

Defense of the Commons... for the Common Defense

Considering the Naval Role in Combating a Global Insurgency

By

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The views expressed in this paper are solely those of the author and in no way reflect the official policy or positions of the U.S. government, the Department of Defense, the Department of the Navy, or any of their agencies. Research for this paper was drawn entirely from unclassified sources.

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ABSTRACT

Since 9/11, the terrorist network that has come to be associated with al Qa'ida has become the focus of national security efforts in the United States. Counter-insurgency campaigns in Iraq and Afghanistan have drawn significant blood and treasure from the United States and its allies almost since the beginning of the ongoing global struggle with al Qa'ida and its terrorist affiliates. The military's activities in this struggle have expanded beyond areas typically considered military roles into those that had been the realm of civilian agencies. This paper investigates the legitimacy of accusations of a militarized foreign policy, scopes the role of the military in the global struggle, and demonstrates how the Navy, through its Global Fleet Station concept as exemplified by the Africa Partnership Station contributes to the global counter-insurgency effort through fulfilling a role to which it is uniquely suited.

The paper is broken into four parts. Through a review of Federal budgetary trends and provision of additional spending authorities, it will show that there is evidence of a militarization of foreign policy, as a result of a capacity gap in civilian agencies. It goes on to show that, given the nature of the conflict in which the United States finds itself, as supported by signal literature in counterinsurgency, in particular, that of David Galula, an increased military role in activities not typically military is justified, if not required given the urgency that tasks be completed. In the third part the paper examines the global insurgency through a lens of human insecurity and explores how the global insurgency should be addressed, given that grievances fueling extremism are fed by deficits in human security. Finally, the paper reviews how the United States Navy, in its Africa Partnership Station presents African nations with a means of addressing human security issues through securing the maritime domain. The paper concludes, reinforcing the importance of the maritime domain in the provision of human security and thereby, the importance of the maintenance of maritime security not only to Africa, but to the global system.

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1

A Strategy for an Irregular War

In the final days of May 2010, the Obama administration issued a new National Security Strategy. The new strategy was hailed as a break from the unilateralism of the George W. Bush administration.¹ It emphasized the importance of international collaboration in solving international problems and focused on using all the instruments of national power to strengthen United States national capacity with a whole-of-government approach to problems. While the United States Armed Forces remained a “cornerstone of our security...” the Strategy distanced itself from what had come to be perceived as a militarization of foreign policy, reassuring that those Armed Forces “[would] be complemented.”² It reframed the “war on terror” as a “war with a specific network, al-Qa’ida, and its terrorist affiliates who support efforts to attack the United States our allies and our partners.”³ It outlined a plan for in success in that war, with

...a strategy that protects our homeland, secures the world’s most dangerous weapons and materials, denies al Qa’ida safe haven, and builds positive partnerships with Muslim communities around the world. Success requires a broad, sustained, and integrated campaign that judiciously applies every tool of American power—both military and civilian—as well as the concerted efforts of like-minded states and multilateral institutions.⁴

The Strategy pointed out that our focus lies “on implementing a responsible transition as we end the war in Iraq, succeeding in Afghanistan, and defeating al-Qa’ida and its terrorist affiliates, while moving our economy from catastrophic recession to lasting recovery.”⁵

Despite implication that more of the conflict with al Qa’ida lay beyond success in Iraq and Afghanistan, the question of *where* the war went with success in Afghanistan and Iraq, is not central to the public’s thinking. The Strategy, however, did not ignore the need for other lines of operation in the effort against global extremist networks. It articulated many, including denying weapons of mass destruction to them, denying them safe havens, “and contrasting al-Qa-‘ida’s intent to destroy with

America's constructive vision."⁶ Considering this, the general public need not ask where the war against al-Qa'ida and its affiliates would go after successful transitions in Iraq and Afghanistan. These various lines of operation outlined in the Strategy occur simultaneously with, rather than sequentially to the ongoing campaigns in Iraq and Afghanistan. The public more correctly would ask, "Where else is the war against al-Qa'ida being waged right now?"

The public would also be correct to ask how the national security that is not threatened by al-Qa'ida is being protected. The Strategy acknowledged other threats, stating that United States military must "prepare to defend the United States in a wide range of contingencies against state and non-state actors."⁷ Though the Strategy's mention of the military preparation to defend against these threats is most easily cited, the document is clear that the United States will employ all elements of national power to defeat threats to it. Apart from al-Qa'ida and its terrorist affiliates, these include, foremost, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (made that much worse by the existence terrorist groups with global reach), cyber attack on various computer networks, threats to energy security, global climate change, pandemic disease, global criminal networks, and the regional dangers from conflict born of failing states.

In including a concern for conflicts born of failing states, the Strategy has the effect of tying together a range of the aforementioned threats. Fragile states impact the larger global community not merely by breeding conflicts whose spillover to the neighboring states threatens regional stability. These weakened polities provide a nexus for many of the threats articulated in the Strategy, including the threat from al-Qa-'ida's global terrorist network as indicated as early as 2002 in President George W. Bush's first National Security Strategy.⁸ The clearest example of this nexus of threats is found in Afghanistan an enduring example of state failure, a terrorist safe-haven, the source of 93% of the world's opium in 2007⁹, with an insurgency already spilling over into Pakistan. True to its philosophy of strengthening failed states the United States continues to lead a significant nation building effort there.

Seven months after President Obama delivered his Afghanistan strategy at the United States Military Academy, the American troop presence there passed, 94,000 accompanied by a growing cadre of civilian experts.¹⁰ Among other duties, American soldiers and civilians serve in twelve of the 27 Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRT) where civilians address political, economic, and humanitarian needs while military forces, focus on providing security and stability.¹¹ When optimally manned, each PRT is a microcosm of a whole of government approach to foreign policy with personnel from various agencies of government performing in roles to which their particular expertise is uniquely suited. Regrettably, “optimal manning” remained elusive even despite efforts to grow civilian capacity; the military still performed many non-military tasks in Afghanistan. It remained a challenge for much the American foreign policy apparatus, to rebalance itself so that appropriate skills were matched to tasks and the right skills could be applied to foreign policy problems appropriately, whether those problems were attacking a Taliban stronghold, encouraging alternative uses for cropland other than poppy, defusing arguments between two clan leaders, or negotiating the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula.

A Naval Role?

A year before the release of President Obama’s first National Security Strategy, in the June 2009 issue of the *United States Naval Institute Proceedings*, Barrett Tillman began his article “Fear and Loathing in the Post-Naval Era” with a question. “Why do we have a Navy?” he asked. Responding to his own question he posed “...a more pointed question...: Why do we have such a big Navy when we never use it?”¹² He presented this question in the context of ballooning deficits, and a political environment where some looked to a curb on defense spending as a source of money for other federal programs.¹³ Congressional leaders in both parties pointed to a security environment where “[no] other nation or likely combination of nations comes close to matching U.S. conventional forces....[and] seek to match conventional force capabilities more closely with the actual requirements of defense and deterrence.”¹⁴

In pondering Tillman's question, though, it is useful to consider Geoffrey Till's "four attributes of the sea itself, namely, as a resource, and as a means of transportation, information and dominion." The functions of navies, Till goes on to say, are derived from "[problems] in making the most of those attributes."¹⁵ Applying Till's justification to the threats articulated in the Obama National Security Strategy one finds an answer to Tillman's question.

Although the Obama National Security Strategy did not ignore conventional threats, it leant more emphasis to unconventional or irregular threats. In the present security environment, these terms most readily call to mind the conflict with global extremist networks and more specifically, the ongoing efforts in Iraq and Afghanistan. Support to operations in these theaters found in the form of carrier based aviation, Navy SEALs, and the individual augmentees numbering over 14,500 sailors on the ground in the United States Central Command (CENTCOM) area of responsibility (AOR), does not provide the rationale for such a large navy. Tillman calls it a "rifle fight" and rejects the Navy's role in the war against extremists. He would likely find reason for a large navy better resonating in another part of the National Security Strategy where it addressed the global commons and called for the United States to work with international partners to make the best use of "shared sea, air and space domains..." and that "... the United States will continue to help safeguard access, promote security, and ensure the sustainable use of resources in these domains."¹⁶ Continued security for these commons provides Tillman a reason for a large navy, essentially fulfilling the same role that they have ever filled; that of securing the seas for commerce. He communicates in this idea his enthusiasm for Till's attribute of the sea as a "means of transportation," more specifically as a means for transporting goods in writing "[in] an interdependent economy, world trade flourishes with largely unrestricted access to the oceans. Seafaring nations have enjoyed such benefits for generations now-so much so that the world's population takes maritime trade entirely for granted."¹⁷

Yet, Tillman's assessment of the world population's perspective on maritime trade is inaccurate. It is a convenient phrase that assumes too much. The significant multinational naval presence in the Gulf of Aden gathered in response to increasingly prevalent maritime piracy there, gives lie to it. In fact, for many that would make use of the waters that gird the African continent, Till's historical attributes of the sea are largely denied. Many coastal states in Africa, most easily classified as fragile or failing states, are denied "unrestricted access to the oceans" and cannot take "maritime trade entirely for granted." Disorder at sea in the form of criminal activity, denies these states the seas attributes and contributes to many human security problems that afflict these fragile states, not least of which is their economic security. This lawless maritime environment that surrounds Africa provides a major and sustained role for a large navy with the objective of improving maritime security to effect the enabling of trade and the improved stewardship of the seas resources, through reduction of the use of the sea by criminal elements.

This paper presents a new framework within which to view the Navy's role in support of the effort against al Qa'ida and its terrorist affiliates from the perspective of combating human security. The Global Maritime Partnership and Global Fleet Station concept, as exemplified by the Africa Partnership Station (APS), demonstrates an appropriate role for the Navy. While examining increased authorities within the Department of Defense, it does lend credence to the idea of a militarized foreign policy, yet observes that given circumstances, new roles to which the military applies itself, while not necessarily typically military are nonetheless urgent and cannot wait for civilian capacity. It will attempt to explain the necessity of the military's participation in both military and non-military roles during counterinsurgency, through an abbreviated examination of some of the signal works on counterinsurgency, particularly David Galula's *Counterinsurgency Warfare: In Theory and Practice*, as they are applied to the ongoing effort in Afghanistan. Thirdly, it will observe the Global Counterinsurgency within a context of human security, aligning some of the grievances assessed to fuel

jihadism with human security deficits. It will then demonstrate how these deficits exist in a context of maritime insecurity in Africa. Finally, it will show how Africa Partnership Station plays a role in addressing human security issues in Africa and demonstrate that there is a continued and greater role for the Navy, through the Global Fleet Station concept, to play in not only in Africa but in other lawless sea areas to alleviate the conditions that drive insurgency.

¹ Karen De Young, "Obama Redefines National Security Strategy, Looks Beyond Military might," Washington Post, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/05/27/AR2010052701044.html?hpid=sec-politics> (accessed 6/11/2010).

² United States Office of the White House, *National Security Strategy 2010* (Washington, D.C.: White House, 2010), foreword.

³ Ibid, 20.

⁴ Ibid, 19.

⁵ Ibid, 7.

⁶ Ibid, 19-22.

⁷ Ibid, 14.

⁸ United States Office of the White House, *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America [Electronic Resource]* (Washington: President of the U.S, 2002), 31.

⁹ United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime and Government of Afghanistan Ministry of Counter Narcotics, *Afghanistan Opium Survey 2007 Executive Summary* (New York: United Nation Office on Drugs and Crime), iv.

¹⁰ Scott Lucas, "Afghanistan Feature: Unprecedented "Civilian Surge" Begins for 468th Time," Enduring America, <http://enduringamerica.com/2010/06/09/afghanistan-feature-unprecedented-civilian-surge-begins-for-468th-time/> (accessed 6/20/2010).

¹¹ Spencer Case, "Development in Eastern Afghanistan: Keys to Success," ISAF - International Security Assistance Force, <http://www.isaf.nato.int/article/isaf-releases/development-in-eastern-afghanistan-keys-to-success.html> (accessed 6/20/2010).

¹² Barrett Tillman, "Fear and Loathing in the Post-Naval Era - U.S. Naval Institute," United States Naval Institute, http://www.usni.org/magazines/proceedings/story.asp?STORY_ID=1896 (accessed 5/31/2010).

¹³ Barney Frank, "Cut the Military Budget--II," *The Nation* 288, no. 2 (2009), <http://www.thenation.com/article/cut-military-budget-ii> (accessed 6/18/2010).

¹⁴ Christopher Hinton, "Task Force Seeks \$1 Trillion Cut in Defense Budget," Wall Street Journal, http://www.marketwatch.com/story/task-force-seeks-1-trillion-cut-in-defense-budget-2010-06-11?reflink=MW_news_stmp (accessed 6/18/2010).

¹⁵ Geoffrey Till, *Seapower : A Guide for the Twenty-First Century*, Kindle(2nd) ed., Vol. 23 (London ;New York, NY: Frank Cass, 2009), l.n. 1251-1255.

¹⁶ Obama, *National Security Strategy 2010*, 49-50.

¹⁷ Tillman, *Fear and Loathing in the Post-Naval Era - U.S. Naval Institute*.

A Militarized Foreign Policy?

On the evening of 3 December 2009, the floor of Harvard's Kennedy School of Government's John F. Kennedy Jr. Forum was filled; as were the staircases, couches and balconies that encircled the three story center of student life at the Kennedy School. Those in attendance had come to hear a panel of Kennedy School associates, each well experienced in matters of foreign policy outside the institution, discuss the "Obama Strategy in Afghanistan," as it had been related to the nation two days earlier by the President of the United States from the United States Military Academy at West Point.¹ From left to right, the panel included: Meghan O'Sullivan, the former deputy national security adviser to President George W. Bush on Iraq and Afghanistan; Rory Stewart, the British director of the Kennedy School's Carr Center for Human Rights well known for his work in and his writings on Iraq and Afghanistan; Brett McGurk a former member of the National Security Council(NSC) staff who had handled matters related to US Foreign Policy in Iraq and Afghanistan; and retired United States Air Force Lieutenant General Tad Oelstrom, director of the Kennedy School's National Security Fellows program. Graham Allison the Director of the Kennedy School's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs and the "Founding Dean" of the modern Kennedy School, would moderate the discussion.²

The initial discussion among panelists concluded after about forty minutes and then, as is the custom of the Forum, Dr. Allison, as moderator, pointed out several microphones strategically placed throughout the forum, for members of the audience to use in a question and answer session. Michael Brower, a Kennedy School alumnus addressed the panelists:

I rise to protest the militarization of American foreign policy and of American society.... I come to these forums once or twice a month. I hear eloquent brilliant speakers almost all on the military side. One half of the American national budget goes to the military, more than every other country in the world combined. General Dwight David Eisenhower warned us over half a

century ago about the military industrial complex, yet I come to these forums and I don't hear any criticism of the military industrial complex. Or of the Kennedy School, so my question for the panel... when are you ladies and gentlemen going to start examining critically what I regard as the fallacious, stupid myth that the solution to the problems of the world lies with the American military?³

Dr. Brower had articulated a concern that, judging from the applause his comment elicited from other members of the audience, many shared. Through the discussion, the panelists had addressed the resources to be sent to Afghanistan, the timeline for withdrawal from Afghanistan, and the different messages various aspects of the speech sent to various audiences. Brower's concern, though, had less to do with the "what" and the "when" aspects of the strategy, than it did with the "how" the president proposed to address the problem in Afghanistan. The expectation of a military solution to the problem of Afghanistan had seemed a foregone conclusion to the panel. Other options were not discussed.

