups that is on the cutting edge of adaptation and evolution. As time marches on, many other groups will perhaps follow suit, if groups like the Khorasan Group are deadly and effective, making the war against terror even more difficult.

Andrew Jamal spent a number of years in the U.S. Armed Services and has also provided technical and operational support to U.S. Department of Defense units and other U.S. Government Agencies. He currently provides support to a non-DoD government agency.

“With its experienced, veteran fighters who research and develop improvised explosive devices as well as recruitment and attack planning outside of normal al-Qaeda areas of operations, one should be able to see some parallels of this group with today’s special warfare or special operation units.”

Notes

2. Ibid
7. Ibid
8. Ibid
THE GENESIS OF

BY ERINN McQUAGGE

Photos released by ISIS' Ninewa Division.
THE GENESIS OF ISIS

A Brief History of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria

How and why did the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria evolve from humble Jordanian roots into an organization that even al-Qaeda is distancing itself from? The group received a significant amount of news coverage recently for its offensive into Iraq and push towards Baghdad. But with the complexity of Middle Eastern politics and armed conflicts, there is a limited amount of knowledge about this mysterious jihadist group. ISIS evolved as an amalgam between al-Qaeda’s strategy of franchise-based jihad, exported extremism and the inherent lack of control over these franchises.

To understand the evolution of ISIS, one must understand how al-Qaeda evolved and how the personalities involved steered the group in certain directions. Key to understanding the genesis of ISIS is understanding Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, its founder.

1966-2000 Zarqawi’s formative years

The idea of a high school dropout leading a numerically small and underfunded group that frustrated the U.S. military seems implausible. But this is exactly what al-Zarqawi did for years in Iraq until his death in 2006 by a U.S. airstrike. Even more implausible, is the continuation of his organization long after his death through the Syrian conflict and today in Iraq.

In October 1966, al-Zarqawi, whose real name was Ahmed Fadil al-Khalayleh, was born in a small city to the North of Amman, Jordan. He came from a poor, working-class family in the poverty-al-Khalayleh, was born in a small city to the North of Amman, Jordan, bound for Pakistan; with the intention of going to Chechnya so they could fight Russians. They were stopped at the border and denied entry, which led them back into Afghanistan.

In late 1993, Zarqawi and al-Maqdisi moved from Pakistan to Jordan and established Bayaat al Imam, his first official jihadi group. They were soon arrested by Jordanian authorities and sentenced to 15 years in prison for operating a terrorist group. Like Zarqawi’s first stint in prison, which proved life-altering, the second incarceration changed him from a hopeful jihadist into a solidified leader with a penchant for studying the Quran.

A physically and mentally tough Zarqawi emerged from prison in 1999 after a national amnesty act was granted that curtailed his 15-year sentence to six.

Even with his fervor and Maqdisi serving as his political and ideological mentor, Zarqawi remained inexperienced. Both men left Jordan, bound for Pakistan; with the intention of going to Chechnya they could fight Russians. They were stopped at the border and denied entry, which led them back into Afghanistan.

2000-2003 The Beginnings of al-Tawhid

Following the 9/11 attacks, the threat of al-Qaeda came to the forefront internationally. Zarqawi and bin Laden crossed paths in Kandahar, Afghanistan, before he moved on to Iraq. While the two shared a fundamental view on jihad, they differed in the means by which to pursue it. Zarqawi still had a regional view of jihad while bin Laden, with his experience working with local Afghans in the 1980s, had long ago decided to abandon the regional model and focus on a global scale. This is embodied in his most famous fatwas, where he declared war on the U.S. and the infamous 1997 CNN interview with Peter Arnett.

Zarqawi given the opportunity, passed on swearing allegiance to bin Laden, and instead focused on his own terrorist training camp that was started in Herat to train jihadist for a return to Jordan.

Al-Zarqawi created Jama’at al Tawhid wal Jihad in 2000; the organization went by several monikers including the Motheism and Jihad Group and the al-Zarqawi Network. In late 2004, the U.S. Department of State connected the group and its leader to al-Qaeda.

The Arab-Afghan Bureau continued its work across the border in Peshawar, Pakistan. Zarqawi remained with the bureau, making contacts and meeting Abu Muhammad al-Maqdisi, a radical thinker with more academic and political understanding. This is a relationship analogous to Osama bin Laden and Ayman al-Zawahiri, where one is the personality and drive while the other provides the political and ideological understanding to achieve a common goal.

In late 1993, Zarqawi and al-Maqdisi moved from Pakistan to Jordan and established Bayaat al Imam, his first official jihadi group. They were soon arrested by Jordanian authorities and sentenced to 15 years in prison for operating a terrorist group. Like Zarqawi’s first stint in prison, which proved life-altering, the second incarceration changed him from a hopeful jihadist into a solidified leader with a penchant for studying the Quran.

A physically and mentally tough Zarqawi emerged from prison in 1999 after a national amnesty act was granted that curtailed his 15-year sentence to six.

Even with his fervor and Maqdisi serving as his political and ideological mentor, Zarqawi remained inexperienced. Both men left Jordan, bound for Pakistan; with the intention of going to Chechnya they could fight Russians. They were stopped at the border and denied entry, which led them back into Afghanistan.

2000-2003 The Beginnings of al-Tawhid

Following the 9/11 attacks, the threat of al-Qaeda came to the forefront internationally. Zarqawi and bin Laden crossed paths in Kandahar, Afghanistan, before he moved on to Iraq. While the two shared a fundamental view on jihad, they differed in the means by which to pursue it. Zarqawi still had a regional view of jihad while bin Laden, with his experience working with local Afghans in the 1980s, had long ago decided to abandon the regional model and focus on a global scale. This is embodied in his most famous fatwas, where he declared war on the U.S. and the infamous 1997 CNN interview with Peter Arnett.

Zarqawi given the opportunity, passed on swearing allegiance to bin Laden, and instead focused on his own terrorist training camp that was started in Herat to train jihadist for a return to Jordan.

Al-Zarqawi created Jama’at al Tawhid wal Jihad in 2000; the organization went by several monikers including the Motheism and Jihad Group and the al-Zarqawi Network. In late 2004, the U.S. Department of State connected the group and its leader to al-Qaeda.
Iraq 2003-2006 (al-Tawhid, al-Qaeda in Iraq, Zarqawi years)

The inability of the core al-Qaeda leadership to move openly and freely, left the Afghan-based organization in a bad strategic position. Ironically, the World Trade Center attack, its greatest victory, was ultimately its largest failure. With the U.S. invasion into Iraq, the core al-Qaeda leadership saw opportunity to further its cause, but realized it would have to find a franchise to conduct operations in Iraq, which it did in al-Zarqawi, but they disagreed on the means. Muddying the waters further was the issue of aiding Saddam’s regime in light of al-Qaeda’s ideology, which wanted corrupt Arab regimes overthrown. Bin Laden justified his ideological flip in a video caveating support to Saddam as necessary due to the incursion of Western forces. Bin Laden and his core leadership were fugitives from U.S. forces, the combination of Zarqawi’s al-Tawhid group and Bin Laden’s loss of sanctuary was the perfect opportunity for Zarqawi to enter Iraq, which was in the early days of war with the United States.

