

Farewell to the Editor

Two years ago, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Richard Myers, transferred a colonel from his personal staff to National Defense University (NDU) to assume duties as Editor of *Joint Force Quarterly* (JFQ). During the course of his research in advance of assuming these duties, Colonel Merrick Krause, USAF, learned that on June 18, 1992, General Colin Powell received a briefing concerning an initiative to reinforce the “joint culture” of the U.S. Armed Forces. In that meeting, General Powell expressed his clear preference for a security journal modeled on the *Marine Corps Gazette* and the U.S. Naval Institute *Proceedings*. The Chairman directed that the journal should be laid out and formatted with appropriate devices and a cover “catchy enough for people to grab it.” He also directed that the journal should be crafted for a specific audience: “the flight line.” The Chairman further elaborated that the new journal should speak “to the whole military leadership population, not just the political-military types.”

In issuing his marching orders to Colonel Krause, General Myers emphasized that JFQ should expand its look beyond effective joint teamwork and encourage greater understanding between the military and its interagency partners. To the same degree that the Armed Forces have benefited from joint education and training, other Federal agencies can increase understanding and

efficiency through integrated training and operations, key tenets indispensable in Operations *Enduring Freedom* and *Iraqi Freedom*. Informed by this guidance, Colonel Krause lost no time in communicating his vision to his new team.

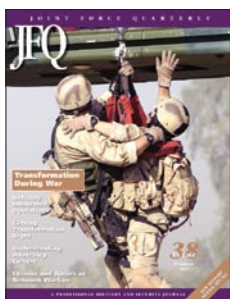
Colonel Krause reported for duty at NDU Press in October 2004 and found a professional but underutilized staff in need of focus and teamwork and an organization in need of an effective business model. Without hesitation, he reorganized the staff and let them know that their ideas mattered in recrafting not only *Joint Force Quarterly* but also the way that the organization went about its work. Colonel Krause dedicated himself to conceiving, writing, and revising (for months on end) what now has become an impressive staff reorganization that keeps the journal “on target, on time.” His innovative leadership also broke ground by allowing the press to work with outside publishers to ensure that the important work done at NDU in the fields of national security strategy and national military strategy, among many others, reaches a much wider audience.

But Colonel Krause did more than establish business practices and metrics. He brought something to the press that had long been missing: teambuilding. Staff meetings became debate forums, not only in regard to the work at hand but also in regard to issues that faced the U.S. military and the Nation every day. Political differences within the

office were celebrated. Thoughts and opinions were welcomed. The staff became more comfortable, professional, and dedicated to the mission, and the corporate culture changed tremendously. Indeed, Colonel Krause’s ability to lead others is uncanny. He is not one to say what people want to hear but what they need to hear in order to get the job done. At times, tempers flared, but at the end of the day, we all had smiles on our faces and produced a journal that looks as impressive as it reads. With Colonel Krause came pride and confidence in all work taken on. We thank him earnestly for that inspiration.

With this issue of JFQ, a far more efficient and business-oriented staff wishes to veto Colonel Krause’s desire for a quiet departure by expressing its heartfelt appreciation and gratitude for a job exceptionally well done. We also seek to establish Colonel Krause as the journal’s first Editor Emeritus, an honor tailored to reinforce the respect that we harbor for this natural leader and to emphasize our hope that he will continue a professional relationship with this journal for years to come. Colonel Krause may be retiring from the U.S. Air Force, but he is not retiring from service to this country in the national security arena. We wish Merrick fair winds and following seas as he continues his career “providing for the common defense” in the Department of Homeland Security.

—NDU Press Staff



JFQ Dialogue

Open Letter to JFQ Readers

Joint Force Quarterly is mindful that many of its readers have experienced multiple tours of duty in one or more theaters in the war on terror. We want to hear your stories, share your practical insights, and improve the way our government secures national security interests in partnership with allies and nongovernmental organizations. Even when manuscripts focus on technical or specialized aspects of security research, *JFQ* can usually find a way to incorporate the work and sometimes refers an author's study to outside institutes and centers, such as the Center for Technology and National Security Policy. We ask that authors and research groups continue submitting the broad array of articles and thoughtful critiques unfettered and would also like to solicit manuscripts on specific subject areas in concert with future thematic focuses.