Even before the attacks on New York and Washington DC on 9/11, there were rumblings of debate over appropriate role of the military in foreign policy. "Was the military activism of President Bill Clinton -- from invading Haiti to keeping peace in Bosnia, missile attacks on Sudan and Afghanistan, and bombing Yugoslavia -- unique to his administration," the Washington Post wrote, "or was it characteristic of the post-Cold War era, and so likely to be the shape of things to come?"⁴

Notwithstanding such discussion, it was since 9/11, with the identification of a scope of the al Qa'ida threat and the bellicose rhetoric that has accompanied it, the advent of the Bush Doctrine of preventive war, continued significant military presence in Afghanistan and Iraq, fantastic growth of the Federal Budget, led by the Defense Budget, and the involvement of the military, as Secretary of Defense Robert Gates put it, "in a range of activities that in the past were perceived to be the exclusive province of civilian agencies and organizations,"⁵ that the role of the military had become a matter of increased discourse, as evidenced in the works of a litany of authors, including Chalmers Johnson, Noam Chomsky, Carl Boggs, Clyde Prestowitz, Michael Mann, and Andrew Bacevich, advancing the charge of a new American militarism.⁶

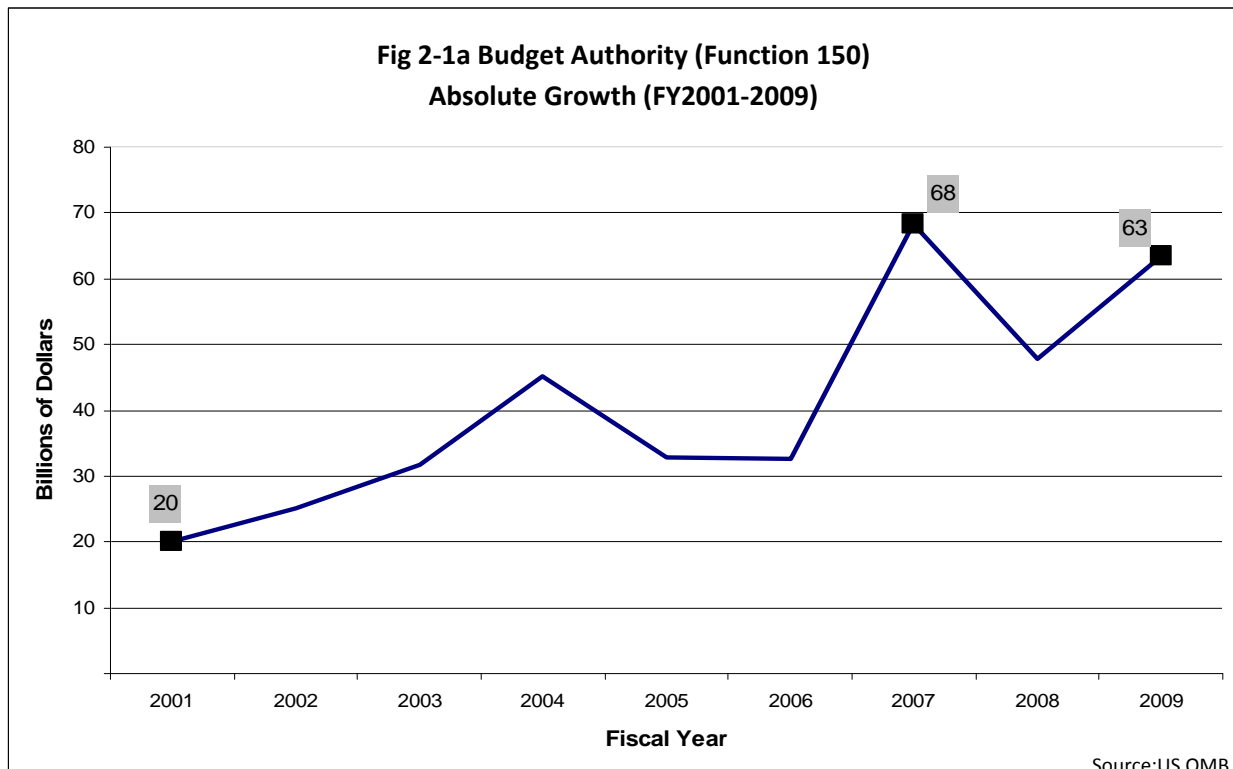
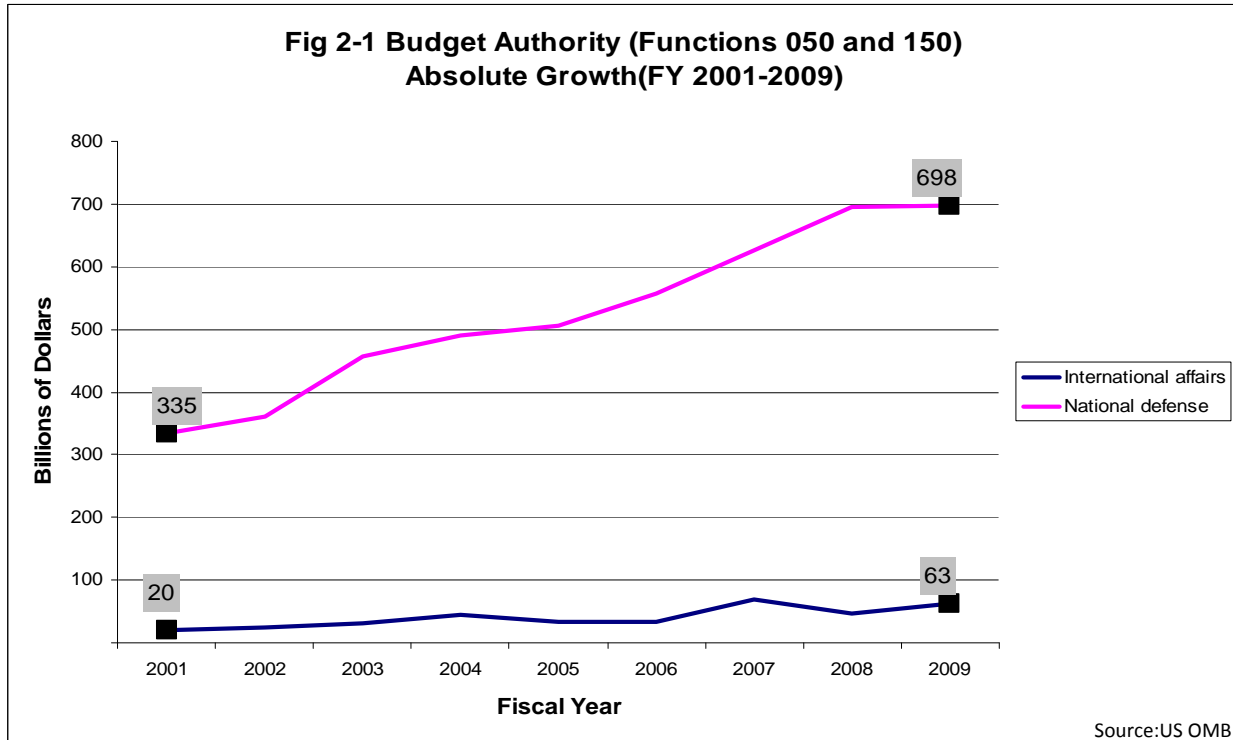
Show Me the Money!

Some who would cite Eisenhower's "military-industrial complex speech"⁷ and propound the idea of militarism in society and the militarization of foreign policy, generally point to the size of the Defense Budget, as Dr. Brower did, as well as the scope of the Department of Defense's (DOD) operations. Though the intricacies of the federal budget may not be intuitive, there is a common understanding whatever one's religion that "where your treasure is there your heart will be also"(Matt 6:21, New International Version) and responsible budgeting follows this theme, allocating funding to the perceived greatest need. Following this logic, the size of the Defense Budget, when compared to the budgets of other agencies within the federal government can appear to provide evidence of an over-reliance on military solutions in an environment where the threat does not justify it.

A comparison of the national defense and the international affairs budgets provides a means to gauge whether government emphasis on the military instrument of national power is excessive. Such a comparison must consider both absolute and relative growth of the international affairs and national defense budget functions. Not aligned to specific agencies, the United States Federal Budget Function 150 for international affairs (comprised of international development and humanitarian assistance(151), international security assistance(152), conduct of foreign affairs(153), foreign information and exchange activities(154), and international financial programs(155)) and budget Function 050 national defense(comprised of Department of Defense – Military(051) (including funding for military personnel, operation and maintenance, procurement, RDT&E(research, development, test, and evaluation), military construction, family housing, and other), atomic energy defense activities(053), and defense-related activities(054)) broadly organize the portions of the Federal Budget allocated as described. During the years since 9/11 there has been a dramatic increase in the size of the national defense budget both in absolute and relative terms when compared to the growth of the international affairs budget. Based upon data from the Office of Management and Budget, FY 2001(generated prior to 9/11) through

FY2009 Function 050 budget authority has increased by roughly \$360 billion, where Function 150 budget authority peaked at \$68 billion in FY2007 but has seen an overall increase of \$43 billion since FY2001

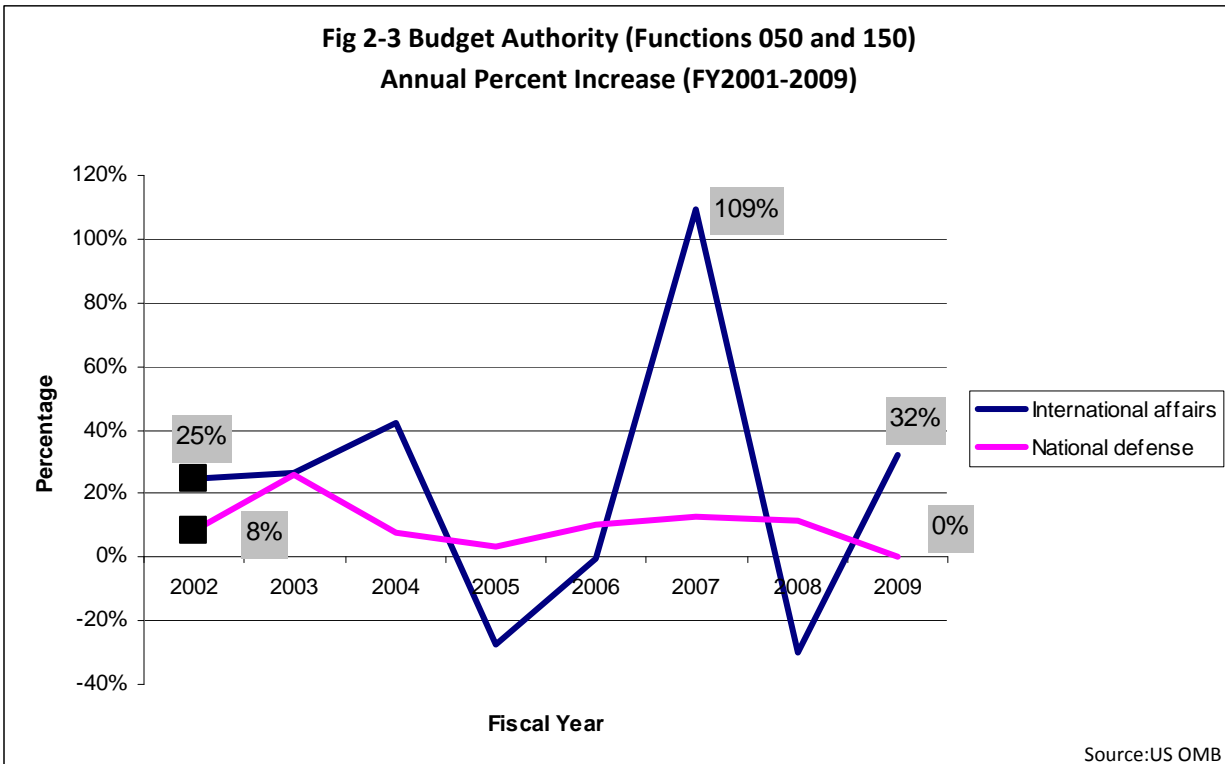
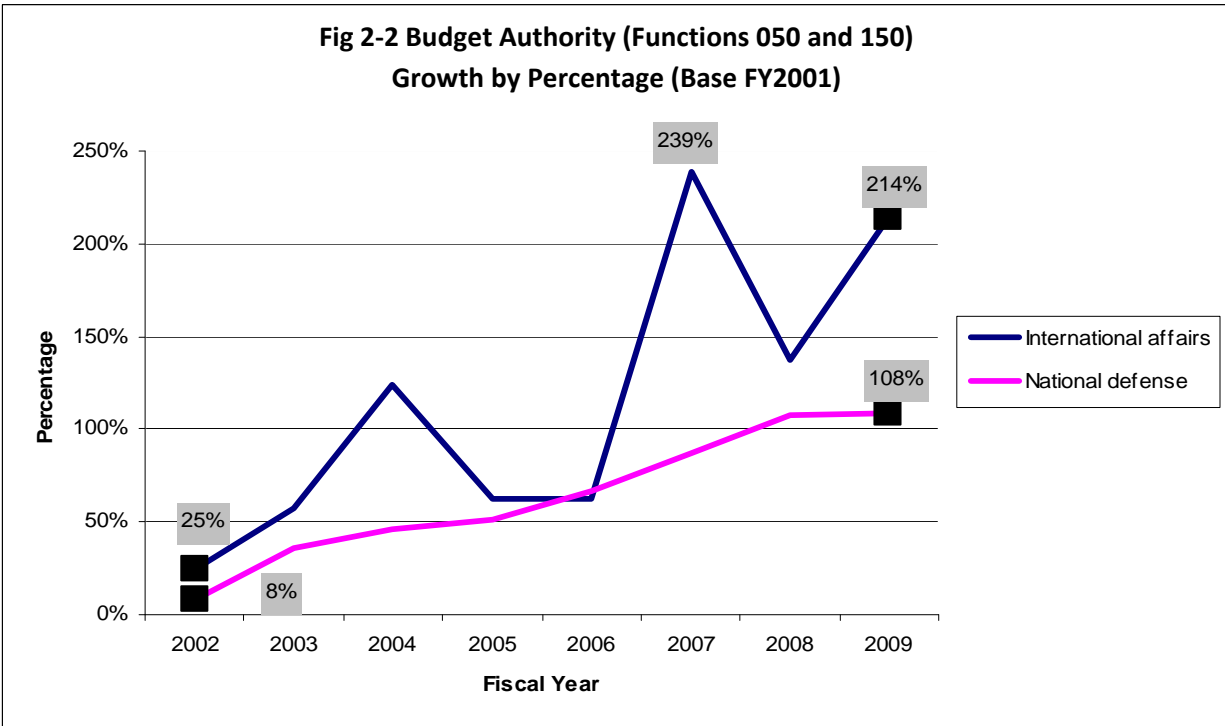
(Fig. 2-1) (Fig 2-1a shows function 150 in greater detail).⁸



Comparison of absolute growth provides some indication if not of an increased emphasis on a “military solution,” then at least increased reliance on the military to provide the solution. However, comparisons of absolute growth, by themselves, are largely ineffective in communicating the placement of government emphasis as they do not scope the problem effectively. If the size of the problems facing the nation had grown, then logically, then the overall budget itself must grow. From FY2001 to FY2009, the federal budget roughly doubled from two to four trillion dollars. Given the disparity between the values two budget functions at the beginning of the comparison (the Function 050 allocation in FY2001 was 335 billion dollars and the Function 150 allocation of 20 billion dollars) a comparison of the percentage growth of the two budget functions (Figs. 2-2 and 2-3) and their respective shares of the federal budget over time can provide better tools for assessing increased reliance on solutions from the military. Observation of these data reveals that that despite less reliable increases in the Function 150 allocation, and indeed occasional cuts in it, since 2001, the Function 150 allocation has over the course of the “long war” increased more than twice as much(at approximately 208 percent overall) as the function 050 allocation(108 percent). Additionally, over the long term, the foreign affairs budget seems to enjoy a trend of continuing to increase annually, though FY2007’s reduction in the international affairs budget refutes a conclusion that this is the case(figure 2-3).⁹