In 2004, al-Zarqawi finally swore his oath to Bin Laden, thus re-flagging al-Tawhid to al-Qaeda in Iraq. Zarqawi and bin Laden did not agree on how to prosecute their new jihad and this point of contention would resurface between the groups later in Syria. Al-Zarqawi was finally in charge of al-Qaeda’s jihad in Iraq. Al Tawhid morphed into al-Qaeda in Iraq, beginning a campaign of terror that soon gripped Iraq through the use of beheadings, slaughterhouses, mass executions and ethnic clashes. This terror onslaught made al-Zarqawi and AQI the most destabilizing force in Iraq, with a goal of establishing an Islamic caliphate and defeating U.S. forces.

The issue of a nationalist insurgency concerned al-Zarqawi as a major obstacle, so much so that he believed it could defeat AQI. He was a Jordanian and many of his AQI militants were from other Arab countries. In the face of a nationalist insurgency, he would be slightly less foreign than U.S. forces. A nationalist insurgency would, in turn, have made Al Tawhid the foreign invader from Jordan, and potentially placed them in its crosshairs.

To prevent this, he adopted a strategy based on creating an ethnic war between Sunnis and Shias, which would stifle the growth of a nationalist government and prevent a nationalist insurgency from emerging against the U.S. The strategy worked; leaving Iraq on the verge of a civil war by 2006.

Sunni Arabs supported AQI as a means of protection and a bargaining chip against the new Shia-dominated government. Prior to the January 2005 elections, most Iraqi leaders knew that a democratically elected government would result in a Shia majority. The Kurds, the second largest group, would also carry more weight; however, they already had an autonomous zone established by the UN in 1991 and had limited need for a central government in Baghdad. Both groups had an axe to grind for their oppression under Hussein. In stark contrast, the Sunni Arabs of his ethno-religious background benefited with political and economic power. This put the Sunni Arabs in a poor strategic position. In a tribal sense, there were many Iraqis enacting revenge for wrongs under Saddam. In a political sense, the Sunni Arabs now had limited say in their future. Given their limited options and disenfranchisement, the Sunnis turned to AQI for protection against revenge killings and to prevent exile from the new government.

AQI began attacking the Shia and provoking counter-attacks, which inflamed ongoing conflicts between Shia militants under Muqtada al Sadr (a radical Shia cleric) and the U.S. forces, former Saddam loyalists, unemployed former soldiers and U.S. forces and AQI and U.S. forces. In 2003-2004, the new Iraqi government was still in a nascent stage, working to establish a new constitution that all ethnic groups could agree upon. The divisive ethnic conflict brought on by AQI reduced the effectiveness of the national government, promoted infighting and increased corruption. U.S. forces had to focus more efforts on counterinsurgency and security, leaving nation-building and economic development as a side issue.

The end result was internal strains on the Iraqi government, a de facto civil war between Sunnis and Shia and the U.S. bogged down in counterinsurgency. The Shia and Kurdish reaction was to increase militia readiness, most notably Muqtada al Sadr’s Jaish al Mahdi (later Promised Day Brigade). Sunnis, unfortunately, were caught in the middle without an ally. Although they allowed AQI and al-Zarqawi to operate, the indiscriminate use of violence resulted in Sunni civilian casualties.

Al-Zarqawi’s death by a U.S. airstrike was a major success for U.S. and Iraqi forces; however, it set the conditions for the Sunni Awakening by removing AQI’s momentum. Ayman al Zawahiri placed Abu Omar Al Baghdadi in command of AQI, and the organization changed its name from AQI to the Islamic State of Iraq.

2007-2011 (Islamic State of Iraq and The Interim years)

The ensuing years were rather disappointing for the ISI and al-Qaeda’s core leadership. U.S. forces conducted a major surge in troops (and hence operations), reducing ISI’s capabilities and captur-
ing many of the militants. The Sunni Awakening also took place, aligning U.S. forces with Sunni tribal leaders who had become weary of the brutal tactics and disregard for civilian life that ISI brought. They turned on their former ally, pushing ISI out of their townships.

In 2007, ISI was transitioning to the point that a strong leader was required to ensure the survival of the group. Abu Omar al Baghdadi emerged, but was killed in April 2010. Abu Bakr al Baghdadi replaced him and remains the leader of the current version of the group — ISIS. The Arab Spring erupted around the Middle East, but it was not al-Qaeda’s doing, nor were the citizens of the countries clamoring for a caliphate of al-Qaeda leaders. ISI/ISIS and al-Qaeda were struggling to survive in materiel, manpower and ideology.

When the U.S. left Iraq in December 2011, al-Qaeda could declare a victory of sorts. Left somewhat intact, although severely depleted, al-Qaeda in Iraq was hunted down for years and a mere shell of what it was. The Arab Spring of 2011 saw corrupt Arab governments overthrown by the masses. The Iraqi government was not a particularly strong and ethnic issues between Sunni and Shia were still simmering. The Arab Spring backfired on al-Qaeda. The goal of people rising up against corrupt dictatorships, ousting them from power and installing an Islamic government, which would ultimately lead to a caliphate, did not happen. While the Arab Spring did topple dictatorships in several countries, none chose to go the route of an Islamic caliphate. A large rejection of al-Qaeda’s ideology, combined with other setbacks left them on unstable ground. Like post-Soviet Afghanistan, post-America Iraq left al-Qaeda without a jihad to pursue.

2012-2014 (Syrian conflict and The Iraq Offensive)

From 2012-2014, the Islamic State of Iraq morphed into the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria. This marked resurgence in the group further spurred on by the ongoing Syrian Conflict. On a strategic level, ISIS looted Syrian banks and gained about $500 million to finance its operations. Adding this to the release of prisoners and gaining U.S. military equipment in Iraq (given to the Iraqi Army, but abandoned as ISIS moved in), gave ISIS a significant boost in logistical, financial and technological capabilities along with manpower to fight its battles.

Meanwhile, the tactics employed by the Islamic State of Iraq forced a version of Islam on the Sunni population that it did not want. From documents recovered at bin Laden’s Abotabad compound in May 2011, al-Qaeda’s core leadership was critical of the methods employed by Zarqawi and ISI. By being too brutal, ISI could have a great impact on the perception of al-Qaeda with the Islamic world, the documents noted. Al-Qaeda found itself in a rather awkward position of not having to promote its cause as much as it had to conduct damage control to win the hearts and minds of fellow Arabs.

Brutality was a long-running theme of ISIS/ISI/AQI/al-Tawhid, making it no surprise that the organizational behavior attracted like-minded followers into its ranks. After Zarqawi’s death, Abu Omar and Abu Bakr al-Baghda di emerged and continued the use of brutal tactics, which cemented them into the ISIS ideology.