The following are areas of interest to which *JFQ* expects to return frequently, with no submission deadline:

- orchestrating instruments of national power
- coalition operations
- employing the economic instrument of power
- future of naval power
- humanitarian assistance and disaster relief
- industry collaboration for national security
- integrated operations subsets (new partners, interoperability, and transformational approaches) joint air and space power
- Just War theory
- defending against surprise attack
- proliferation and weapons of mass destruction
- prosecuting the war on terror within sovereign countries
- military and diplomatic history

The following topics are tied to submission deadlines for specific upcoming issues:

March 1, 2007 (Issue 46, 3rd quarter 2007): Intelligence and Technology
U.S. Strategic Command

September 1, 2007 (Issue 48, 1st quarter 2008): The Long War
Stability and Security Operations

June 1, 2007 (Issue 47, 4th quarter 2007): U.S. Pacific Command
Focus on China
SECDEF and CJCS Essay Contest Winners

December 1, 2007 (Issue 49, 2nd quarter 2008): Homeland Defense
U.S. Northern Command

JFQ readers are typically subject matter experts who can take an issue or debate to the next level of application or utility. Quality manuscripts harbor the potential to save money and lives. When framing your argument, please focus on the *So what?* question. That is, how does your research, experience, or critical analysis improve the understanding or performance of the reader? Speak to implications from the operational to strategic level of influence and tailor the message for an interagency readership without using acronyms or jargon. Also, write prose, not terse bullets. Even the most prosaic doctrinal debate can be interesting if presented with care! Visit ndupress.ndu.edu to view our NDU Press Submission Guidelines. Share your professional insights and improve national security.

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Letter to the Editor

To the Editor: I recently completed an 18-month tour of duty in Iraq, where I served at a logistics site, with a Special Forces A Team, with a maneuver battalion, and as a personal interpreter and cultural advisor to the commander of Task Force Freedom, a two-star command. This variety of jobs was possible due to my fluency in Arabic and familiarity with Arabic culture. I wanted to share some insights from my experience in Iraq in order to help deploying units, or those already there, better understand what we are doing right and what we can do better.

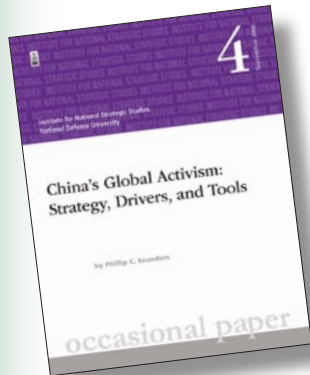
After 3 years in Iraq, it is clear that the coalition forces' main mission has switched primarily from leading the fight against the growing insurgency to preparing the new Iraqi security forces to assume the counterinsurgency fight. It is a demanding and complicated mission to execute since it not only requires the coalition commander's expertise, professionalism, and support, but also depends tremendously on our Iraqi counterparts' will, dedication to their military, and their loyalty to Iraq itself. Therefore, during the first few months in country, coalition commanders should spend ample time interfacing with their Iraqi counterparts to build trust and confidence and to assess their loyalty, leadership, skills, and readiness level.

During the first few months, coalition commanders should seize every invitation for lunch, dinner, or simply a cup of tea or coffee with their Iraqi counterparts in order to build a bridge of trust and confidence. These meetings should go beyond lunches and dinners. Consider organizing joint activities such as soccer, group runs, picnics, and social gatherings; these activities create opportunities for American troops, their leadership, and their Iraqi counterparts to interact, bond, and feel more comfortable about working together. During my tour in northern Iraq, I found out that celebrating holidays such as Ramadan, Nowrooz (the Kurdish new year), Thanksgiving, and the 4th of July with Iraqi counterparts has positive impacts.

The loyalty of our Iraqi security counterpart is something that local coalition commanders need to monitor closely because disloyalty can be a significant detriment to the



New Titles from NDU Press...



Institute for National Strategic Studies Occasional Paper 4 China's Global Activism: Strategy, Drivers, and Tools

Economic imperatives and strategic challenges are leading China to expand its international activities into different regions of the world. In this paper, Dr. Phillip C. Saunders analyzes the rationale and drivers for China's increased global activism; examines the tools China is employing and how they are being used; assesses the empirical evidence about priorities and patterns in China's global activities; and considers whether these activities reflect an underlying strategic design. The paper concludes with an overview of likely future developments and an assessment of the implications for the United States. (Available from NDU Press only)



Strategic Forum 222 Southeast Asian Security Challenges: America's Response?