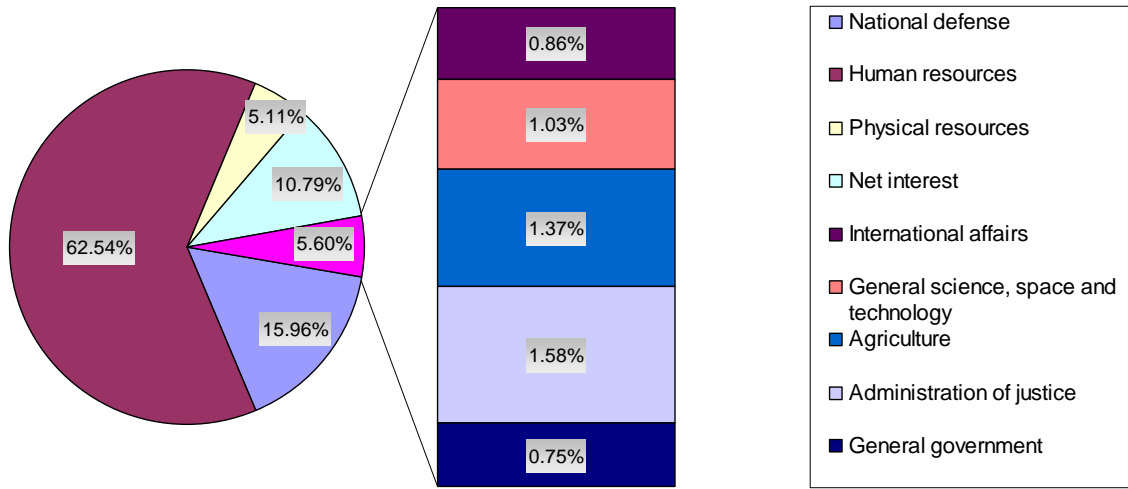
A series of bar-of-pie graphs (Figures 2-4a through 2-4i) and line graphs(Figure 3-5a and 3-5b) provide renderings of the total share of federal outlays for the purpose of comparing that of national defense and international affairs.¹⁰ During the 9 year period from 2001 to 2009 defense outlays range from a low in FY2001 of 15.96% of total federal outlays to a high of 20.08% of total federal outlays in 2008, falling again to 18.31% of total federal outlays in 2009. International affairs outlays range from an FY2001 low of 0.86% to an FY2005 high of 1.36%, then falling to 0.94% by 2008 and again reaching 1.04% in 2009. The large increase in the share of outlays to defense is significant to analysis. However,

while the share of total outlays to national defense has increased roughly 25% over those in 2001, for international affairs, the share of outlays was nearly 60% higher in 2005 than it was in 2001. Despite this, it is difficult to draw meaningful conclusions from shares of the budget accrued to budget function.



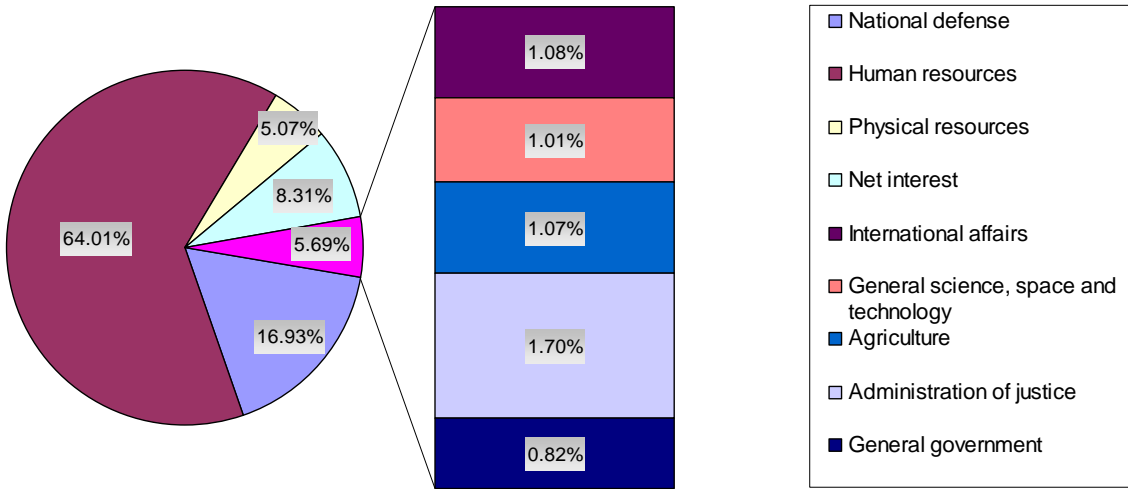
Source: US OMB

Fig 2-4a Federal Outlays by Superfunction and Subfunction (FY2001)



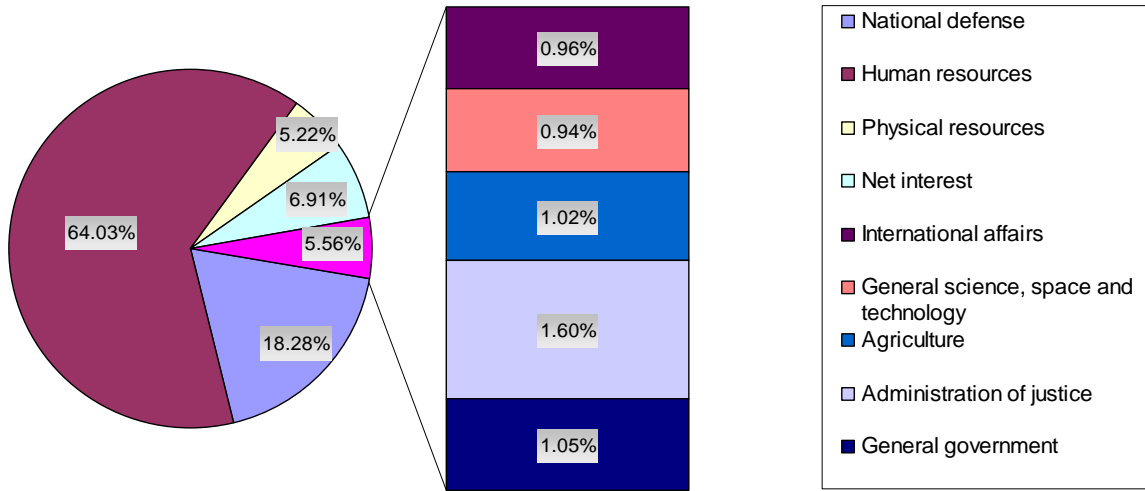
Source:US OMB

Fig 2-4b Federal Outlays by Superfunction and Subfunction (FY2002)



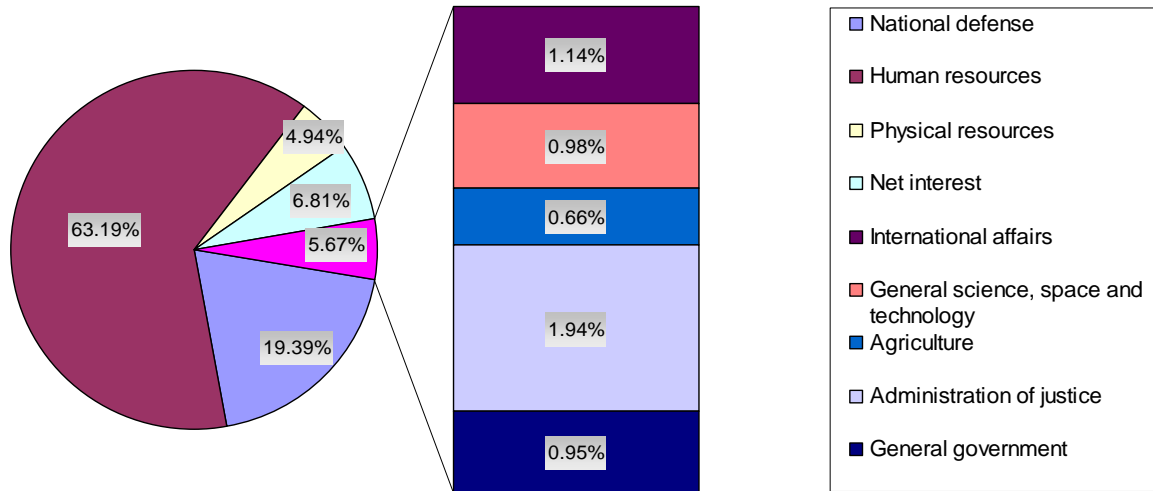
Source:US OMB

Fig 2-4c Federal Outlays by Superfunction and Subfunction (FY2003)



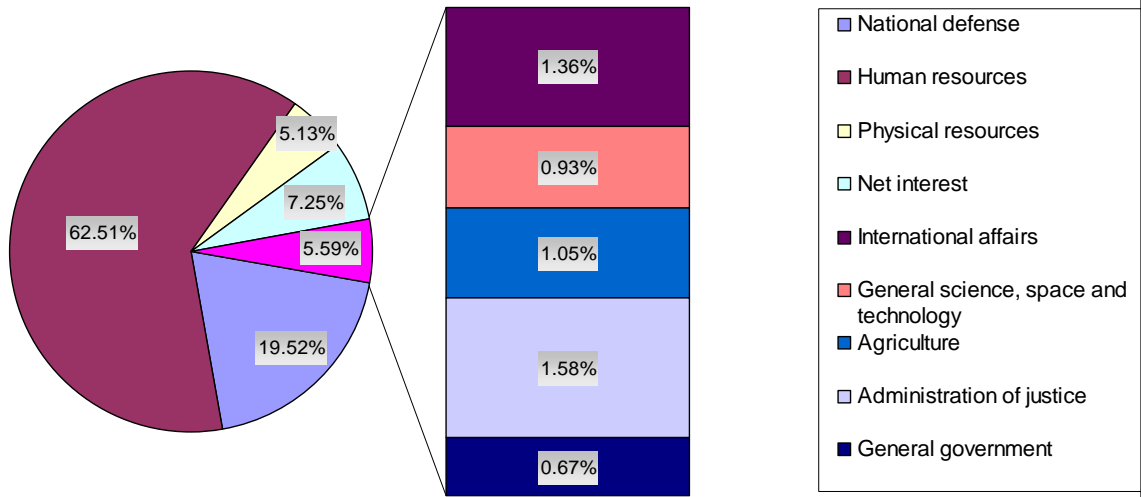
Source: US OMB

Fig 2-4d Federal Outlays by Superfunction and Subfunction (FY2004)



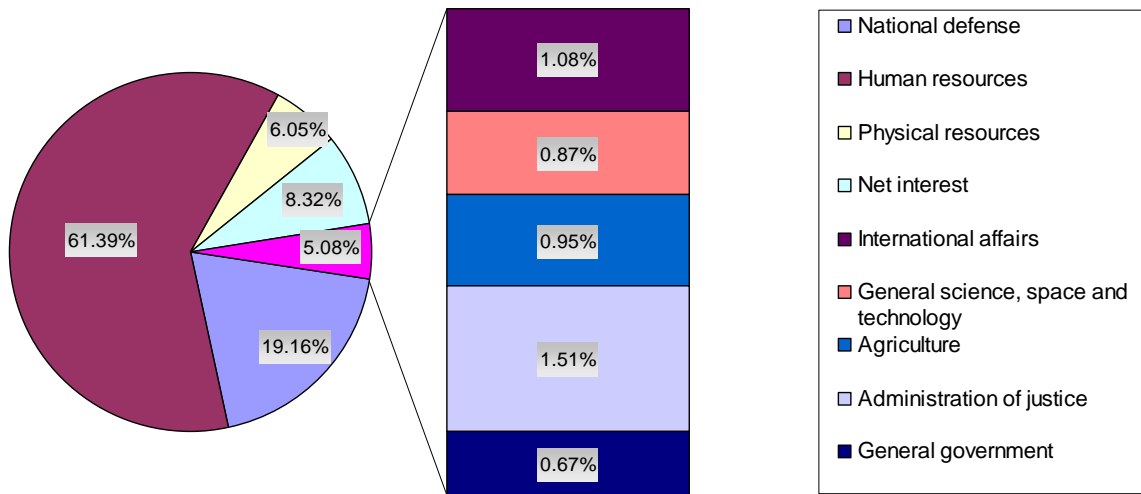
Source: US OMB

Fig 2-4e Federal Outlays by Superfunction and Subfunction (FY2005)



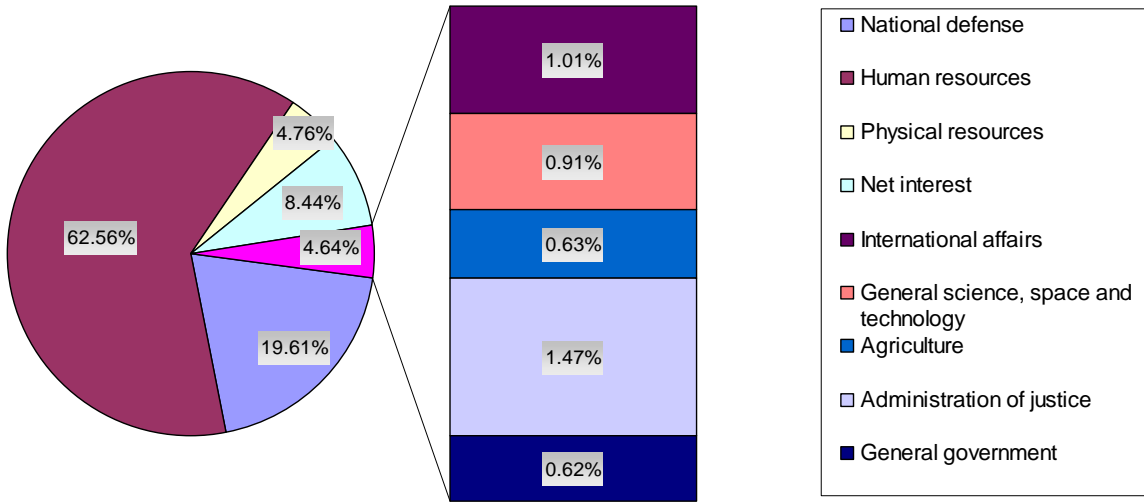
Source:US OMB

Fig 2-4f Federal Outlays by Superfunction and Subfunction (FY2006)