About a year after the Syrian conflict began, Jabhat al-Nusrah (al-Qaeda’s franchise in Syria) was in charge of al-Qaeda operations there (the group surfaced around March 2012 judging from published articles naming it). Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi took his Islamic State of Iraq group into Syria in April 2013 and attempted to bring al-Nusra under his command. This did not sit well with the Al-Nusrah or al-Qaeda core leadership. Zawahiri tried to mediate the dispute between the two, ultimately making the decision that Al Nusrah would be in charge of Syria, while ISI would remain focused on Iraq. Al-Baghdadi ignored this order and kept his group in Syria. By February 2014, the differences between the organization reached a breaking point, Zawahiri disavowed the group as an al-Qaeda franchise and al-Nusrah sided with anti-ISI groups in Syria. ISIS splintered off from AQI and changed to ISIS in April 2013, reflecting its coverage of Syria.

Al-Qaeda’s core leadership faced several issues at this time, most importantly, that of relevance in the jihadi world. The World Trade Center Attack was 13 years prior and the organization had no notable successes since that time. Instead, U.S. forces hunted down its members and froze its finances. This placed ISIS in a strategic position to assert authority as the group most capable of establishing the caliphate. With its recent success in Iraq and information campaigns across the Internet, ISIS continues to attract more followers. Taking al-Qaeda’s revolutionary use of mass-market appeal one step further, ISIS (or a sympathetic group) created T-shirts, hoodies, even bobble-head dolls and are selling the products via the Internet. The “spring collection” is vibrant, to the point of looking closer to a Hollywood action movie poster than anything else. A T-shirt will not win a war for ISIS, but it could convince potential recruits to see it as the group to join.

Although ISIS holds territory in Syria, there are many competing rebel groups, each with their own interests and issues. Looking through a variety of sources and news reports, there are more than 50-armed groups on the ground in Syria. Realizing the possibility that ISIS could end up in a stalemate situation in Syria, a strategic
decision was made to focus on Iraq while the various armed groups in Syria expended resources on each other.

In early June 2014, ISIS began a large-scale offensive against Iraqi security forces. It quickly took over Mosul in the north as Iraqi security forces withdrew under pressure. ISIS seized the opportunity and pushed southward to Tikrit, which also fell. The oil-producing town of Baiji was later seized.\(^{25}\) Compounding this are the financial and materiel lootings taking place as ISIS seizes territory. After the seizure of Mosul, ISIS added $2 billion to its treasury, all stolen from Iraqi banks.\(^{26}\) Military hardware donated to the Iraqi Army by the U.S. was often salvaged after Iraqi troops abandoned their posts, including armored HMMWVs, body armor, uniforms and even Black Hawk helicopters.

If ISIS expands further and gains control over more territory, it will ultimately experience the same issues as every other insurgent group has in unconventional warfare: disarming and demobilizing, establishing political control in towns, reestablishing economies and essential services (e.g. electricity, water, trash collection, etc.). It could also fall victim to its own military success by extending itself too far and becoming too thin. This could stress its command and control element, opening up opportunities for the Iraqi Army or Kurdish Peshmerga from the north to attack ISIS.

**Acknowledgements and Conclusions**

While this article ensured the use of legitimate sources in collecting information, there still exists some amount of variance. Al-Qaeda, Al Tawhid, ISIS, etc., have not recorded their histories, rather they have tried to conceal them. Additionally, most source material relies on an individual's memory of events, which can blur over time. Thus, there exists the potential for corrections to the history of ISIS as time goes on.

Given the historical evidence, the creation of ISIS is a combination of al-Qaeda's franchise strategy, lack of control over its affiliates and the organizational culture that Abu Musab al Zarqawi created from the onset. Bin Laden's desire to take his regional jihad into the global realm was successful as there are many al-Qaeda affiliates. It was the lack of control of its surrogates and a core strategic command message that lead to the emergence of ISIS, the Frankenstein monster to al-Qaeda's core that can no longer be controlled. \(^{SW}\)

Erinn McQuagge is a former U.S. Army Infantry and Psychological Operations officer stationed at Fort Bragg, N.C. He served in Kosovo, Iraq and Afghanistan throughout his career. Currently, he is completing his master's degree in the field of government at Harvard University.

**Notes**

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Cragin, “Early History of Al-Qaeda.”
7. Ibid.
10. Interview by Peter Arnett 1997, Video.
11. Napoli, “Profile of a Killer.”
22. Mendelsohn, “Collateral Damage in Iraq.”

**Jihad** Left and center left: ISIS takes Iraqi Army hostages. Photos released by ISIS’ Salahaddin Division. Center right: ISIS members, including children march in Iraq. Photo released by ISIS’ Ninewa Division. Right: Websites selling Islamist clothing and toys of Isis fighters are popping up online. Many of the products, like the bobble head (left) appear to target young children.
The year 2013 was marked with numerous movements that sought, and in some cases achieved, regime change. One thing that was common throughout the movements in countries such as Venezuela, Thailand and Ukraine was that the revolutions were largely non-violent. Non-violence can sometimes seem at odds with our warrior training and profession; however, the implications to future unconventional warfare campaigns should not be ignored.

Throughout the Special Forces Qualification Course, a significant amount of time is spent on developing the candidates’ aptitude for training and employing a guerrilla force to execute disruption operations. This starts with the small-unit tactics phase and culminates with the Robin Sage exercise. Special Forces have been using this same formula for creating unconventional warriors for more than 50 years. Over the past few years, the United States Army Special Operations Command has put renewed emphasis on the art of unconventional warfare, which the Robin Sage exercise seeks to replicate. One thing the Robin Sage exercise nor the qualification course trains for is employing a resistance element non-violently to gain political legitimacy and disaggregate the target regime. Studies have shown that non-violent methods can often be more effective than violent ones and these lessons should have a spot in the special operator’s toolkit.

The application of disruption is necessary for the insurgent organization to be seen as a viable political organization and for recruitment. Disruption is a means to diminish support for the target regime and creates opportunity for the resistance to portray itself as a viable alternative. The choice between non-violent or violent disruption has implications that can effect sustainment, force protection, legitimacy and external sponsor backing. I contend that both violent and non-violent tactics can increase the insurgents’ legitimacy. Both violent and non-violent tactics can increase the insurgents’ legitimacy. In this sense, disrupting the upper echelon of the target regime, thus creating more permissive political opportunities. It also creates a sense of “cognitive liberation” among the resistance as well as the population.

The two major categories of disruption operations are sabotage and subversion. Sabotage operations are focused on lethal targeting of infrastructure and other physical targets. Subversion focuses on targeting individuals in an effort to create fissures within the regime. In this sense, inducing high-ranking defectors or exacerbating existing fissures within the target regime can be an effective disruption operation. Sabotage or subversion operations against infrastructure or people are risky as they provide an opportunity to paint an insurgency as thugs or even terrorists. However, when planned properly, they can have an incredible effect that is worth the risk. Sabotage and subversion can have aspects of violence and non-violence and are important to enabling an insurgency or resistance element.