Transnational and geopolitical challenges are shaping the security environment in Southeast Asia. Rapid economic change, actual and potential disease epidemics, and a growing sense of shared interest and grievance among Islamic populations are among the region's main transnational concerns. In its most extreme form, Islamist sentiment has manifested itself in jihadist movements, including some with connections to al Qaeda. (Available from NDU Press only)



Strategic Forum 223 China, Russia, and the Balance of Power in Central Asia

China and Russia increasingly seek to offset U.S. influence in Central Asia through enhanced cooperation conducted under the banner of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). While its impact is often exaggerated, the SCO does offer certain benefits to the states of the region, as well as to Moscow and Beijing, that the United States can ill afford to ignore. (Available from NDU Press only)



Strategic Forum 224 Combating Opium in Afghanistan

Opium continues to pose one of the most serious threats to stability and good governance in Afghanistan. Proceeds and protection fees from trafficking are funneled to terrorist and insurgent groups, including the Taliban and al Qaeda. Insurgents have successfully leveraged poppy eradication efforts to increase popular resistance to both the government in Kabul and the presence of coalition forces. Despite major increases in counternarcotics programs and resources over the past year, production has shot up 59 percent. (Available from NDU Press only)

Letter continued

combat readiness of the Iraqi security forces. If we compare and contrast the old and new Iraqi forces, we find that the old one consisted of a majority of Sunnis and a minority of Shias and Kurds, but they were all loyal to the country of Iraq and the regime (all Iraqi soldiers—Sunnis, Shias, and Kurds—fought for their country during the Iraq-Iran war and Operation *Desert Storm*).

Today, we have the same mix of soldiers, but the percentages have changed along with loyalties. The new forces are led by politicians and sectarian leaders who have separate political agendas. These agendas hurt the new Iraqi security forces by disrupting unity of command and primary loyalty to the country of Iraq and its flag.

During my tour in the northern area of Iraq, I witnessed numerous situations where lack of loyalty to Iraq was evident in both the Iraqi army and the Iraqi police. Soldiers who were once Peshmerga (Kurdish soldiers) were incorporated into the new Iraqi army but continued to wear the flag of Kurdistan on their uniforms. Kurdish senior officers will often have a Kurdish flag and a picture of either Mustafa Barzani or Jalal Talabani (prominent Kurdish leaders of different political parties) in their offices.

It was almost impossible to meet a Kurdish member of the new Iraqi security forces who did not owe his loyalty to a specific political party, tribe, or personal agenda. Sometimes, even units in the Iraqi security forces secretly conduct operations under the guidance and orders of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan or Kurdistan Democratic Party. This is especially true in the north, where the majority of the security forces are Kurds.

A large number of Kurdish commanders continue to draw a paycheck from Iraq and another from the Kurdistan government, since they are still considered to be part of the Peshmerga forces. In some cases, the heads of political parties in the north reprimanded battalion, brigade, or division commanders because they had taken corrective actions against their subordinate commanders who followed the party agenda. Weak leadership and politicians' involvement in the Iraqi military outside of the chain of command can have a tremendous influence on the soldiers' loyalty and organization readiness.

Similar situations have been reported in the south, where Iraqi soldiers display pictures of the scholar Muqtada Al Sadr on their weapons and patrol vehicles. The

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SGT Elkhamri attends meeting with U.S. and Iraqi government officials

2nd Bn/10th FA, 1st Brigade/25th SBCCT Field Artillery

Ministry of Interior forces, along with Shia death squads (the Badr and Mehdi brigades), openly conduct operations that target Sunni officials, Sunni scholars, and air force pilots who participated in the Iraq-Iran war. These acts are Shia retribution for long-term Sunni domination under Saddam Hussein.

Today, the new Iraqi security forces recruitment, promotion, and assignments are not based on merit, military education, or qualification, but instead rely more on the political party with which the soldier is affiliated. This approach results in recruiting and promoting soldiers and commanders who are weak. It also slows down training and coalition efforts.