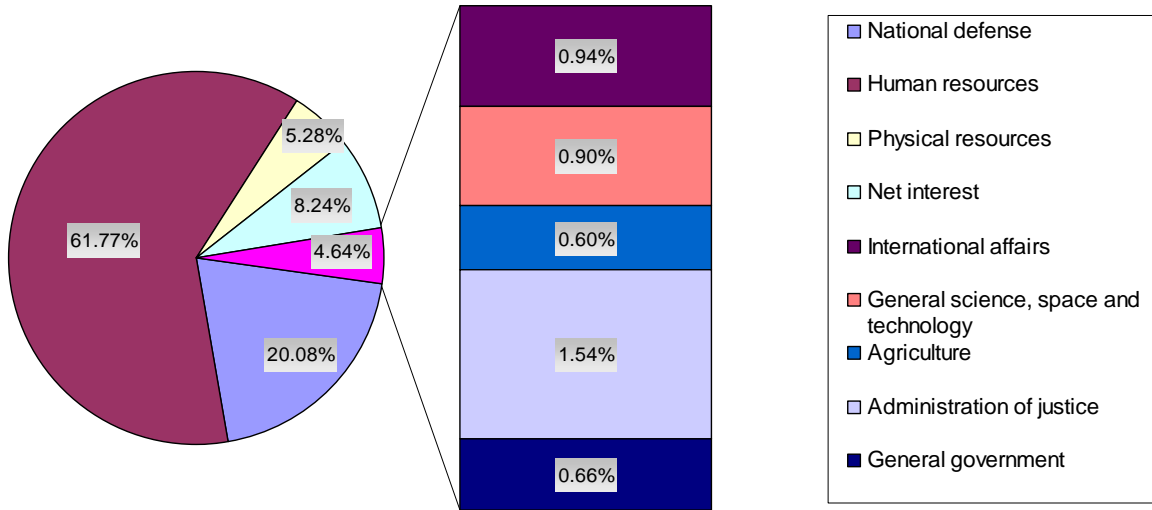
Source:US OMB

Fig 2-4g Federal Outlays by Superfunction and Subfunction (FY2007)



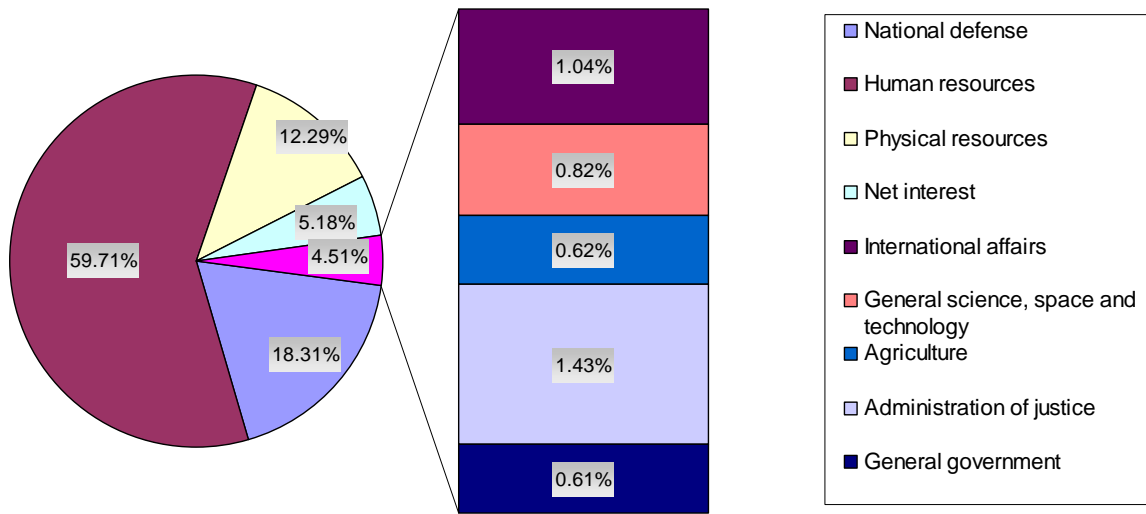
Source:US OMB

Fig 2-4h Federal Outlays by Superfunction and Subfunction (FY2008)



Source:US OMB

Fig 2-4i Federal Outlays by Superfunction and Subfunction (FY2009)



Source:US OMB

Fig 2-5a International Affairs Share of Total Outlays(FY2001-2009)

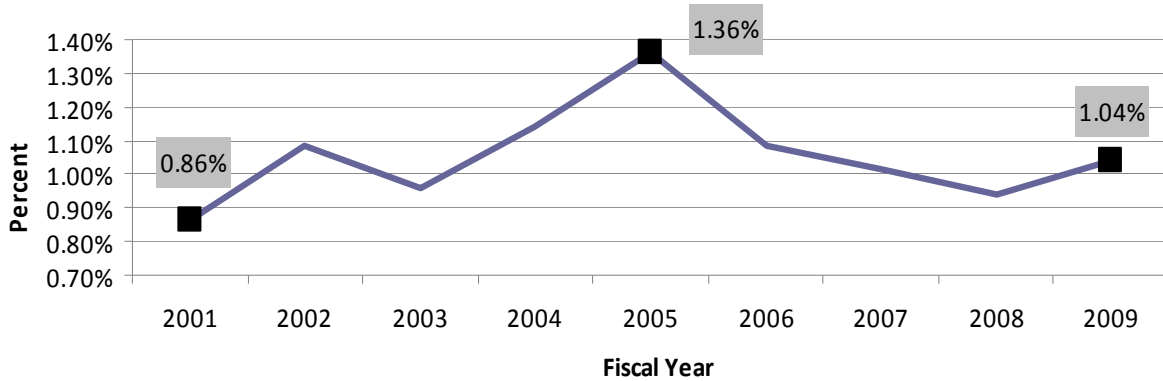
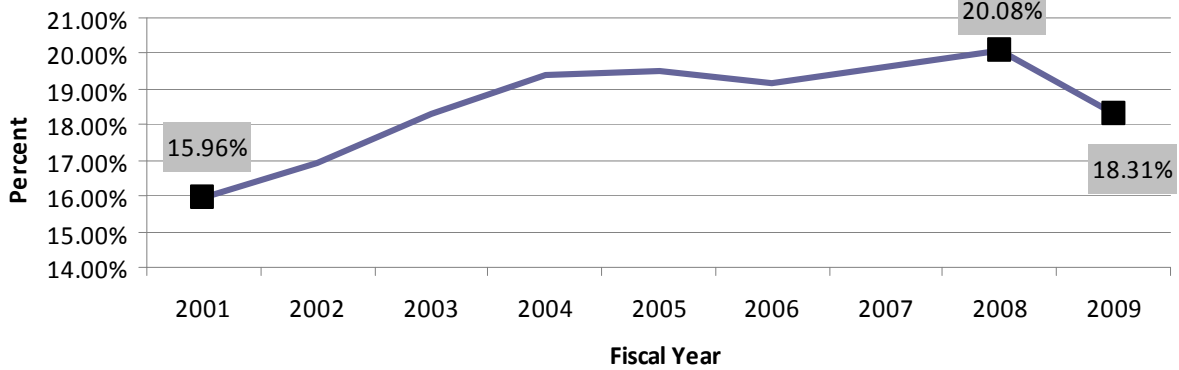


Fig 2-5b National Defense Share of Total Outlays(FY2001-2009)



Source:US OMB

Following the Money

Analysis of the 050 and 150 accounts, taken in total or as a portion of the federal budget or of outlays does not seem to provide compelling evidence of increased reliance on the military for the achievement of foreign policy goals. As function 150 grew at a greater rate than Function 050 and international affairs outlays received a greater percentage increase of their share of federal spending than defense, one could read the data as communicating a proportional increase in reliance on diplomatic and developmental solutions. While an objective look at raw budget numbers extracted from the broad categories of budget functions and subfunctions do not reflect increased reliance on the military, a study conducted by the American Academy of Diplomacy and the Henry L. Stimson Center offers a more subjective perspective.

According to this report, in the wake of the Cold War the cashing of the “peace dividend” resulted in State Department and USAID cuts and significant manning shortfalls in overseas staffing at both State and USAID. Despite an effort by Secretary Powell to apply a remedy to this manning deficit during his tenure as Secretary of State, the fruits of his efforts were subsequently absorbed by increased demands for personnel as a result of operations in Iraq and Afghanistan. By 2008, State faced a personnel shortfall of roughly 2400 personnel to staff positions in

... core diplomatic work, emerging policy challenges, public diplomacy and critical training needs. Persistent staffing gaps at hardship posts [continued] to impede important policy pursuits. Staffing demands related to Iraq and Afghanistan [translated] not only into needs for resident personnel, but for significant numbers of short-term staff diverted temporarily from other job, to the detriment of other important work. For example, all State political and USAID field positions in the Afghan provinces were vacant for an average of two months a year due to inability of organizations to cover scheduled absences.¹¹

The *Christian Science Monitor* made the problem a little easier to understand in relating the experience of a one provincial reconstruction team in Iraq. Even when billets were being filled, the wrong skills were coming:

The political officer – the person tasked to help the local population build a strong government – was someone whose specialty was communication, not politics. As a result, the team made little

progress on this issue.... "He filled a billet," [the deputy commander of the PRT said,] he was a body on the team, but while the mission was perhaps not ineffective, it was seriously handicapped."¹²

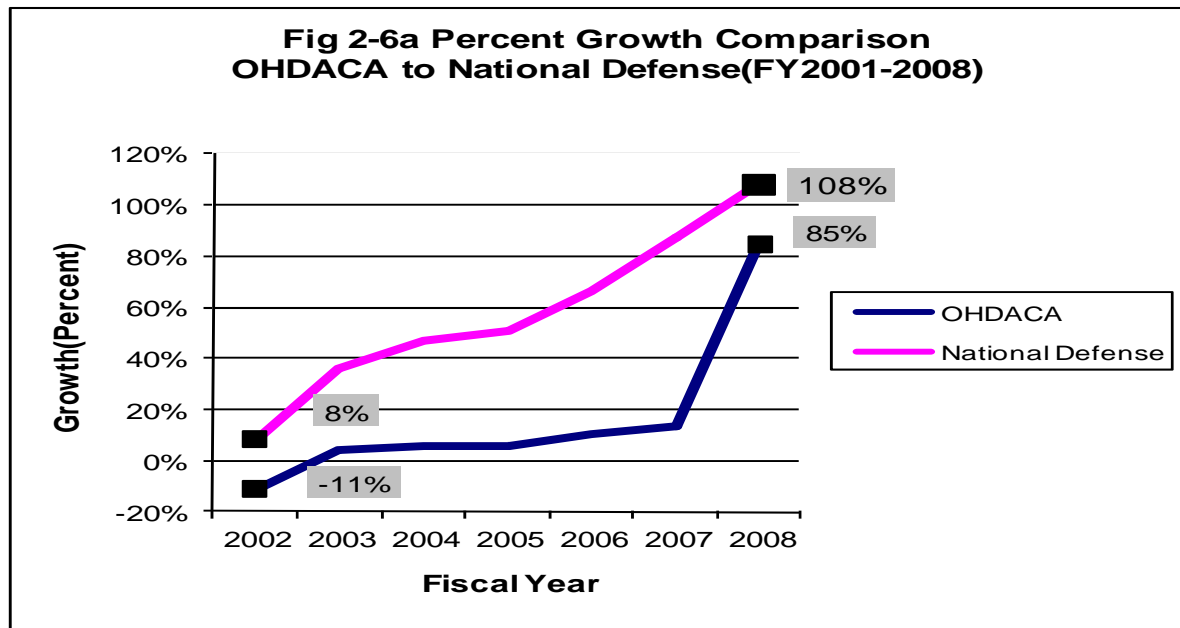
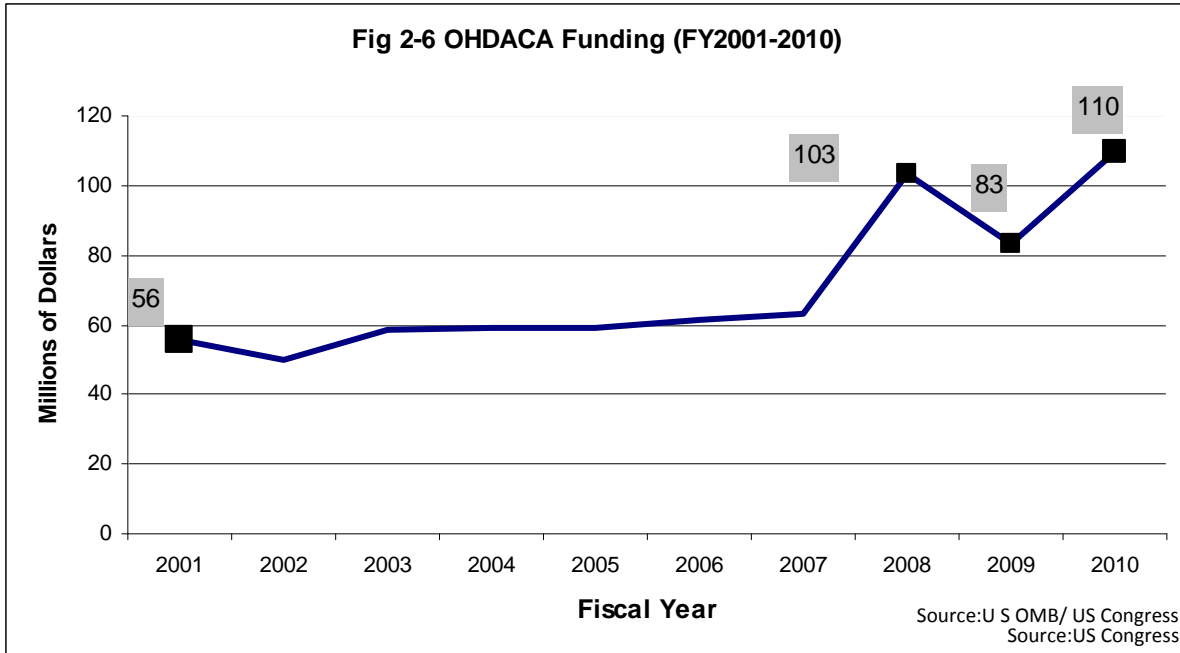
The release of such documents as the 2006 *Quadrennial Defense Review* which called for additional authorities to "wage irregular and unconventional warfare and the skills needed for counterinsurgency, stabilization and reconstruction, 'military diplomacy' and complex interagency coalition operations"¹³ and Department of Defense Directive 3000.5 *Military Support for Stability, Security, Transition, and Reconstruction Operations*, which defined stability operations as a core US military mission reflects the DOD's growing recognition of the State Department's and other agencies' deficiencies in areas that had traditionally lain within those agencies' purview. Center to the current debate on civilian agency capacity is the provision of foreign assistance.

The Department of Defense has a long history of providing international assistance. United States Navy numbered fleet Commanders receive daily briefs and more frequent briefs when necessary on severe weather in their respective theaters, the corollary to this found in the actions of numbered fleet Operations Directorates undertaken to ensure assets are available and within range to provide disaster relief should a powerful storm come ashore. The Center for Strategic and International Studies report on *Integrating 21st Century Development and Security Assistance* hearkens back to the Berlin Airlifts in the early days of the Cold War, as well as citing operation *Unified Assistance* executed in response to the Tsunami in Indonesia in 2004 as examples a military role in foreign assistance.¹⁴ In more recent memory the January 2010, magnitude 7 earthquake in Haiti triggered an immediate "response that, at its peak, included 22,000 forces -- 7,000 based on land and the remainder operating aboard 58 aircraft and 15 nearby vessels."¹⁵ The military's capacity to provide rapid and sustained assistance in cases like Indonesia or Haiti, where the suffering was palpable, creates an expectation of nothing less than the most rapid use of military power for soft purposes in even the most vitriolic critics of an expanding role of DOD in foreign policy. Of all agencies in the US government, the Department of

Defense is best poised to provide assistance given its logistical capacity and global reach. The assistance the military provides, however, occurs in response to a request from the State Department or direction from the President. Despite appearances, DOD does not have the lead.