Perception of legitimacy, effect on population, force protection and timing are the four factors that should be considered when planning a disruption operation. Maintaining a high degree of legitimacy among the population is necessary to gain recruits, increase external support and reduce the target regimes credibility. Both violent and non-violent tactics can increase the insurgents’ legitimacy. Broadly speaking, violent disruption operations seem to gain the insurgents more legitimacy when they are fighting against an occupying force rather than a home-grown government. Violence, against an invader can serve to unite the population. In Afghanistan, during the Soviet occupation, this was surely the case. Non-violence, on the other hand is a more useful technique when trying to overthrow an indigenous government that may...
have been elected legitimately, but fallen out of favor. A recent example of this was in Thailand, where civil resistance resulted in the removal of Prime Minister Shinawatra. In both cases, disruption was the primary tool used to increase insurgent legitimacy with the population.

Understanding and correctly identifying the effect that the operation will have on the population is necessary to keep the insurgent organization as a viable alternative. Disruption operations should have as little effect on the populace as possible, but also undermine the regimes ability to carry out normal governance. Violent or lethal operations can make the regime seem vulnerable, however they often provoke a response from the regime. These responses can negatively affect the populace and result in backlash against the insurgent organization. Non-violent operations can effectively undermine the regime, but do so at a slow pace. Non-violent resistance reduces the risk to force, but cannot always bring the resistance into the war of movement stage. In this sense, it may be wise to use non-violence at the beginning of a campaign to gain popular support and external backing then shift to violent tactics once a strong support base is established.

Solidarity, Poland: The case of Solidarity in Poland is a non-violent resistance against a Soviet Union backed puppet government. The resistance began with the formation of trade unions to rally for increased workers’ rights and wages. Going by the name Solidarity, the resistance became powerful from 1980-1990 and is believed to have significantly helped to dissolve the Soviet Union in 1990. The resistance was backed by the U.S., the Vatican and Israel, which provided significant intelligence and funds to help gain popular support and counter regime actions. In 1981, martial law was declared as a result of the protests so the resistance had to develop sophisticated mechanisms to keep active and receive the external support that was offered. Additionally, Solidarity had to shift tactics from public protest to propaganda as the target regime continued to increase pressure. The organization spent 10 years from 1971–1980 building the capacity needed to effectively manage the thousands of supporters and numerous organizations that it entailed. Solidarity is widely considered one of the most successful non-violent resistance movements against a powerful and sometimes ruthless target regime.

“Disruption operations should have as little effect on the populace as possible, but also undermine the regimes ability to carry out normal governance.”
it easy for them to shift to more subtle forms of disruption during the period of martial law without looking weak. The use of non-violent tactics made joining the resistance very low risk. During the 1980s, the regime crackdowns garnered international attention. When martial law was declared the government sought to jail Solidarity members, but the auxiliary and underground was so strong by this point, that hiding people and their family was relatively easy.

Solidarity used the Catholic Church as a coordination mechanism during this time, because a large percentage of Poles are Catholic and it was the one institution that the communist government could not touch without being seen as overly oppressive. Solidarity used this to their advantage when the regime began arresting protestors after martial law was declared. Solidarity did not have an outside sanctuary; however, the church was an effective way to provide force protection. The resistance was able to coordinate within the church and use the clergy as spokesmen because the regime could not risk the international implications of jailing or oppressing a religious figure.

In addition to using the church as a force-protection mechanism, Solidarity was able to rapidly change its tactics once martial law was enacted in 1981. The regime immediately shifted from protests and strikes to the use of propaganda to reduce the risk to their members. The cross was used as a powerful symbol that defied the regime's anti-religious views along with several bulletins that had the picture of President Ronald Reagan, which openly symbolized the desire for democracy within the nation. Placing these various forms of propaganda throughout the cities and on prominent government structures assisted in subverting the regimes authority over the people. Seeing the various forms of propaganda all over the cities served notice to the regime that the resistance was still very much alive even after martial law was declared. The success of Solidarity to gain mass support through these non-violent tactics and propaganda resulted in regime accommodations, or acts conducted by the regime that attempted to reduce social tension.

The success of Solidarity's actions was not seen until 1990. Instead of pushing immediately for a regime change during the 1980 riots, Solidarity continued to resist throughout the period of martial law and beyond, wresting power from the regime and taking advantage of an unpopular regime. The opportunity finally came after the collapse of communism in 1989. In 1990, Lech Walesa, Solidarity's founder, was elected the president of the newly freed Poland and oversaw the country's transformation to democracy.

Sabotage and subversion should be used on a persistent basis during a UW campaign to continuously attrite the target regime of support. This can be done both violently and non-violently. In Poland, nationalist and religious sentiments were promulgated through the use of symbols and strikes. Disruption operations must display the capabilities of the resistance and the ineptness of the target regime. External sponsors must be able to determine and advise the right mix of violent and non-violent means to maximize insurgent legitimacy and regime disaggregation.

Lethal disruption operations can often be counter-productive for the insurgent organization. Determining when to use violence must be based on the insurgent organizations' ability to handle the regime response and how the population will be affected. Using violence too early can result in unintended consequences if not fully assessed and evaluated. The insurgency should be very careful with the use of violence to not incite regime crackdowns or impose penalties on the population. Non-violent disruption often has little risk with a high potential for reward in the early phases of an insurgency. Non-violence may be more productive early on in the campaign, while violence would be more effective in later stages.

Any force the insurgents use must be viewed as more legitimate than that of the target regime. It is important for the population to feel as if the insurgent group is a better alternative to the current regime. When the target regime reacts violently to non-violent protests out of frustration, the population perceives it as unnecessary oppression. When force is used, it must be strictly aimed against the target regime and have little effect on the lives of the population.

Legitimacy, effect on the population, timing and force protection are considerations that the UW planner should incorporate when advising or directing a resistance movement. Every disruptive action that is planned should take into account how the insurgency will be perceived, the possible negative impact on the population, if the action is good for the long-term sustainability of the movement and the risks to resistance supporters.

Finally, incorporation of non-violent tactics into the Special Forces training evolutions should be considered. Studies have shown that non-violent movements have a greater chance of success and sustainability. Numerous studies already exist that demonstrate possible ways to organize and employ non-violent forces for the purpose of revolution. Gene Sharp has numerous volumes on non-violent protests and tactics as well as Robert Helvey from the Albert Einstein Institute that can be used as starting points. Civil disobedience groups such as OTPOR even offer TTPs on YouTube. Civil disobedience and non-violent resistance are not new concepts and have been used successfully to coerce, disrupt and overthrow existing governments or occupying forces. U.S. SOF must be able to harness these lessons and apply them to future UW efforts.

Major Pat Collins is the Commander, CO A 1st Battalion, 1st Special Forces Group (Airborne).