During my time in Iraq and through my long conversations with the Iraqis, I discovered that if you are not Kurdish, it is very hard to get a job in today's northern Iraqi forces, and in case you do get to apply, the administrative office in the Ministry of Defense may not process your application. Also, you may end up serving for months without getting paid, and of course you can only do that for so long before finding another way to provide for your family.

Sometimes Iraqi commanders with limited leadership ability used their command for personal gain and influence. Moreover, they failed to establish an effective command and control system over their organization despite repeated coaching and clear directives from their coalition forces partners. These leaders continued their military assignments without any action taken against them because they were affiliated with one of the strong political parties in Iraq. This is counter to the coalition forces initiatives for training and operations.

Local coalition commanders cannot rely solely on the Iraqi Ministry of Defense or the Ministry of Interior to train and equip the new Iraqi army. Both ministries face budget constraints, corruption, sectarian differences, favoritism, lack of accountability, and nation-

alism. Local coalition commanders should take the initiative to train their Iraqi counterparts even if it is not part of their mission.

An approach that was very successful in northern Iraq (in the Tigris River valley south of Mosul) was the creation of a basic training course for both army and police forces. New Iraqi recruits learned basic marksmanship, first aid, close-quarter combat, map reading, checkpoint procedures, dismounted patrolling, military decision-making processes, prisoner interaction, and physical training. Also, coalition commanders founded a noncommissioned officer academy for advanced training. These early initiatives allowed both the coalition and their Iraqi counterparts to meld effectively and made both forces feel more comfortable during combined operations.

When Iraqi security forces are involved in gathering intelligence, planning operations, and leading operations, we find not only evidence but also insurgents that we were never able to get ourselves. This does not mean that the coalition forces do not have the capability to carry out these tasks alone but simply shows how much the Iraqis can contribute to the success of the fight because of their knowledge of the language, terrain, people, and culture. There were rumors that sometimes the Iraqi security forces were not fully complying with the Geneva Conventions—this is something that continues to be the focus of our trainers in both basic and advanced training.

The involvement of the Iraqi counterparts in the early stages of operation planning through execution allows them to understand how to conduct military operations better, why we conduct them the way we do, and the importance of each phase in the success of the overall mission. This is true whether it is gathering and analyzing intelligence, creating the mission operations order, planning the logistics side of the mission, or writing an after action report.

Involvement also allows coalition force commanders to monitor their counterparts' progress closely since they spend more time with them than before. The combined intelligence phase (gathering and analyzing intelligence) is always critical to the coalition commander's decisionmaking process. Joint discussions with counterparts, along with

sometimes Iraqi commanders with limited leadership ability used their command for personal gain and influence

separate engagement with the sheiks or *mokhtars* of the area, allow the commander either to decide whether a combined operation is required or to allow the sheik, *mokhtar*, or imam to deal with the problem or convince a suspect to turn himself in for questioning.

The local coalition commander needs to know what is going on since there are many opportunities for graft

and abuse. Since Iraq's new government is busy fighting sectarian divisions and corruption within its ministries, a large number of Iraqi commanders continue to use their command position for financial gain. This costs the Iraqis and the coalition forces millions of dollars every month—money that could provide more uniforms, vehicles, and equipment for the Iraqi security forces. Two particular cases come to mind.

First, there have been numerous situations where Iraqi commanders in both the police and army claimed that their companies, battalions, or brigades have a greater number of soldiers than they really have in order to draw more money from the coalition or the ministry. Investigations conducted by the Defense and Interior ministries revealed thousands of fake names with some of them belonging to babies, children, and the elderly. The challenge is that no actions have been taken to correct the issue.

Second, due to the lack of tight judicial controls, there is the potential for false arrest and subsequent release after payment of a bribe. Furthermore, terrorists may be able to buy their way out of prison if control systems are not closely monitored.

During my tour in Iraq, I was able to work closely with numerous coalition commanders. The most successful ones were those who were aware of what went on in their areas of operation and what went on behind the scenes with their Iraqi counterparts. Today's violence is not only the result of insurgents, but it is also a result of sectarian differences, corruption, loyalties, bad politics, and weak leadership. Therefore, local commanders need to be fully aware of what goes on around them in order to keep stability in their areas.

—Sergeant Mounir Elkhamri, USA
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