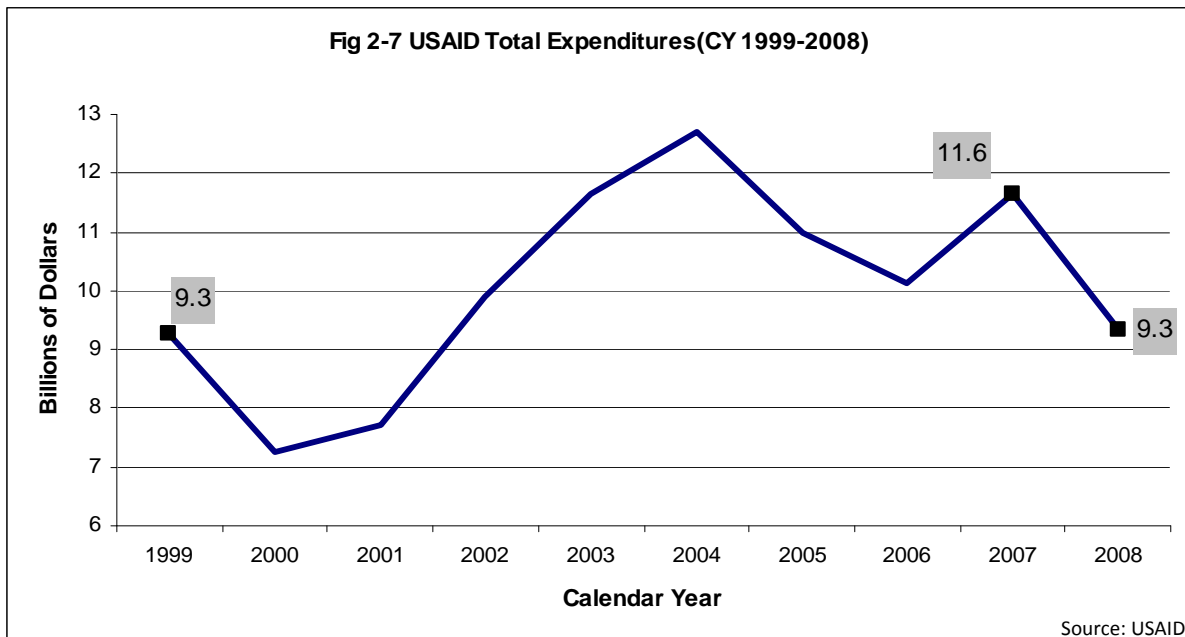
The Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, formed the basis for much of the foreign assistance provided by the United States Government. An overriding characteristic of the Act was the control exercised by the State Department in matters pertaining to the provision of foreign assistance. As such, such programs as Foreign Military Sales (FMS), Foreign Military Financing (FMF), and International Military Education Training (IMET) have been funded through the 150 budget function. The Department of Defense has administered foreign assistance from the 050 budget function too, however historically, as illustrated above, most DOD funded foreign assistance has come in the form of humanitarian assistance and disaster relief.

DOD's Operations and Maintenance budget has funded Overseas Humanitarian, Disaster and Civic Aid(OHDACA), in use since 1986, supports humanitarian demining programs, transportation of humanitarian relief supplies to foreign countries, foreign disaster assistance, excess nonlethal supplies, as well as humanitarian assistance.¹⁶ Since 9/11, humanitarian assistance (HA) missions have gained new stature within the Department of Defense. Where previously such operations were disdainfully referred to as military operations other than war or MOOTW(pronounced MOOT-Wuh), HA became a vital mission; enshrined as a core capability in the Cooperative Strategy for 21st Century Seapower;¹⁷ a large part of what the DOD engages in;¹⁸ colored by such statements as those provided by Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld that "Every effort we take to demonstrate the depth of America's compassion and generosity is an important step in the global war on terror."¹⁹ Instead of something else the military does with excess capacity, Humanitarian Assistance has come to the center of what DOD does.



Since fiscal year 2001, the amount of funding allocated by Congress to the Department of Defense for OHDACA as part of the annual National Defense Appropriations Act has increased significantly, being roughly flat at about \$60 million until FY2007, then rising to to \$83 million in FY2009(Fig 2-6), reaching as high as 110 million in FY2008. Those funds allocated at fiscal year’s beginning, of course, are not reliable indicators of the amount of OHDACA that is actually spent annually as crises calling for OHDACA

expenditure are unpredictable by definition, though they do help convey the relative emphasis placed upon missions. One can observe an increased perception of the importance of DOD humanitarian efforts in the marked increase seen from 2007 to 2008. The budgeted OHDACA in the FY2010 National Defense Authorization Act was \$110 million. It is worth noting though that percentage increases in OHDACA have not kept pace with the increases in overall defense spending which would seem to indicate less interest in humanitarian assistance, though they begin to approach it in 2008, as reflected in figure 2-6a, above. In truth, however, when disasters strike the United States military responds regardless of budgeted funds. Actual OHDACA expenditure increases significantly with reprogramming that occurs with major disasters, such as the 2004 Tsunami in Indonesia and the Earthquake in Pakistan in 2005. Secretary Gates authorized \$326 million in addition to the \$110 million OHDACA account for earthquake in Haiti in 2010.²⁰ Other programs are sacrificed and budget supplementals are requested when budgets are exceeded due to reprogramming to support disasters. All the same, while OHDACA grows in the millions, it is notable to that United States Agency for International Development (USAID) far outstrips it with number ranging from \$7.2 to \$11.6 billion dollars between 1999 and 2008.²¹



New Authorities

The years immediately following the invasion of Iraq brought the Department of Defense to understand both the gravity of the Bush Administration's mistake of not planning to win the peace in Iraq and the lack of capacity in many civilian institutions, but particularly in the State Department and USAID, to build that peace. It was during those years that, according to several analysts, due to a lack of confidence in the State Department's capacity to manage security assistance that Congress gave DOD additional spending authorities to contribute both to economic development and to the equipping and training and equipping foreign security forces.²² These new authorities included, most notably, Section 1206 Funding "Global Train and Equip" and the Commanders Emergency Response Program (CERP).

Enacted as a temporary measure in FY2006, by the end of FY2009, Section 1206 funding had provided the Department of Defense over one billion dollars to enable the purchase of various equipment for the purpose of building partner capacity in response to "urgent and emergent threats."²³ An additional 345 million were allocated in FY 2010, and 500 million requested for FY 2011. Some in Congress have taken issue with the idea that this program addresses "urgent and emergent threats," and express concern with its impact on the Department of State's authority to direct foreign policy.²⁴ Although DOD makes recurring requests to make this authority permanent, viewing the administration of security assistance more as a role of the State Department, Congress has declined to do so, apparently with the idea that, eventually, State will take over this program. Importantly, the State Department does stay involved in programs funded through Section 1206. Specifically, the Secretary of State must concur with each program undertaken with 1206 funding to ensure that where assistance is provided and the manner in which the DOD provides assistance is in line with the foreign policy goals of the United States. In addition, individual programs for capacity building must be jointly prepared and coordinated by the Departments of State and Defense, ideally involving offices at multiple levels, to

include the embassy of the country to benefit from the assistance. Moreover, Congress must be informed within 15 days prior to the initiation of any such program.²⁵ In short there are multiple safeguards against DOD running wild with this authority. 1206 funds have gone to purchase everything from MI-17 helicopters for Pakistan, to counterterrorism capability assistance in Albania, to Maritime Domain Awareness hardware in multiple coastal states in Africa, to maritime counterterrorist capability in the Panama. From the combatant commander's perspective, "this program... [is] the single most important tool for the Department to shape the environment and counter terrorism."²⁶

Unlike Section 1206 funding, CERP (authorized only in Iraq and Afghanistan) spending has no oversight from the State Department, but remains a critical tool for local commanders on the ground in gaining the support of the population through various projects, from trash collection, to infrastructure security, to electrical generation and scores of others. This program was started to address tactical issues on the ground in conflict areas where civilian expertise is marginal to non-existent and grew out of the significant need for humanitarian assistance on the ground in Iraq immediately following the invasion. In the aftermath of the Iraq invasion these funds were needed to restore basic services to the people of Iraq. CERP funds allowed commanders to take initiative to solve problems with military resources and personnel as these problems became apparent rather than waiting for the arrival of civilian expertise that was, in any case, limited given the security environment or enduring bureaucratic restrictions on getting the resources. Despite its value in gaining the political support of the population in question, critics have pointed out that the quick impact projects that this type of support delivers can fail to "lay the foundations for accountable governance and sustainable development."²⁷ Commanders in the field do have to consider possible negative impacts of CERP generated projects, both in terms of local rivalries that might be aggravated where one group is the beneficiary of American assistance while another is left without, or the impact to American or host nation credibility when a school is built but there are no teachers.²⁸ However, in the countries where CERP is employed, foundations such as those

imagined by such critics, can be demolished as they are laid absent the foundation of security that commanders attempt to lay with CERP funded projects.

Since 9/11 the DOD role in foreign assistance has grown both within pre-existing authorities like the Overseas Humanitarian Disaster and Civic Assistance funding, as well as in new authorities such as the CERP and Section 1206 funding. Provision of equipment through 1206 funding, some argue a method of conducting Foreign Military Financing which had previously been the realm of the Department of State, as well as in forms of development aid through CERP do provide examples of DOD expanding its role beyond its mandate. There is some justification for concern of an increasing prevalence of military solutions to foreign policy problems. Of course, alignment of project objectives with foreign policy objectives ranks at the top of these. However, there is another more subtle reason for keeping assistance with the softer instruments of national power. The central piece of this is the message that the military delivery of aid communicates. In many developing nations, militaries have little tradition or understanding of the relationship between civilian leadership and the military that exists in the United States. The military has to overcome this baggage before it can begin to develop trust. From this perspective, a civilian agency's delivery of aid is important as it comes from what could be seen as a more trustworthy source from the perspective of those receiving it. But there is also justification for the existence of these programs, the most pressing of which being the lack of capacity at State and USAID to perform their traditional roles in the current security and fiscal environment. This capacity is central to the question. If there is a need to be filled, that need should be filled. There are urgent reasons for doing so.

¹Barack Obama, "Remarks by the President in Address to the Nation on the Way Forward in Afghanistan and Pakistan | the White House," The White House, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-address-nation-way-forward-afghanistan-and-pakistan> (accessed 5/19/2010).

² Harvard University Institute of Politics, "Harvard University Institute of Politics - the Obama Strategy in Afghanistan: Troops, Timeline and the Taliban," Harvard University Institute of Politics,

<http://www.iop.harvard.edu/Multimedia-Center/All-Videos/The-Obama-Strategy-in-Afghanistan-Troops,-Timeline-and-the-Taliban> (accessed 5/19/2010).

³ Ibid.

⁴ Thomas E. Ricks, Washington Post Staff, "Empire Or Not? A Quiet Debate Over U.S. Role," *The Washington Post*, sec. A SECTION, August 21, 2001.

⁵ Robert M. Gates, "Remarks at U.S. Global Leadership Campaign (Washington, D.C.)," <http://www.defense.gov/utility/printitem.aspx?print=http://www.defense.gov/speeches/speech.aspx?speechid=1262> (accessed 5/19/2010).

⁶ A. J. Bacevich, *The New American Militarism : How Americans are Seduced by War* (Oxford ;New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 270.

⁷ Dwight D. Eisenhower, "Military-Industrial Complex Speech, Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1961," H-Net Online, <http://www.h-net.org/~hst306/documents/indust.html> (accessed 5/27/2010, 2010).

⁸ United States Office of Management, and Budget, *Historical Tables, Budget of the United States Government*, FY 2011 ed. (Washington D.C.: Executive Office of the President, Office of Management and Budget, 2010), 93-94.

⁹ Ibid, 93-94.

¹⁰ Ibid, 54-55.

¹¹ American Academy of Diplomacy and Stimson Center, *A Foreign Affairs Budget for the Future* (Washington DC: Stimson Group, 2008), 3-4.

¹² Gordon Lubold, "Afghanistan's 'Civilian Surge' Fizzles," *Christian Science Monitor*, <http://www.csmonitor.com/USA/Military/2009/0914/p19s01-usmi.html> (accessed 6/26/2010, 2010).

¹³ United States Dept of Defense, *Quadrennial Defense Review Report* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 2006), 83.

¹⁴ J. S. Morrison and others, *Integrating 21st Century Development and Security Assistance : Final Report of the Task Force on Nontraditional Security Assistance, Center for Strategic and International Studies* (Washington, D.C.: CSIS Press, Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2008), 22.

¹⁵ Lisa Daniel, "U.S. Military Wraps Up Earthquake Response in Haiti," United States Army, <http://www.army.mil/-news/2010/06/02/40173-us-military-wraps-up-earthquake-response-in-haiti/> (accessed 6/16/2010).

¹⁶ W. D. Phillips, "Use of Operation and Maintenance Funds during Deployments," *Armed Forces Comptroller* 51, no. 4 (Fall 2006), 27-31.

¹⁷ Thad W. Allen, James T. Conway and Gary Roughead, *A Cooperative Strategy for 21st Century Seapower* (Washington, D.C.: United States Department of the Navy, 2007), 12.

¹⁸ United States Dept of Defense, "DoD 101 an Introductory Overview of the Department of Defense," United States Dept of Defense, <http://www.defense.gov/pubs/dod101/> (accessed 6/19/2010, 2010).

¹⁹ Donald Rumsfeld and Peter Pace, "DoD News Briefing with Secretary Rumsfeld and Gen. Pace," United States Department of Defense, <http://www.defense.gov/transcripts/transcript.aspx?transcriptid=971> (accessed 6/23, 2010).

²⁰ Charles Taylor, "DSCA -- DSCA Continues Supporting Haiti," Defense Security Cooperation Agency, http://www.dsca.mil/video/2010/030910/DSCA_Continues_Supporting_Haiti-030910.htm (accessed 7/1/2010, 2010).

²¹ United States Agency for International Development, "U.S. Overseas Loans and Grants, Ten Year Program Report (Constant Dollars); USAID and Predecessor," United States Agency for International Development, http://gbk.eads.usaidallnet.gov/query/do?_program=/eads/gbk/programReport&unit=R (accessed 6/29/2010, 2010).

²² Ron Capps, *Drawing on the Full Strength of America: Seeking Greater Civilian Capacity in US Foreign Affairs* (Washington DC: Refugees International, 2009), 9.

²³ Nina M. Serafino, *Security Assistance Reform: "Section 1206" Background and Issues for Congress* (Washington DC: Congressional Research Service, 2010), 4.

²⁴ Richard Lugar, *Embassies as Command Posts in the Anti-Terror Campaign* (Washington DC: US Government Printing Office, 2006) (accessed 6/22/2010).

²⁵ Serafino, *Security Assistance Reform: "Section 1206" Background and Issues for Congress*, 9.

²⁶ United States Dept of Defense, *Fiscal Year 2010 Budget Request Summary Justification* (Washington DC: United States Dept of Defence, 2009), 1-13.

²⁷ Stewart Patrick and Kaysie Brown, *The Pentagon and Global Development: Making Sense of the DoD's Expanding Role* (Washington DC: Center for Global Development, 2007), 5.

²⁸ Serafino and others, *The Department of Defense Role in Foreign Assistance: Background, Major Issues, and Options for Congress*, 9.

3

Activities to Which an Organization is Uniquely Suited

Given a civilian capacity deficit, the DOD has had to redefine its role in many areas of foreign policy, expanding its activities into areas in which it would not have found itself before the current conflict, including increased involvement in foreign assistance and development aid. Moreover, even as annual increases in the international affairs budgets aim to mitigate the civilian capacity deficit, as the scope of the conflict against violent extremists has come to be recognized as a global insurgency, those roles have expanded well beyond the limits of the Middle East and South Asia. In a strange way, nonetheless, the irregular conflict in which the United States finds itself in those regions, helps to defining the role of the DOD in the larger conflict. As this conflict continues, the DOD will continue to find itself involved in strange and largely unfamiliar activities, but even while outside of a hot war, many within the DOD will find themselves conducting activities to which their organization is uniquely suited.

An Appropriate Role...