Notes
2. Department of the Army, Army Doctrinal Publication 3-05, 12.
3. Doug McAdam, “Cognitive Liberation” The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements. “The term refers to the process by which members of some aggrieved group fashion the specific combination of shared understandings that are thought to undergird emergent collective action.”
4. War of movement phase refers to the final stage of an insurgency where the government is overwhelmed through force or coercion and the insurgency takes responsibility for everyday governance. FM 3-05.201 (UW Ops).
7. Connable and Libicki, How Insurgencies End, 99-113. Connable and Libicki refer to the use of terror by insurgencies, but note that the definition of terrorism is muddled.
8. Paul et al., Paths to Victory, 169. Paul et al. explain that “iron fist” methods of COIN push the population towards the insurgents, the reverse is also true.
9. See Chenoweth, Stephan article.
STRATEGIC APPLICATION OF
SPECIAL WARFARE IN CYBERSPACE

BY LIEUTENANT COLONEL PAT DUGGAN

Potential regional adversaries have learned to blur the lines between cyber and special warfare operations. They have successfully achieved strategic objectives by asymmetrically fomenting territorial instability and supporting contentious governments through cyber-enabled Special Warfare. In a time of U.S. military fiscal pressure coupled with rapid innovation and the diffusion of low-cost technology, the strategic application of Special warfare activities in “cyberspace” might offer unique opportunities for exploiting key human, physical, and cyber domain intersections. The U.S. development of cyber-enabled special warfare may serve as an emerging tool to mobilize global networks, decelerate eroding cyber-technology superiority and most importantly, offer new strategic options for the nation.

Special warfare is a broad term that doctrinally covers a range and combination of unconventional warfare, foreign internal defense and counterguerrilla operations. Special warfare activities involve both lethal and nonlethal actions executed by a specially selected force steeped in regional understanding that is trained to fight alongside indigenous elements in “permissive, uncertain, or hostile environments.” Recent examples demonstrate a clear understanding of how cyber-enabled Special warfare operations offer new means for achieving strategic ends. Asymmetric innovation of special warfare is a useful template for aspiring regional and global powers to adopt, as Russia innovates and exploits the use of “rapidly mobile and well-equipped special operations forces with coordinated political warfare and cyberspace capabilities to create new facts on the ground, particularly in areas of the former Soviet Union.”

More discreet and smaller in scale, Iran’s cyber-enabled special warfare capabilities are no less lethal and growing. The cyber domain, once relegated by Iran for monitoring internal sedition, like the 2009 Green Movement, has instead become one of their top priorities for combating the West while avoiding direct confrontation. As the deputy ground force commander for the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps, Brig. Gen. Abdollahi Araqi, stated, “We have armed ourselves with new tools, because a cyber-war is more dangerous than a physical war;” implying that Iran cannot afford to ignore cyberspace’s continued development to hurt the West. Iran has devoted itself to developing new cyber capabilities and executing calibrated clandestine operations to avoid the international spotlight. In Syria, Iran’s cyber-enabled COIN operations have helped accomplish its strategic objective of supporting the Assad Regime, while still not triggering a major international response.

In spring 2014, Russia integrated offensive cyber and UW operations in support of paramilitary separatists in Eastern Ukraine. Russia attacked state Internet infrastructure, conducted distributed denial of service attacks and executed intensive disinformation campaigns throughout the country. On the ground it appears that Russian special forces, or Spetznaz, have demonstrated masterful unconventional warfare tactics, operating independently of conventional forces, without any insignia, advising irregular separatist militiamen and coordinating with cyber influence and attack operations. Enabled by cyber operations to disconnect Ukrainian military forces from their headquarters, specially trained Russian operators moved to secure key installations and hand them over to militias. Russia’s merging of cyber operations with covert actions has clearly expanded the traditional definition of unconventional warfare. More importantly, this “ambiguous warfare” was strategically calculated to stay below a Western or NATO threshold of response. Russia’s successful employment of cyber-enabled UW also sparked U.S. concern over the possibility that its own cyber-technology superiority was eroding. As the bipartisan National Panel Report on the 2014 Quadrennial Defense Report stressed, Russia is making a concerted effort to “outpace and counter” once dominant U.S. military technological advantages, as Russia innovates and exploits the use of “rapidly mobile and well-equipped special operations forces with coordinated political warfare and cyberspace capabilities to create new facts on the ground, particularly in areas of the former Soviet Union.”

Internationally, the cyber units aggressively disseminated propaganda, developed increasingly advanced cyberspace capabilities, and institutionalized offensive paramilitary hacker training for field use. Internationally, a deluge of digital deception materials obscured Iranian involvement in Syria, including Quds Force-sponsored COIN operations.

Although special warfare operations in cyberspace are still in their relative infancy, Russia and Iran have both demonstrated effective forms. Russia’s cyber-enabled UW was the first salvo to hard-power conventional incursions by tanks, artillery and infantry to destabilize an important pivot state that bears upon Russia’s political and economic influence in Europe. As Russia has proved to be an “adaptive foe” in the Ukraine, they will continue to find imaginative ways to use advanced cyber technology and other unconventional methods...
to gain advantage over future adversaries.\(^{19}\)

In Iran’s case, its forces have exercised a form of cyber-enabled COIN fueled by a broad range of military, paramilitary and civil-ian efforts to digitally attack opponent websites, wage disinformation campaigns and execute proxy COIN operations on the ground. Instead of classic invade-and-occupy imperialism, Iran’s covert influ-ence strategies revolve around proxy warfare, asymmetrical weapons and efforts to appeal to the masses.\(^{20}\) As observed earlier, Iran’s cyber-enabled COIN successfully orchestrated Syrian Electronic Army, Basij, IRGC, and Quds Force activities into a strategically influential irregular campaign.

Iran’s and Russia’s forms of cyber-enabled special warfare have already advanced their strategic interests and opportunities, and their example should compel the U.S. to ensure its own preparedness to execute both cyber-enabled UW and COIN operations. Similarly, the U.S. should capitalize on its own strategic interests and opportunities by adopting a form of cyber-enabled FID.\(^{21}\) Although not defined anywhere, cyber-enabled FID is a cloud-powered concept that links scalable cross-disciplined communities together to better understand human, geography and virtual domains, and then conjointly act on targeted overlaps. Cyber-enabled FID is both a technical com puteing concept and a metaphor for building partner capacity and trust through virtual means. The concept is well suited for the U.S. because it offers strategic flexibility, enhances partnerships and builds distributed cyber-capacity. By nature, since all FID activities are human-centric, understanding requires a holistic perspective of hu-man, geographic and digital interconnectedness to successfully shape desired outcomes. Instead of reactive relationships characterized by intermittent FID deployments which achieve a spotty understanding, cyber-enabled FID is a metaphor for building a more persistent form of understanding between partnered nations. With technological ex-pertise and irregular application, the overlap of understanding offers a prime opportunity for cyber-enabled FID.

Overall, cyber-enabled special warfare networks could better shape information, adding regional context to identify key domain overlaps and enable virtual or physical responses prior to a crisis. Proactive direct or indirect virtual shaping could be executed with lower risk, exposure and attribution to physical U.S. actions and could be executed in sensitive, hostile and denied environments. Whether through partnerships, surrogates or allies, special warfare operations in cyberspace are maturing and will continue to manifest in many forms across the globe. The U.S. development of cyber-enabled special warfare could mobilize global networks, increase distributed cyber-technology capacity, and present opportunities to exploit key human, physical, and cyber domain overlaps. Fortunately, the cyber tools and techniques that Russia and Iran exploited so effectively can cut both ways. When the U.S. couples similar cyber-capability with proven Special warfare methods it will create new strategic options for the nation, just as such tools and practices have already done for Iran and Russia. SW

Lt. Col. Pat Duggan is a Special Forces officer who is currently a U.S. Army War College Fellow at the Naval Post Graduate School in Monterey, Calif.

Notes
1. Joint doctrine defines cyber operations as “the employment of cyberspace capabilities where the primary purpose is to achieve objectives in or through cyberspace,” U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, The Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms, Joint Publication 1-02 (Washington, DC: U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, June 15, 2014), 64.
2. Ibid. 9.
8. Army doctrine defines UW as “activities conducted to enable a resistance movement or insurgency to coerce, disrupt, or overthrow a government or occupying power by operating through or with an underground, auxiliary, and guerrilla force in a denied area.” U.S. Department of the Army, Special Operations, Army Desk Publication 3-05 (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Army, August, 2012), 9.
21. Joint Doctrine defines FID as “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 its security.” U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, The Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms, Joint Publication 1-02 (Washington, DC: U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, June 15, 2014), 103.
Structured Self-Development

Structured Self-Development remains a priority for special operations Soldiers. SSD is a phased Army educational program consisting of a mandatory, web-based learning program designed to work in conjunction with the NCOES. It consists of four levels of education (soon to be five) that Enlisted Soldiers are required to complete by specified points in their career. The next proposed level of SSD is the Master Leader Course with a pilot iteration in FY15. SSD is an individual responsibility executed at a Soldier’s own pace with first-line leader supervision. SSD can be accessed through AKO under the Self Service Tab – My Training – ALMS. The Army requires that all Soldiers complete their required SSD level.

Voluntary Transfer Incentive Plan

The Voluntary Transfer Incentive Program provides an opportunity for selected Army special operations forces officers to become subject-matter experts in another career field or functional area and still serve in and support the SOF mission. The U.S. Special Operations Command, U.S. Army Special Operations Command, 1st Special Forces Command (Airborne) (Provisional) and Theater Special Operations Command Headquarters all have critical billets within these career fields and functional areas, several of which require advanced civilian schooling or specialized military education. An experienced ARSOF officer serving in one of these functional areas assigned to a special operations headquarters benefits both the command and the officer. The next VTIP board will convene in 3d Quarter FY15.

The following Functional Areas have positions assigned in a SOF unit.

- Public Affairs (FA 46)
- Strategic Intelligence (FA 34)
- Space Operations (FA 40)
- Foreign Area Officer (FA 48)
- Strategic Plans and Policy (FA 59)
- Force Management (FA 50)
- Operations Research/Systems Analysis (FA 49)
- Army Acquisition Corps (FA 51)
- Electronic Warfare (FA 29)
- Information Operations (FA 30)
- Information Systems Management (FA 53)

For more information on the program, contact the HRC VTIP manager at www.usarmy.knox.hrc.mbx.opmd-retention@mail.mil.
CAREER NOTES

COURSES

USAR Civil Affairs Courses
All A1 (Application for Reservation) applications submitted in ATRRS for 38A (Civil Affairs Qualification Course) and 38B (Civil Affairs Specialist Course) require applicants to all prerequisites prior to the creation of the A1 application. The Civil Affairs Proponent and training institutions are finding the majority of Soldiers with valid reservations in ATRRS for these courses do not meet all of the course prerequisites. It is the responsibility of the Training/School NCO submitting the A1 application to ensure all prerequisites are met prior to submitting the application. Any Soldier who does not meet all course prerequisites and reports to training will be sent home.

Warrant Officer Courses Change Names
Recently the Warrant Officer Career College changed the name of two of its courses. The Warrant Officer Staff Course is now the Warrant Officer Intermediate Level Education Course. The Army WOILE consists of two parts, Phase 1, Distributed Learning that must be completed prior to attending Phase 2, which is a resident 5-week, MOS-immaterial, professional military education phase at Fort Rucker, Ala. There is a third phase that is MOS 180A specific, Special Forces Warrant Officer Intermediate Level Education taught by the U.S. Army John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center and School Warrant Officer Institute. MOS 180As can take Phase III prior to Phase I & II. MOS 180A is one of five Warrant Officer MOSs that have the third regimental specific phase as part of their WOILE. All phases must be completed to receive complete Professional Military Education credit. The Warrant Officer Senior Staff Course is now the Warrant Officer Senior Service Education Course. It remains a resident 4-week, MOS-immaterial; PME course proceeded by a distributed-learning phase. Phase I must be completed prior to attending the resident Phase 2. The two courses are only taught at the U.S. Army Warrant Officer Career College.

For more information, visit the website at http://usacac.army.mil/organizations/lde/wocc/courses or email questions regarding WOILE/WOSSE, to usarmy.rucker.cac.mbx.wocc-web@mail.mil.

GET PUBLISHED IN SPECIAL WARFARE

The Special Warfare staff needs your help to make this the best professional development magazine it can be. Drop us a line and let us know your ideas and opinions. Better yet send us your articles and photos for publication.

Include your full name, rank address and phone number with all submissions. Articles dealing with a specific operation should be reviewed for security through the author's chain of command. Photos should be reviewed and approved for release by the local Public Affairs Office where the photo was taken. See page three for additional details.

Send submissions to:
Editor, Special Warfare;
Attn: AOJK-PAO
3004 Ardennes St., Stop A
Fort Bragg, NC 28310
specialwarfare@ahbq.soc.mil
For additional information call: 910-432-5703

RECRUITING

Civil Affairs Recruiting
Individuals, who wish to become a 38A Civil Affairs officer or 38B Civil Affairs specialist, should submit an application through the Special Operations Recruiting Battalion http://www.sorbremiting.com/CA.htm or contact (910) 432-9697 to speak with a SORB recruiter.

CMF 37 Prior Service Accessions
The Prior Service Accession program is open to Psychological Operations Career Management Field 37-qualified noncommissioned officers who previously served in the active or reserve components, or are currently serving in the reserve component and want to return to active duty. The program applies to all PSYOP Soldiers who previously served in the active component, active Guard and reserve or reserve component and desire active-duty service in CMF 37, or active-duty Soldiers requesting reclassification back to CMF 37. For more information, contact Master Sgt. Kennedy at (910) 396-4349, DSN 236 or jeffrey.l.kennedy@soc.mil.

MOS 180A Accession Dates
The 180A Proponent Office is evaluating changing the accession board dates for future candidates to the months of January, March, May and July. The date change will allow qualified and selected candidates who wish to enroll and participate in the associate degree program aligned with the Fayetteville Technical Community College to do so. This will allow the candidates to complete their courses before reporting to their Special Forces Warrant Officer Tactical and Technical Course and align them with the fall and spring academic semesters. Currently the board dates are November, March, May and September. The January and March boards would be used to fill the July SFWOTTC, while the May and July boards would be used to funnel future warrant officers into the January SFWOTTC.