The decision to send an additional 30,000 troops to Afghanistan provided easy fodder for those leveling charges of a militarized foreign policy against the United States Government. If “measures aimed at promoting better governance, economic programs that spur development, and efforts to address the grievances among the discontented, from whom the terrorists recruit”, as Secretary of Defense Robert Gates wrote in *Foreign Affairs*, pointing out, moreover, that “the United States cannot kill or capture its way to victory,”¹ then how would more troops provide the solution? The simple answer at which some might arrive is that US policy in Afghanistan is merely another example of the overall militarization of US foreign policy. In accepting, however, a counter-insurgency (COIN) strategy, one must accept the military component of the strategy. While, properly executed, counter-insurgency

requires significant effort by multiple government agencies, non-government organizations (NGOs), intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) and multinational corporations and contractors; it calls for military forces first. "Military forces play an extensive role in COIN efforts.... COIN draws heavily on the joint force's capabilities and requires different mix of offensive, defensive, and stability operations from that expected in major combat operations."²

In *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice*, David Galula defines several "laws" applicable to counterinsurgency as follows: 1) "The Support of the Population is as Necessary for the Counterinsurgent as for the insurgent"³; 2) "Support is Gained through an Active Minority"⁴; 3) "Support from the Population is Conditional"⁵; 4) "Intensity of Efforts and Vastness of Means Are Essential."⁶ In the following basic tenet in exercising political power, the first and second laws are germane:

"In any situation, whatever the cause, there will be an active minority for the cause, a neutral majority, and an active minority against the cause.

The technique of power consists in relying on the favorable minority in order to rally the neutral majority and to neutralize or eliminate the hostile minority [italics in original].⁷

From this, Galula derives that the "strategic problem of the counterinsurgent may be defined now as follows: 'To find the favorable minority, to organize it in order to mobilize the population against the insurgent minority.'⁸ However, following from the third and fourth laws, that favorable minority...

...will not and cannot emerge as long as the threat has not been lifted to a reasonable extent. Furthermore, even after the threat has been lifted, the emerging counterinsurgent supporters will not be able to rally the bulk of the population so long as the population is not convinced that the counterinsurgent has the will, the means and the ability to win. When a man's life is at stake, it takes more than propaganda to budge him....

... Effective political action on the population must be preceded by military and police operations against the guerrilla units and insurgent political organizations.

Political, social, economic, and other reforms, however much they ought to be wanted and popular, are inoperative when offered while the insurgent still controls the population.⁹

In this sequence one finds the foundation of counterinsurgency in the security of the population. This requirement for "security first" in COIN necessitates a military presence ahead of other agencies assisting in political reforms. Given the security problem in Afghanistan, the deployment of an additional 30,000 troops to Afghanistan does not constitute compelling evidence supporting claims that

American foreign policy is militarized, unless that argument finds its foundation in some idea that *any* use of the military, however appropriate, to address a foreign policy issues translates to the militarization of foreign policy.

...and some others

At the foundation of every insurgency, the insurgent's motivation is his cause. "The best cause for the insurgent's purpose is one that... can attract the largest number of supporters and repel the minimum of opponents." The 1994 United Nations *Human Development Report* quotes Secretary of State Edward Stettinius invoking two of Franklin Roosevelt's four freedoms: "The battle of peace has to be fought on two fronts. The first is the security front where victory spells freedom from fear. The second is the economic and social front where victory means freedom from want."¹⁰ The quote is found among the opening words of a document that is considered a "milestone publication"¹¹ in the field of human security. Human security is comprised of seven areas: economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security, and political security.¹² It is in deficits of human security and in fear and want that the insurgent finds his cause. The larger COIN problem is one of addressing human security deficits. The objective is to attack the insurgent's cause and restore human security to the population where a government or system has failed to do so to the point that the neutral majority, of which Galula wrote, has been attracted to the insurgent's cause.

"US forces help HN military... conduct COIN operations, including area... and local security operations..., provide advice and help... defeat insurgent forces..., [and] emphasize training HN forces to perform essential defense functions."¹³ In this way they address a personal security deficit. Yet soldiers are not necessarily capable of completing every task involved in conducting a successful counterinsurgency campaign, with sufficient expertise in other areas, the other components of human security remain unaddressed. Infrastructure must be built to provide a means to transport goods and services to markets and economic security; agricultural reform is needed to provide food security; clinics

must be built and doctors and nurses trained to provide immunizations and health security; water sources must be purified and sources of pollution isolated as part of environmental security; institutions must be built that respect varying ethnicities and human rights to provide community and political security. Clearly, the military cannot be expected to do these things. Addressing these issues does not fall within the purview of military action.

In COIN the preferred division of labor allots military tasks to military forces and, whenever possible, “It is always preferred for civilians to perform civilian tasks.”¹⁴ Nonetheless,

[to] confine soldiers to purely military functions while *urgent and vital tasks* [italics added] have to be done, and nobody else is available to undertake them, would be senseless. The soldier must... be prepared to become a propagandist, a social worker, a civil engineer, a schoolteacher, a nurse, a boy scout. But only for as long as he cannot be replaced, for it is better to entrust civilian tasks to civilians.¹⁵

Non-military tasks must transition as quickly as possible to civilian agencies. This is not merely a matter that military personnel are not ideally suited to conducting these tasks with respect to training and equipment. Allowing the military to retain non-military tasks is an admission, by the government, of defeat in insurgency. “Unable to cope with the insurgency through normal government structures, it would have abdicated in favor of the military who at once become the prime and easy target of the insurgent propaganda.”¹⁶ The counterinsurgent is compelled to maintain the division labor to the maximum extent possible, ensuring each agency is assigned the tasks in which they are the most expert.

Yet the military’s role grows rather than contracts in aspects other than the provision of security and training indigenous forces in the counterinsurgency effort in Afghanistan. The same lack of civilian capacity that drives increased spending authorities (e.g. Section 1206 and CERP) at the Department of Defense, drives military personnel to perform tasks to which they not ideally suited or having to create a capability where no particular organization exists to perform such tasks, because those urgent tasks remain.

Such was the case in 2008 in the example of the 935th Agribusiness Development Team (ADT) in Afghanistan.

Afghanistan needed assistance at the most rudimentary levels. Incentives such as electricity and brick & mortar buildings were inconsequential to the rural Afghan who counted upon subsistence farming and bartering for existence. Without a viable and sustainable means of income, military commanders ascertained that the average Afghan would be susceptible to illicit enticement for the insurgency.¹⁷

Military commanders, in Afghanistan, identified growing the agriculture base in Nangahar province as a means to “leverage a sustainable economic incentive, at local levels, as a means to counter insurgency... Without a viable and sustainable means of income, military commanders ascertained that the average Afghan would be susceptible to illicit enticement for the insurgency.”¹⁸ Growing out of discussions with Lt. Gen. Karl Eikenberry, Missouri Senator Christopher “Kit” Bond secured funding for agricultural assistance to Afghan farmers, but USAID had neither the capability nor the capacity to provide such assistance. Though the Army had no such capability itself, through the call up of agricultural experts in the Missouri National Guard, the reserve was able to create an ad hoc organization that could address the objective, and the 935th Agribusiness Development Team was formed.¹⁹

Subsequent correspondence with Lt. Col. Rumi Nielson-Green, who served the Joint Task Force staff during the stand-up of the 935th ADT and helped author a report on its activities, reveals that the reserve unit in fact served the needs of the local military commander better than a civilian agency would have. She stated that as the goal of the 935th ADT was counter-insurgency as opposed to agricultural development a reserve unit was the best fit for the objective, given its rapid deployability, access to Commanders Emergency Response Program funds, suitable skills, and ability to handle combat. Her sense was that were the military merely to provide security for an agriculture team, the focus of the effort would not have aligned with the commander’s objective.²⁰ Even so, lack of civilian capacity leading to military conduct of civilian tasks is demonstrated in such organizations as the 935th ADT, and in countless other areas.

Medical care is provided to a burn victim by the United States Air Force medical facility at Bagram Air Base.²¹ The 53rd Florida Army Guard rebuilds the Sarobi school after a Taliban attack.²² The counter-insurgency efforts in which the United States finds itself embroiled have a definite requirement for significant armed force to provide more than just personal security for the populations in question. Galula writes that the tasks of building the society cannot wait for capacity to be built in civilian agencies. Until civilian capacity grows to a point where it is capable of development projects on the scale required, the military role will continue. Galula's fourth law (Intensity of Efforts and Vastness of Means Are Essential) bears heavily on the problem. The human security challenges and the insurgency that would exploit them do not allow the counter-insurgent the luxury of waiting for civilian capacity to grow. The military has the "vastness of means" to apply the effort, even though this effort may be in a job to which it is not uniquely suited.

¹ Gates, *Remarks at U.S. Global Leadership Campaign (Washington, D.C.)*

² United States Dept of, the Army and Marine Corps United States, *The U.S. Army/Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual : U.S. Army Field Manual no. 3-24 : Marine Corps Warfighting Publication no. 3-33.5*, Kindle/University of Chicago Press / foreword by John A. Nagl ; with a new introduction by Sarah Sewall. ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), l.n.1880-1889.

³ David Galula, *Counterinsurgency Warfare; Theory and Practice*, Kindle edition ed. (New York,: Praeger, 1964), l.n.805.

⁴ *Ibid*, l.n.813.

⁵ *Ibid*, l.n.837.

⁶ *Ibid*, l.n.851.

⁷ *Ibid*, l.n. 815-817.

⁸ *Ibid*, l.n. 827-828.

⁹ *Ibid*, l.n. 841-843.

¹⁰ United Nations Development Program, *Human Development Report* (Oxford: Oxford University Press,1994), 3.

¹¹ Wikipedia contributors, "Human Security," Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Human_security#cite_ref-UNDP_1994_0-1 (accessed 6/24/2010).

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- ¹² United Nations Development Program, *Human Development Report*, 24-25.
- ¹³ United States Dept of, the Army and United States, *The U.S. Army/Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual : U.S. Army Field Manual no. 3-24 : Marine Corps Warfighting Publication no. 3-33.5*, l.n. 1910-1911.
- ¹⁴ Ibid, l.n. 2036.
- ¹⁵ Galula, *Counterinsurgency Warfare; Theory and Practice*, l.n. 931-934.
- ¹⁶ Ibid, l.n.947-948.
- ¹⁷ Michael T. Hauser and others, "The Minuteman Farmer: If Not Me, then Whom?" (Monograph, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Cambridge, 2010).
- ¹⁸ Ibid.
- ¹⁹ Ibid.
- ²⁰ Rumi Nielson-Green, Email, Re: Creeping Militarization, 6/15/2010.
- ²¹ David Axe, "Axeghanistan '09: Saving Razia," War is Boring, <http://www.warisboring.com/?p=2714> (accessed 6/23/2010).
- ²² Brian Calvert, "Program Enhances Ties between Guardsmen, Afghan People ," CBS, http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qa3731/is_200609/ai_n17194439/pg_2/?tag=content;col1 (accessed 6/23/2010).

Addressing a Global Insurgency

Afghanistan provides an example of what Galula referred to as a “hot revolutionary war,’ when the insurgent’s activity becomes openly illegal and violent” as opposed to a cold one, “when the insurgent’s activity remains on the whole legal and non-violent.”¹ The concept of a global insurgency, gaining traction since John Mackinlay was among the first after 9/11 to write about the idea,² has come to characterize the conflict with al Qa’ida and its network of terrorist affiliates that include al Qa’ida in the Islamic Maghreb(AQIM) in North Africa and the Sahel, al Qa’ida in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP), al Qa’ida in Iraq, al Shabab in Somalia, Jemaah Islamiya in Indonesia, the Abu Sayaff Group in the Philippines, and countless smaller cells as well as self-radicalized extremists. The insurgency’s global nature, however, creates a difficulty in monolithically applying a Galula’s descriptor of “hot” or “cold” to it. Were one able to classify the whole war with Galula’s definition, one could describe the war as a “hot” war given its violence. However, this descriptor is not useful when applying counter-insurgent tactics to an area that is largely or entirely non-violent. Division of the globe into various theaters, as David Kilcullen did in his 2004 paper *Countering Global Insurgency*,³ is more appropriate, though his particular divisions are not necessarily prescriptive. In doing so, one can clearly describe local areas with significant violence, such as Afghanistan, as hot insurgencies while applying other descriptors to other regions. Other theaters have hot regions, too, where military action is appropriate, such as the Horn of Africa through Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa (JTF-HOA), in Northern Africa with the Trans-Sahara Counter Terrorism Program(TSCTP), and in the Southern Philippines through Operation Enduring Freedom - Philippines(OEF-P). Other theaters of the war are still colder, or rather “cold & hot” – “cold” most of the time but with spikes in temperature, as in Madrid, London, or Bali; some theaters are

“exothermic,” exporting to other theaters either extremist ideology, through the likes of clerics like Anwar al-Awlaki “the internet bin Laden,”⁴ resulting in such events as the shooting on Fort Hood or the failed bombing attempt in Times Square, or terrorists themselves as occurred in Flight 253 to Detroit on Christmas Day, 2009, or in the events of 9/11, itself. In these “cold & hot” theaters, where extremist violence is less evident on a day to day basis, the need for military presence becomes less and less convincing.

If these theaters do not present a threat that will drive military response, American or otherwise, what kind of action should be taken to address the latent threat residing there? In the cold insurgency, the counterinsurgent has recourse to four options: (1) direct action against the insurgent leaders, (2) indirect action on the conditions that lead to insurgency, (3) infiltration of insurgent groups, and (4) reinforcement of the political apparatus.⁵ While American assistance in the execution of any of these options will require complicity from the host nation or nations, it may be more likely that options (1) and (3) are more suited to the security forces of the host nation itself, although advisors or trainers in employing these options could be welcome. Execution of options (2) and (4) provide better opportunities to draw on the full strength of America⁶ for an appropriate use of all elements of US national power, with greater applications as necessary, and with less imposition on the sovereignty of the nation or nations in question.

While cold counterinsurgency options (1) and (3) purpose the destruction of the insurgent organization, options (2) and (4) go more toward attacking the insurgent’s cause, the foundation of his strength. The 2006 *Declassified Key Judgments of the National Intelligence Estimate (NIE) “Trends in Global Terrorism”* describes four factors, which, though not as lofty as al Qa’ida’s cause of reestablishing an Islamic caliphate or expulsion of the United States from Muslim, provide motivation for the jihadist movement.

(1) Entrenched grievances, such as corruption, injustice, and fear of Western domination, leading to anger, humiliation, and a sense of powerlessness;(2) the Iraq ‘jihad;’ (3) the slow

pace of real and sustained economic, social, and political reforms in many Muslim majority nations; and (4) pervasive anti-US sentiment among most Muslims.⁷

While Osama bin Laden and Ayman al-Zawahiri can point to global grievances like the Israel-Palestine conflict, or the American invasion of Iraq, and American occupation of Muslim lands which do generate anger against the West, local grievances like those expressed by trends (1) and (3) and a sense that globalization somehow left them behind, impact members of the global Muslim population more personally and directly, particularly (though not exclusively) in fragile or failing states.

In his book *Beyond Fundamentalism*, Reza Aslan writes that “[mobilization] occurs... when... global grievances are connected with the local grievances [would be extremists] experience every day...”⁸ Adoption of this line of thinking leads to the conclusion that, while not obviating consideration for global grievances, addressing local grievances can reduce the motivation for radicalization and extremism. The idea of addressing local grievances aligns with Galula’s idea of active minorities competing for the support of the large neutral party, though the size of the parties considered are much larger. As in traditional (i.e. non-global) COIN, by addressing local grievances, albeit in many different theaters, the objective is to make the insurgent (the active minority) less favored by the neutral majority, thus drying up that minority’s support altogether.