The fall classes will start in August and run to the second week of December, while the spring classes begin in January and finish the second week of March. However, with everything, timing is important, so as soon as a candidate is selected he should enroll in college to maximize the opportunities that have been provided.

For more information on FTCC registration requirements, go to http://www.faytechcc.edu/curriculum_registration/registrationinformation.aspx

For more information on the 180A prerequisites, go to http://www.usarec.army.mil/hq/warrant/prerequ/wo180a.shtml
The United States Army Special Operations Command is enhancing its ground mobility vehicle portfolio by providing a more versatile platform with increased payload, modularity and passenger capacity. The GMV 1.1, based on the General Dynamics Ordnance and Tactical Systems Flyer, is a MH47 internally transportable vehicle designed to replace/augment ARSOF’s current GMV fleet. As key stakeholders, USASOC and its subordinate commands are working in conjunction with the U.S. Special Operations Command Family of Special Operations Vehicle Program Office, Naval Special Warfare Command and Marine Corps Forces Special Operations Command to develop and test this vehicle. USASOC is scheduled to start receiving the new platforms by the fourth quarter of Fiscal Year 2015.

Currently, USASOC units have multiple variants of the GMV 1.0, which is based on the Army’s HMMWV platform. These platforms were modified with SOF-peculiar equipment and have proven to be an exceptional asset in certain environments and mission sets. However, the vehicle cannot fill important capability gaps within our mobility portfolio and is not properly balanced to meet SOF global-mission requirements. The lack of long-range desert mobility and vertical airlift internal transport-ability highlights some of the GMV 1.0 shortfalls. The combination of these gaps with an aging GMV platform and the removal of a long-range surveillance variant to the Joint Light Tactical Vehicle program pressed ARSOF to seek out a new vehicle. Also, in accordance with ARSOF 2022, the GMV 1.1 will be able to penetrate denied areas clandestinely by air, sea or land. This platform is designed to allow the force to operate for extended periods of time in denied areas.

Some of the significant differences between the legacy GMV and the GMV 1.1:

- The GMV 1.1 has a one-to-one vehicle weight to payload ratio, which no other vehicle has at this point.
- The GMV 1.1 Powertrain is state of the art and the leader for a diesel engine of this size as related to torque/horsepower. It is a 2-liter diesel engine that is lightweight yet can produce the torque/horsepower required to meet the performance/mobility requirements with a heavy payload (e.g. one-to-one weight to payload ratio).
- The GMV 1.1 has the ability for the operator to adjust the suspension from within the vehicle cab at a system level (all four corners simultaneously) for the terrain being negotiated. The operator also has the ability to adjust the suspension independently from within the vehicle cab at each corner for instances of when a wheel/tire assembly is damaged.
- The GMV 1.1 Command, Control, Communications, Computers, Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance is being inherently designed into the vehicle to optimize performance as well as space claim and will accept the latest C4I suites.
- The GMV 1.1 modularity of the chassis allows for versatility in space claim/load out plans and multiple mission sets, including add-on armor and cold weather kits.
- The GMV 1.1 is designed specifically for rapid roll-on, roll-off mission capability (MH/CH-47) with mounted crew-served weapons.
- The GMV 1.1 accepts all organic weapon systems within ARSOF.

In the fall of 2011, USSOCOM approved the requirement for GMV 1.1. Once approved, a source selection and down select was completed resulting in a contract award for the GDOTS Flyer in August 2013. The ARSOF user community was instrumental in developing the requirement and assisting in the source selection process that ended with a vehicle designed by the force. End users from 1st Special Forces Command (Airborne) (Provisional) and 75th Ranger Regiment conducted a Load Plan Exercise/User Jury in June 2014. This exercise was used by the program office to modify the form, fit and functionality of the vehicle from an operator's perspective. The event was a success and generated several Engineering Change Proposals that will be integrated into the final design of the vehicle.

In the second quarter of FY15, USASOC will conduct an Early User Assessment. During this event, end users will have another opportunity to influence the design of the vehicle prior to production. Additionally, ARSOF operators will participate in the Initial Operational Test and Evaluation for the GMV 1.1, which will occur in the latter part of FY15 prior to First Unit Equipped. Throughout the entire process, USASOC end users contributed greatly and exemplified the hard work, persistence, exactitude, and execution that are making this program successful. SW
How do you develop a successful Human Performance program that continues to foster the development of a physiological edge through demanding, progressive and sustainable strength training practices?

Some say that warriors are born, not made. Whatever your opinion may be on this statement, many strength coaches would agree that warriors are developed. Over the course of a career, physical, cognitive and physiological attributes are learned, developed and mastered. Through the advice and guidance of a strength coach, operators can enhance their opportunities to advance their development as a warfighter.

Warfighters are trained not to succumb, quit or fear physical discomfort and pain. The goal of a strength coach is not to change that, but instead, offer a sustainable alternative for human-performance training. By continuing to test physical capabilities and encourage the acquisition of new and sustainable skills, a strength and conditioning coach systematically helps to improve an operator’s physicality. The results of which are increased career productivity, longevity and ultimately an improved quality of life. A strength coach further augments the physical preparation of an operator with guided cues and challenges to help fortify their mental edge that is heavily utilized when hard tasks are at hand. Acquiring new skills, achieving new personal records, avoiding injury and making progress towards better preparedness are motivating. The following are some recommendations to encourage a greater sense of accomplishment in your physical training.

**Keep Records**

Working with the Air Force Special Operations Command, we use three different record boards to track numbers and achievements. The first record board is the largest and it displays all of our training numbers. AFSOC uses and records the following performance tests on our operators: 3 repetition (RM) trap bar deadlift, broad Jump, 30-yard shuttle, body composition, RM body weight bench press, pro agility shuffle time, neutral grip pull up test and a timed 7-mile ruck. This command-wise sharing of data lends to demonstrating and enhancing the effectiveness of our AFSOC Human Performance program.

Our second record board includes training numbers from each micro cycle. This helps give daily, weekly and monthly feedback on where the operators are strength-wise. When an operator is able to see on a board that he improved a lift from just the week before, or from months ago, this contributes significantly to keeping him motivated. There is also something cathartic about writing your numbers up on a board after a workout. It requires accountability to everyone else who trains in the space with you. We have found this system has worked better than simply recording loads on a workout card that typically gets filed away, only for a coach and trainee to see.

Our last record board is located at the entrance to our weight room. It is reserved for our “Warrior Challenges.” These challenges are tasks that are a combination of events developed by myself or operators. The key to developing these challenges is finding events that encourage performance and functional strength, while mitigating risks for injury. For example one of our challenges is an isometric chin-up hold for time with 45 pounds of external load. While this movement demonstrates a high level of performance and functional strength, it maintains a low risk of injury. Some other challenges that operators chose were a 500 foot Jacob’s Ladder climb for time, a grip strength test and an obstacle course challenge. Encouraging this participation in making decisions on their training has a great impact on their motivation to push hard and develop their mental edge in training.

**Embrace variation and promote ownership**

To a strength coach the necessity for variation is intuitive. We know that in its absence, physical development will stall and risk of injury increases. Furthermore, consistent and progressive variation helps keep everyone engaged in and excited about training. If you are the one leading the physical training, improve the quality of variation in your training program by planning to include input from your peers.

Listen and help them have ownership over their training. Self-determination is incredibly motivating. Achieve this goal by finding ways to integrate events and tasks that your peers consider important. Some of the feedback I’ve included in training has been a desire to ruck, swim or complete an obstacle course. To account for this, I adjust our lifts for the given week to open up a day for physically demanding events such as these.

Encourage and equip everyone to cue, coach and motivate each other. Do this by making training information easy to understand and accessible. Post your three most important cues in a visible place. Make these cues specific for the given day’s lifts. Taking a few moments to explain the plan without slowing the pace of your training session, will keep the momentum and energy of the session going. Don’t hide your intent in an ivory tower of training jargon and verbose anatomical description, get to your point and keep everyone engaged. When they are confident that they have the correct information and are able to apply it, they will gain more ownership of their training.

**Perspective**

Operators are challenged by frequent travel, hectic work schedules and numerous deployments. Training needs to be developed to accommodate these challenges as well as provide carry over into the real world tasks required of them. After traveling with our operators, I was able to gain significant insight into which exercises in the weight room had the best carry over to the tasks our operators accomplish in the field. Some movements to consider are: front squats, sled drags, Zercher farmers’ walks and single-leg Romanian dead lifts.

Ensuring your perspective is aligned to the military setting will further optimize that your training plan will carry over into the real-world environment. This will also add immense credibility and value to your programming. Build in opportunities that create a chance for you to learn and be instructed. Take as many opportunities as are possible to do this. Being instructed by others is one of the best ways to become a better teacher.

**Conclusion**

Be honest, be yourself and demand a high standard. Asking that everyone steps up and pushes harder is motivating. Encouragement and a strong push are two foolproof ways to motivate yourself and others while training. Keep team records and goals visible. Be a good example, keep yourself motivated and continue to train yourself. Seek out fresh perspectives. Use your work as a means to have a positive impact. SW

---

**Emmanuel Ashamu, USAW, CSCS is the Strength and Conditioning Program Coordinator at the 21st Special Tactics Squadron, Pope Army Airfield, N.C.**
The world's populations are migrating from rural to urban regions, and the threat groups are moving with them. This phenomenon, described by Dr. David Kilcullen in his newest book, *Out of the Mountains: The Coming Age of the Urban Guerrilla*, may mean that U.S. Special Operations Forces need to consider important changes in the way it prepares its leaders to conduct irregular warfare. Kilcullen, a highly regarded counterinsurgency expert by the Department of Defense, appears to be “two for two” on his previous literary works. *Counterinsurgency*, a compilation of a decade’s writings on asymmetric conflict and *The Accidental Guerrilla: Fighting Small Wars in the Midst of a Big One*, are both suggested reading by senior military leaders. Having his record for influential and practical strategic guidance about insurgencies, his latest advice should likewise receive close attention.

As Kilcullen envisions, the future counterinsurgency environment will be in the urban littoral megacities of the world. If this is true, then shouldn’t the U.S. Army train today’s Green Berets in the urban jungles of the United States? Kilcullen presents the global megatrends, where growing populations will gravitate to coastal cities and become increasingly more interconnected and influenced by the evolution of technology and competition for resources. He suggests that these predictors will shape the future “conflict ecosystem,” an idea framing conflicts like living organisms under constant change. Kilcullen emphasizes that classic counterinsurgency theory and practice will still shape events yet to come, but establishes why they do not entirely suit contemporary and future challenges. After all, Mao Zedong was not connected to Wi-Fi in a Starbucks, seeking protection from drone surveillance, while manipulating his international network to move funds and increase his organization’s protection from drone surveillance, while connected to Wi-Fi in a Starbucks, seeking protection from drone surveillance, while manipulating his international network to move funds and increase his organization’s strength and influence.

Kilcullen introduces the “theory of competitive control.” The organization that provides a predictable and stable social structure will control the population. He analyzes this theory over a variety of conflicts — ranging from transnational criminal networks, which took over Kingston, Jamaica, in 2010, to state-sponsored terrorist threats, such as the Pakistani Lashkar-e-Taiba terrorist’s 2008 assault on Mumbai, India. These showcase the theory’s broad utility in preparation for an environment containing fewer wars of a symmetrical nature. Kilcullen presents potential opportunities and threats associated with the global trends, as well as insight into how societies should prepare for this increasingly complex system of human activity and competitive interaction.

Some might suggest that Kilcullen’s theory of competitive control simply overlays the logic of social contract theory onto a spectrum of influence. Social contract theory posits that people grant loyalty and legitimacy to the state or non-state regime capable of sustaining their society’s social norms. However, Kilcullen does what he has done so well in the past — he makes multidisciplinary theories about conflict accessible and digestible by military practitioners.

If the future environment of irregular warfare will be more coastal, crowded, urbanized and connected, then a question arises: How are U.S. SOF units preparing for it? According to the U.S. National Intelligence Council’s research, “Every year, 65 million people are added to the world’s urban population, equivalent to adding seven cities the size of Chicago or five the size of London.” The global megatrends predict an increased governance gap, a crisis-prone global economy and a more tenacious fight for increasingly scarce resources. These predictions not only sound like the world’s daily news stories, but also read like a common mix of ingredients for an insurgency.

If Kilcullen and these predictions are right, then perhaps the U.S. Army’s Special Forces needs to consider relocating its premier training exercise, Robin Sage, from the rolling sandhills of North Carolina to an urban jungle like Los Angeles, Miami or Baltimore. A littoral megacity would provide the urbanized, economically and ethnically diverse and interconnected “ecosystem” that both Kilcullen and the U.S. National Intelligence Council suggest will be the future conflict environment for irregular warfare.

At first this may sound far-fetched, but Special Forces Soldiers already go to cities around the world to exercise and test. As a prime example, the 18-Delta Special Forces medical sergeants constantly train in trauma centers in major cities in the United States. After all, are last century’s resistance movements, devoid of social media technologies and smart phone “apps,” really what future operators should expect to encounter in irregular warfare?

Kilcullen’s latest book is well suited for members of special operations units; specifically those assigned to schools and associated courses. They are most responsible for institutionalizing education and developing future capabilities in the elite forces of the United States military. If the U.S. special operations forces are going to help allies gain primacy over their populations, then they must be prepared to diagnose the complex ecosystem in the world’s growing megacities. The consistently predicted megatrends suggest that this chaotic and competitive world is not merely a possible future problem, but a reality that SOF units will be facing in the next decade. **SW**

---

**BOOK REVIEW**

**OUT OF THE MOUNTAINS:**

**THE COMING AGE OF THE URBAN GUERRILLA**

By David Kilcullen

New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 2013; 262 pages;
Price: $27.95 (Hardback).

Reviewed by:

MAJ Will Cunningham, graduate student in the Defense Analysis Department at the Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, Calif.