Determining how to best execute cold counterinsurgency options (2) and (4) to address the grievances articulated in the 2006 NIE returns consideration to the militarization of United States foreign policy argument. As, the cold insurgency is non-violent by nature, why should more military personnel deploy to (and more Defense Department activities occur in) non-combat countries?⁹ How do the Diplomatic, Informational, Military, and Economic (DIME) instruments of national power apply to addressing problems like “corruption, injustice, and fear of Western domination[and] the slow pace of real and sustained economic, social, and political reforms”? More specifically, where does the “M” fit in to addressing these motivators? If the insurgency is not hot, the population is secure. What is the military’s role in such things as rooting out corruption, building institutions based on the rule of law,

fostering economic growth, or political reforms? Solutions to these problem, if anywhere seem to lie in the Departments of State, Justice, Commerce, and Treasury. If anything, in addressing “fear of Western domination” one could advocate that withdrawal of the Department of Defense from the cold counterinsurgency altogether.

Ideally, agencies other than the Department of Defense would take the lead in many of the areas identified by the National Intelligence Estimate. However, at least two realities cloud this idealized perspective. First, the previously identified capacity deficit in many civilian agencies, most particularly in the State Department and USAID, precludes these agencies’ provision of the personnel with the right skills to address these problems to an adequate level. Given the continuing need for such already limited expertise to support efforts in Afghanistan where the US effort is perceived to be most most urgent, this expertise is particularly scarce in other theaters. Second, the need to provide security for the population persists in the “cold” theaters. This idea may seem peculiar given the context. In counterinsurgency the military provides security to the population from insurgents. If the “cold” insurgency is non-violent, what is the need for securing the population? In the case of this global insurgency, populations concerned may have no immediate personal security threat nor, for that matter, any cause to fear a future threat from insurgents, seemingly obviating the need for foreign or even domestic military involvement at all. However, the need to provide the population security does not end with protection from insurgents. Security is the core function of government. It is the function at which many of the governments, whose various populations make up the larger population for whose minds the “War of Ideas,” (as the global counterinsurgency effort has been called), battles, fail. At it’s core, counterinsurgency aims to alleviate the “conditions propitious for insurgency.”¹⁰ **The entire undertaking is about security.** Just as in a hot insurgency, it includes such things as agricultural reform(food **security**), getting markets running(economic **security**), building medical clinics(health **security**), promoting governmental institutions(community and political **security**)to make progress in all

these areas there must be protection from public disorder and crime (personal **security**), particularly in fragile states.¹¹ Each of these facets of **human security** resonates with the entrenched grievances of the NIE that fuel extremism.

A role for the Department of Defense is thus identified in the provision of personal security and, given the absence of civilian capacity, in the provision of other realms of human security as well, to the best of its ability as Galula's statement continues to apply.

To confine soldiers to purely military functions while urgent and vital tasks have to be done, and nobody else is available to undertake them, would be senseless. The soldier must... be prepared to become a propagandist, a social worker, a civil engineer, a schoolteacher, a nurse, a boy scout...¹²

Yet his statement demands qualification of the "urgent and vital tasks." It can be argued that all tasks are urgent as conditions existing that contribute to extremism continue to result in attacks against the United States. What then of the other motivators? What of "fear of Western domination... and a sense of powerlessness?" What of the "Iraq 'jihad' [and a] pervasive anti-US sentiment among most Muslims"?¹³ Would not a military presence exacerbate these concerns and serve to drive potential recruits to the insurgents' cause? Considering these valid questions, weighs on how the military, if, absent civilian agencies, it serves as the only source of a solution in the near term, should be employed if it is to be employed to address these grievances.

¹ Galula, *Counterinsurgency Warfare; Theory and Practice*, l.n. 702-705.

² John Mackinlay, "Tackling Bin Laden - Lessons from history," Guardian News and Media Limited, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2001/oct/28/afghanistan.religion> (accessed 6/23/2010).

³ David Kilcullen, "Countering Global Insurgency," Small Wars Journal, <http://smallwarsjournal.com/documents/kilcullen.pdf> (accessed 6/23/2010).

⁴ Morris Loveday, "The Anatomy of a Suicide Bomber," The National Newspaper, <http://www.thenational.ae/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=/20100102/WEEKENDER/701019622/1306> (accessed 6/30/2010).

⁵ Galula, *Counterinsurgency Warfare; Theory and Practice*, l.n.720-721.

⁶ Capps, *Drawing on the Full Strength of America: Seeking Greater Civilian Capacity in US Foreign Affairs*

⁷ Office of the United States Director of National Intelligence, "Declassified Key Judgments of the National Intelligence Estimate "Trends in Global Terrorism: Implications for the United States" Dated April 2006," Director of National Intelligence, http://www.dni.gov/press_releases/Declassified_NIE_Key_Judgments.pdf (accessed 6/23/2010).

⁸Reza Aslan, *Beyond Fundamentalism: Confronting Religious Extremism in the Age of Globalization*, Kindle ed. (New York: Random House, 2010), l.n.2489-2490.

⁹ Lugar, *Embassies as Command Posts in the Anti-Terror Campaign*

¹⁰ Galula, *Counterinsurgency Warfare; Theory and Practice*, l.n. 172.

¹¹ Stewart Patrick, "Weak States and Global Threats: Fact Or Fiction?" *Washington Quarterly* 29, no. 2 (Spring, 2006), 27-53, <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&AN=19873302&site=ehost-live&scope=site>.

¹² Galula, *Counterinsurgency Warfare; Theory and Practice*, l.n. 931-934.

¹³ Office of the United States Director of National Intelligence, *Declassified Key Judgments of the National Intelligence Estimate "Trends in Global Terrorism: Implications for the United States" Dated April 2006*

Operations Afloat... Objectives Ashore

It as much is in the interest of those feeling them as it is in the interest of the United States that the NIE's entrenched grievances be addressed. However, a heavy handed approach can have the effect of alienating those the United States would help, while not necessarily leading to the successful resolution of the problem. A recent understanding has developed that such alienation cannot be dismissed, as *overwhelming* capacity does not connote *infinite* capacity and international partners are necessary, not merely convenient. If civilian capacity deficits require that efforts to address entrenched grievances be undertaken by the Department of Defense as the only agency with the capacity to do so, the "[fear] of Western domination, leading to... powerlessness... and... pervasive anti-US sentiment among Muslims,"¹ makes that DOD role that much more difficult to do so without negatively impacting objectives. In building this capacity DOD must follow the advice found in T.E. Lawrence's *27 Articles*: "Do not try to do too much with your own hands. Better [they] do it tolerably than that you do it perfectly. It is their war, and you are to help them, not to win it for them. Actually, your practical work will not be as good as, perhaps, you think it is."² The Department of Defense's role must be minimally apparent lest it should exacerbate grievances. Thus, as reinforced by the Secretary of Defense Gates' remarks during the Landon Lecture series at Kansas State University that "the most important military component in the War on Terror is not the fighting we do ourselves, but how well we enable and empower our partners to defend and govern themselves."³ DOD has embarked on a strategy of building capacity. Rather than adopting plans through which the United States addresses the problems of other nations unilaterally, it collaborates on strategies that empower those aggrieved to address their grievances and eventually to let them carry on themselves.

Late in 2007, the United States implemented a piece of that strategy in Africa, a continent with numerous “Muslim majority” states, many of which are marked by weak governments whose failure to meet human security needs of their populations could serve to perpetuate and aggravate the NIE grievances as well as a potential for extremist activity as evidenced in Northern Africa, the Trans-Sahara and Sahel, and the Horn of Africa. The strategic interests of the United States in Africa resonate with themes of the 2010 National Security Strategy in denying safe havens to extremists, defeating global criminal networks, fighting pandemic disease and securing energy resources. As the inaugural Africa Partnership Station platform, USS FORT MCHENRY(LSD-43) deployed with HSV-2 SWIFT to the Gulf of Guinea on a seven month deployment to help build maritime capacity among Central and West African nations through maritime security force assistance.

While agreement with Barrett Tillman’s notion that COIN is a rifle fight may come to most easily, comprehending the value of a ship in addressing the security problems ashore requires a comprehension of the importance of maritime security and of how badly it is maintained in Africa and the indirect affect maritime insecurity has on events ashore. As Till observed, the need for a navy⁴ grows from the inability of a nation to make the most of the attributes of the sea, “namely, as a resource, and as a means of transportation, information and dominion.”⁵ In Africa, coastal nations have little capacity to secure these attributes of the sea to the benefit of their populations. In African waters, Illegal fishing, human, narcotics and arms trafficking, transport of illicitly bunkered petroleum products, and maritime piracy all combine to deny the kind of “unrestricted access to the oceans... that,” Tillman wrote, “the world’s population take for granted”⁶ and in so doing this maritime insecurity (1) deprives Africans of the resources of the sea(food security), (2) stifles regional and global trade(economic security), (3) contributes to environmental degradation both on land and at sea(environmental security), and (4) contributes to crime, corruption, and violence ashore(personal security). If COIN calls for

addressing human security issues then, given these outcomes of maritime insecurity, addressing disorder at sea contributes to a global COIN strategy.

Economic Security

Disorder at sea's impact to Africa's economic security is the most easily quantified, though losses in this area are necessarily estimates. Perhaps the most thought of form of this disorder comes in the form of maritime piracy⁷ and its impact on commerce by sea. Though it is outstripped by attacks in the Gulf of Aden and off Somalia, the Gulf of Guinea has among the most pirate attacks of anywhere in the world with 47 in 2009. Until recently overtaken by East African waters, the Gulf of Guinea had been the most dangerous region for piracy in the world.⁸ The impact of piracy goes beyond the loss of individual cargoes, though. While driving insurance premiums up, it also drives risk-averse shippers away from carrying cargo in the region.

Oil production in West Africa has suffered from illegal bunkering (the theft of oil from pipelines) which has cost Nigeria alone an estimated \$5 billion per year.⁹ Piracy has impacted oil production, too, as an example, leading to an estimated reduction of 13 percent in Cameroon's oil production from 2009 to 2010.¹⁰

Another area of concern is Illegal, unlicensed and unregistered (IUU) fishing. This criminal practice costs sub-Saharan Africa approximately one billion dollars, annually, amounting to roughly a quarter of Africa's total yearly fisheries exports. At the national level, losses in fishing revenues experienced in Guinea, Sierra Leone, and Liberia are estimated at \$110 million, \$29 million, and \$10 million, respectively.¹¹

Guinea has extensive and valuable shrimp, octopus and pelagic fisheries. There have been a number of surveillance exercises in Guinea waters, which indicate that between 20% and 60% of fishing vessels are unlicensed. In 2001 Guinea observer data showed 34 of 92 vessels (34%) seen were fishing in a prohibited zone, largely taking catch from the area designated for artisanal fishes and therefore illegal. This suggests that up to one third of legal vessels are taking their catch from illegal areas plus there is an additional 33% of unlicensed illegal fishing. From this we estimate a probable loss of \$27m in shrimp catches. However, shrimp are a relatively minor part

of the catch of these vessels, sometimes less than 10% of the catch, the rest being demersal fish, which is counted as bycatch and discarded. The potential value of this fish is \$8m. Similar calculations have been made for illegal octopus catch (\$49m). Guinea does have some MCS[(monitoring, control, and surveillance)] capacity, including inshore patrol vessels and inspectors, but is severely restricted by budget. It suffers from the activities of fishing vessels licensed in neighbouring countries moving over the border into its waters, and especially into prohibited areas close to the shore where conflicts with artisanal fishermen arise.¹²

Piracy has impacted fishing as well, with at least 293 attacks occurring on Nigerian fishing boats between 2003 and 2008, while in early December 2009, 170 fishing trawlers remained in port and in so doing threatened “50,000 jobs.” *The Vanguard*, Lagos’ major newspaper, reported a loss of fishing export revenues due to piracy at \$600 million.¹³

Food Security

While loss of fishing revenue clearly impacts economic security, more fundamentally, reduction in the catch translates to less fish for consumption by the indigenous African population. Marine and freshwater fish provide the primary source of protein to Africans. In Sierra Leone, fish contribute 80% of animal protein to the country.¹⁴ Table 5-1 provides details for some countries on the Gulf of Guinea Coast.

Country	Population (millions)	Population under-nourished(millions)	Children under 5 Malnourished (millions)	Fish dietary protein/Animal protein(%)
Cameroon	16	4.3	0.5	32
DR Congo	54	40.5	3.6	42
Ghana	22	2.6	0.7	66
Nigeria	130	10.4	6.5	34
Senegal	12	2.9	0.4	43

Source: Environmental Justice Foundation

Environmental Security

Disorder at sea has a major impact on the environment as well. The dollar costs of illegal bunkering are matched by the devastation of the environment they wreak. Oil thieves are not concerned with spillage.

It happens at night, under cover of darkness. Thieves move into the mangrove swamps and creeks of Nigeria's southern Niger Delta region, homing in on the oil pipelines that criss-cross the area.

They puncture the lines or open their valves, siphoning off crude and refined oil into barges or trucks. These vehicles then head for the nearby coast, where their cargo is deposited into the bunkers of large ships, including fishing trawlers.

"The method is simple. Some foreign vessels will be stationed somewhere at sea, waiting for their collaborator vessels from Nigeria to take crude oil or even refined products for onward shipment to countries all over the world," says Tony Esan, a former naval officer who was involved in patrolling the coast around the Niger Delta.¹⁵

The damage to the environment is internal to Nigeria in this case and is significant. While not all of it is a result of illegal bunkering, the Niger River Delta has experienced over 546 million gallons of oil spill over the last fifty years.¹⁶ One local Nigerian official "was exasperated that illegal bunkering activities have devastated the... ecosystem and destroyed fishing and farming activities of the local people."¹⁷

At sea, environmental degradation is seen in the depletion of fisheries as a result of both IUU fishing and underreported legal fishing. "The international community... ranks IUU fishing as... one of the most significant issues impeding the attainment of sustainable fisheries."¹⁸ Not only does IUU fishing impact target stocks, but their practices, such as the harvest of juveniles, fishing in closed spawning grounds, and modification of gear ignore regulations put in place to protect the marine environment.¹⁹ In West Africa, the Fishery Committee for the Eastern and Central Atlantic identified all targeted stocks in Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, and Sierra Leone as over-exploited or fully exploited.²⁰

Personal Security

Other forms of crime not derived from the sea as a resource but rather from the sea as a means of transportation impact human security as well. Pirates commit violence against individuals at sea in the course of the commission of their crimes. Transnational organized crime in the form of trafficking in persons, narcotics, small arms, and a range of other contraband, makes use of the sea with devastating impacts to African populations. Small arms trafficking, contributing to the sheer number of weapons on the continent is destabilizing and contributes to regional violence, while trafficking in persons and

narcotics makes impact at the personal and societal levels. The larger issue of crime is that it feeds on weak states and further weakens them. Criminal elements exploit gaps in enforcement and then “deploy corruption... to gain protection and their activities and to open new activities for profit.”²¹

Symbiosis

If these threats to human security were not sufficient to demand improved maritime security in the waters off West Africa, a symbiosis in these threats reinforces the argument for it. As one practice reduces the opportunity to find licit employment in a given sector, other illicit sectors have become more attractive, exacerbating the problem. Much of the discussion surrounding the source of Somali piracy has expressed that its roots lie in the illegal fishing that became more and more prevalent off the coast of Somalia when Siad Barre’s collapsed in the early 1990s.²² As opportunities to find profit in fishing were diminished by IUU fishing, Somali fishers turned to piracy as a source of income. Robert Rotberg, who led a group exploring the implications of Somali piracy in January 2010 at Harvard University, disputes this assertion as it applies to Somalia, maintaining that people had not turned from fishing, but simply that they had become pirates because the money was much better.²³ In West Africa, there is more evidence that fishers are turning to other sources of income besides fishing. In Guinea-Bissau, “[as] the profits to be made from fishing diminish with rising fuel costs and poor management of the sector, fishermen are increasingly turning to drugs and people trafficking to boost their meager incomes.”²⁴ In Nigeria, some of the “fishing trawlers... are not really fishing. Underneath [are] tanks which they normally use to take oil either as crude or refined product illegally out of Nigeria.”²⁵ Many of the tankers that depart with illegal oil, had arrived with small arms or narcotics to help pay for the oil.²⁶ The confluence of destructive activity is startling.

An African Solution to a Problem in Africa

Maritime insecurity, presents a problem to Africa that is desperate for a solution. Though a maritime phenomenon, its negative impacts are felt in human security deficits ashore with the

populations of Africa and feed human security deficits. In addressing maritime insecurity, with its attendant human security impacts, progress can be made toward addressing identified grievances that not only fuel extremism but make daily negative impact at a basic levels and impede African participation in a globalized economy. There is a problem the solution to which is uniquely suited to navies and other maritime security organizations. In a role uniquely suited to the United States Navy, given its professionalism, expertise, and capacity, as part of a Global Maritime Partnership, Africa Partnership Station deploys (now to both coasts of Africa) to help develop an African solution to this problem in Africa. APS does not provide a canned solution. Each deployment provides training and equipment in response to specific requests from African nations suffering from a lack of capacity and capability to secure their respective maritime domains to the limits of their respective exclusive economic zones. With 1206 funding, the Navy provides assistance to African maritime forces with equipment, such as patrol craft that allow them to both physically patrol their waters and apprehend pirates, illegal fisherman, smugglers, traffickers, and the like or with technology that enables better maritime domain awareness to develop a better sense of which vessels are operating in African waters.

More than just providing equipment, Africa Partnership station is about sailors training sailors to use that equipment. Aboard the APS platform, school is in session. Since the first APS mission sailors have provided training to thousands of members of African maritime security forces from nations throughout the region; whether that training be in fisheries management, boarding techniques, small boat handling, engine maintenance, coastal surveillance radar operations, oceanographic measurements, or a host of other topics. The Navy provides the tools to African partners so that they can solve their maritime security problems without the United States.

Ships have long been platforms for executing diplomatic missions, yet, when James Cable described gunboat diplomacy as "the use or threat of limited naval force, otherwise than as an act of war, in order to secure advantage or to avert loss, either in the furtherance of an international dispute

or else against foreign nationals within the territory or the jurisdiction of their own state,"²⁷ a training mission was not what he imagined. Cable had more in mind, the kind of diplomacy of which Nelson wrote, decrying Britain's "pen-and-ink men," the hero of Trafalgar going on to say that "a fleet of British warships are the best negotiators in Europe."²⁸ Were Cable alive, he might have debated whether the Africa Partnership Station represented gunboat diplomacy given the absence of the ship presenting a threat. APS certainly cannot be described as definitive, purposeful, or catalytic force, though it might fall within the realm of expressive force. Yet one aspect the warship that contributes to its effectiveness as a tool for diplomacy makes it an ideal platform for engaging in partnership building:

Even after they have intervened they can easily be disengaged and withdrawn. Air forces and armies, unless they enjoy advantages of an adjacent frontier, are cumbrous instruments, dragging a long tail behind their teeth...²⁹

Possession of this quality makes the ship a brilliant platform for the conduct of this mission. The ship is completely self-contained. It brings with it everything it needs to complete its mission. The crew places no burden on the host nation for any services or billeting. Instead of an imposing presence reinforcing and image of an intrusive and oppressive America, APS brings a minimal footprint. When the mission is complete, the ship gets underway, leaving no *physical* trace of having been there.

APS does fill gaps left by capacity deficits in civilian agencies in activities ashore. It provides humanitarian aid in the form of food aid and Navy personnel undertake construction projects to assist local populations. Yet APS is an interagency, not a DOD only, undertaking. APS attempts to address some African problems leveraging both civilian and military expertise. In cooperation with the National Oceanographic and Atmospheric Association, APS provides assistance to African nations in better understanding the marine environment and to determine the state of their fisheries. Building on the skills learned during the APS deployment, Sierra Leonean maritime security forces leveraged APS training and worked with the USCGC LEGARE, deployed with the Africa Maritime Law Enforcement Partnership (AMLEP) and apprehended the Taiwanese motor vessel Yu Feng, illegally fishing in Sierra

Leone's exclusive economic zone. APS works with USAID and non-governmental organizations to provide relief and aid to Africans in need, as it did during a crisis in Chad during SWIFT's mission with relief provided to refugees. It also supports less emergent needs:

As part of the outreach activities while Africa Partnership Station ships are in port, the crews will do community relations activities, everything from helping to rebuild schools and medical clinics, orphanages, do painting and roof repair work, and these are all coordinated with the host nation and the U.S. country team involved so that it's not just driving down a road and going, hey, we can do something here. This is all done with a purpose to help the country as they would like it to be done.³⁰

APS is not a unilateral undertaking, nor could it function as one. Cooperation between neighboring states is critical in securing the seas. Regional solutions must be developed to address such things as IUU fishing where a fisher could easily slip between waters to avoid capture. Information must be shared to improve maritime domain awareness. APS is building the kind of relationships to enable this kind of information sharing. In executing the Africa Partnership Station, the United States enlisted the assistance of both western partners and African nations to ensure the right expertise was brought to the continent. The staff supporting the US Navy captain leading Africa Partnership Station is made up of a multinational cast with members from both Western partners and Africa. As part of APS, the Italian Coast Guard continues to assist providing expertise in fisheries management to African.³¹ An article announcing the conduct of a planning conference for APS 2011 reflects the international flavor of the mission: "More than 200 military, government and civilian personnel from 21 African countries, six European countries and the United States met in Paris, June 22, to begin planning for Africa Partnership Station (APS) initiatives to take place in 2011."³² Nor are the assets only from the United States. In the Fall of 2009 the Dutch ship HNLMS JOHANN DE WITT participated in APS. During the Spring of 2010, the Belgian BNS GODETIA participated as well.

The construction of capacity includes the construction of relationship between US and European and US and African partners, but also among all participants. APS is a success story, but it needs to keep having a sequel. The Africa Partnership Station provides a model for partner capacity building with a

minimal footprint and tailored curricula. It addresses real needs as determined by the host nation. It does not seek to solve problems, but provides a means that will allow partner maritime forces to do so. The partnership empowers Africans to address their problems through mentorship rather than firm direction.

¹ Office of the United States Director of National Intelligence, *Declassified Key Judgments of the National Intelligence Estimate "Trends in Global Terrorism: Implications for the United States" Dated April 2006*.

² Thomas E. Lawrence, "T. E. Lawrence, Twenty-Seven Articles *Arab Bulletin*, 20 August 1917," T.E. Lawrence Studies, http://telawrence.net/telawrencenet/works/articles_essays/1917_twenty-seven_articles.htm (accessed 6/25/2010).

³ Robert M. Gates, "Landon Lecture (Kansas State University) *Remarks as Delivered by Secretary of Defense Robert M. Gates*," United States Department of Defense, <http://www.defense.gov/speeches/speech.aspx?speechid=1199> (accessed 6/16/2010).

⁴ Although Till specifically used the word "navies," and it will continue to be used here, it is more accurate to use the term maritime security forces, which will include national coast guards and local maritime security forces. The United States abandoned the term "1000 Ship Navy" in favor of the more inclusive Global Maritime Partnership, in part in recognition that the duty of securing the seas fell to more than navies.

⁵ Till, *Seapower : A Guide for the Twenty-First Century*, l.n. 1251-1255.

⁶ Tillman, *Fear and Loathing in the Post-Naval Era - U.S. Naval Institute*

⁷ Although the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea distinguishes between piracy and armed robbery against ships, as a function of the location of the act (whether inside or outside territorial seas) for the purpose of discussion here, for the purposes of characterizing a behavior as a symptom of general maritime insecurity, the International Maritime Bureau's Regional Piracy Centre's definition will be used. The International Maritime Bureau defines it as "An act of boarding or attempting to board any ship with the apparent intent to commit theft or any other crime and with the apparent intent or capability to use force in the furtherance of that act."

⁸ ICC International Maritime Bureau, *Piracy and Armed Robbery Against Ships Annual Report 1 January - 31 December 2009* (London: ICC International Maritime Bureau, 2010), 5-6.

⁹ Andrew Walker, "'Blood Oil' Dripping from Nigeria," British Broadcasting Corporation, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/7519302.stm> (accessed 6/27/2010).

¹⁰ Scott Stearns, "Piracy Cuts Oil Production in Cameroon, Threatens Future Investment," VOANews, <http://www1.voanews.com/english/news/africa/central/Piracy-Cuts-Oil-Production-in-Cameroon-Threatens-Future-Investment--90356909.html> (accessed 6/26/2010).

¹¹ Environmental Justice Foundation, "Pirate Fishing - the Scourge of West Africa," <http://www.ejfoundation.org/page275.html> (accessed 6/26/2010).

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http://www.imcsnet.org/imcs/docs/iuu_fishing_synthesis_report_mrag.pdf.
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- ¹⁹ Environmental Justice Foundation, "Impacts of IUU Fishing," <http://www.ejfoundation.org/page163.html> (accessed 05/18/2010).
- ²⁰ Environmental Justice Foundation, "Impacts of Pirate Fishing at Sea and on Land," *Environmental Justice Foundation*, <http://www.ejfoundation.org/page276.html> (accessed 6/27/2010).
- ²¹ Stewart Patrick, "Weak States and Global Threats: Fact Or Fiction?" *Washington Quarterly* 29, no. 2 (Spring2006), 27-53, <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&AN=19873302&site=ehost-live&scope=site>.
- ²² Robert Rotberg, *Combating Maritime Piracy: A Policy Brief with Recommendations for Action* (Cambridge: World Peace foundation, 2010).
- ²³ Interview with Robert Rotberg, 5/25/2010.
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Conclusion – For the Common Defense

Three days before John F. Kennedy took the oath of office as the thirty-fifth President of the United States, President Eisenhower delivered a farewell speech to the nation. In it, he pointed out that through our "...adventure in free government, our basic purposes have been to keep the peace; to foster progress in human achievement, and to enhance liberty, dignity and integrity among people and among nations." He went on to point out that the peacetime military of 1960 was unlike that any of his predecessors had known. This disparity between past and present peacetime eras had resulted from the threat that Eisenhower's aforementioned "basic purposes" faced in the ideological conflict in which the United States was engaged. Unlike in previous peacetime environments the United States could "no longer risk the emergency improvisation of national defense, we [had] been compelled to create a permanent armaments industry of vast proportions." Moreover, where war's end had historically seen a reduction in the size of United States military, at the time of his speech "three and a half million men and women [were] directly engaged in the defense establishment" and the United States was spending "on military security more than the net income of all United States corporations." As he left office Eisenhower warned that "We must never let the weight of this combination endanger our liberties or democratic processes. We should take nothing for granted. Only an alert and knowledgeable citizenry can compel the proper meshing of the huge industrial and military machinery of defense with our peaceful methods and goals, so that security and liberty may prosper together."¹

The end of the ideological conflict that had created the environment that resulted in Eisenhower's speech in 1961, left the United States unchallenged with the most powerful military in the world. Despite a military supremacy that was sustained through the 1990s, the "long war" against

extremism yielded a fantastic expansion of military expenditure, indeed of all federal expenditure, and ostensibly supported a claim that an aspect of United States society and government, in particularly foreign policy, has become militarized. However, increased defense spending does not present as damning evidence as some might propound given comparable relative growth in other budget functions, in particular, in the international affairs budget. Nonetheless, a failure to grow the capacity of the State Department and USAID has led to a need for the Department of Defense, having substantial capacity, to increase its role in the provision of humanitarian assistance and expands its roles through both the Commander's Emergency Response Program (CERP) and Section 1206 authorities.

Some in the United States and among the population of its partners have adopted the idea, reinforced by statements from the Secretary of Defense rejecting the notion that the United States and its allies could kill or capture every terrorist, that the military should shrink its role in defeating the current enemy. But this is a Global Insurgency and the urgency attributed to tasks associated with defeating that insurgency, which is done through winning the support of the aggregate population (Galula's large neutral majority) within various theaters worldwide, that provides justification that those tasks fall to the military until civilian agencies (to include American, partner, and eventually host nation agencies) have both the capability and capacity to carry out these tasks themselves. Department of Defense has thus become more deeply involved in the funding as well as the implementation of the financing of military equipment, the training of foreign military personnel, and even the provision of developmental aid. The military participates in these activities because these activities must be done to support local and global counterinsurgency efforts. While global COIN demands significantly greater civilian capacity and a whole of government approach, the military finds itself in a position where, absent the capacity for such an approach, if it does not complete necessary tasks, those tasks will not be completed on an acceptable timeline.

In the cold insurgency, the need to conduct military tasks exists as well. The absence of security such as the military can provide, not only against insurgents, contributes to the attractiveness of the insurgent's cause. It contributes to further undermining legitimacy of established governments. As this security requirement exists even absent the hot insurgency, the need for its provision will persist even beyond victory against al Qa'ida and its network, because the human security deficits are causal to insurgency, in general, irrespective of the name the active minority chooses, the requirement for this security will endure.

At sea this need for security is no less a requirement. Human *insecurity* finds many sources in disorder at sea. As access to the attributes of the sea diminishes, disorder at sea feeds human security deficits as demonstrated in Western Africa. These deficits feed upon themselves and contribute to the fragility of states and then mix and reinforce with anti-western grievances that fuel the Global Insurgency. Whether in the areas of economic, food, environmental or personal security, the securing of maritime domains by coastal nations in Africa can contribute to the stability of the polities that endeavor to govern these states and in so doing, drive support for the insurgents out.

Securing the attributes of the sea for their parent nations and by extension contribute to the human security of their populations, has been the role "uniquely suited to" to navies and maritime organizations. In establishing the Africa Partnership Station, the United States helps African navies do just that. The Africa Partnership Station in helping provide an African solution Africa's problems of maritime insecurity through the protection of its contribution to the global commons it helps Africa contribute to a solution to a global problem.

Despite the demonstrated prevalence of disorder at sea in Africa, disorder at sea is not an only African problem. Illegal fishing practices, piracy, smuggling, trafficking, all manner of illegal activity take place in waters around the globe. Many nations contribute to the peace of the global commons that are the sea. Even in the United States diverse fishing regulations between states lead to IUU fishing. Yet in

answering Barrett Tillman's question, the example of the impact of disorder at sea in Africa is poignant. Maritime insecurity in Africa demonstrates the need not for a large Navy, but the need for a still larger navy consisting of not only of navies, but of coast guards, and other local maritime security agencies as well. The US Navy has called this collection of forces the Global Maritime Partnership. Individual maritime assets aggregate to that Partnership to protect the use of the sea for their parent nations. Yet as those nations' navies protect their respective waters, that "unrestricted access" of which Tillman spoke becomes more truth rather than catch phrase and the global commons become truly common, shared by all, as they are defended by the Global Maritime Partnership and they extend trade and globalization to those who perceived that they had been left behind by it. In turn the maritime security created helps to diminish the NIE's grievances and indirectly defends against a global insurgency and through defense of the global commons, it provides for a global common defense.

¹ Eisenhower, *Military-Industrial Complex Speech*, Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1961

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