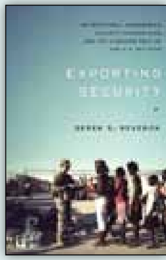

Exporting Security: International Engagement, Security Cooperation, and the Changing Face of the U.S. Military
By Derek S. Reveron
Georgetown University Press, 2010
205 pp. $29.95
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Reviewed by
RICHARD S. TRACEY

The 2010 Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR) elevated building partner capacity to one of six Department of Defense (DOD) core mission areas. More recently, the January 2012 DOD strategic guidance explicitly recognized building partner capacity as an enduring and integral part of our defense strategy. Defense planners did not always recognize the importance of building partner security capacity. The prevailing assumption that a military prepared for high-end combat could easily accommodate less demanding missions relegated partner building to the status of a lesser-included mission. Thus, this longstanding U.S. military mission did not always receive the sustained intellectual attention and resources that it merited.

Exporting Security: International Engagement, Security Cooperation, and the Changing Face of the U.S. Military explains how building partner capacity has become a core U.S. military mission and an integral part of our defense strategy. It reviews the broadly accepted assumptions regarding the nature of the post–Cold War international security environment, traces the U.S. military's deepening involvement in a range of security cooperation activities, and considers how the military conducts partner-building activities. This work should be particularly useful in joint professional military education classrooms, as it provides a wide-ranging overview of the topic and offers many important points to consider and debate.

Derek S. Reveron is a professor of national security affairs at the U.S. Naval War College and is therefore well suited to tackle this important topic. He specializes in strategy development, nonstate security challenges, intelligence, and U.S. defense policy and has written and lectured on a wide variety of national security issues. Reveron's knowledge of the issues, as well as his command of the relevant sources, is evident throughout this work.

The book consists of an introduction and eight well-documented chapters. The first two chapters set up Reveron's analysis with a recapitulation of conventional wisdom regarding the international security environment and the theoretical links between fragile states and security threats that are now embedded in our national security and defense policies. The third chapter provides an overview of resistance within the military and the Department of State to the expanding role of the military in security cooperation activities. Resistance flowed, according to Reveron, from those within the military who believed that a focus on security cooperation would diminish traditional warfighting capabilities and from those in the Department of State who feared a militarization of foreign policy. This, however, is an old story, as resistance is now largely marginalized, and the fundamental premise that failed states pose broad security threats to the United States is now the official gospel. Theories have become axioms.

In the fourth chapter, disconcertingly titled "Demilitarizing Combatant Commands," Reveron correctly emphasizes the importance of our geographic combatant commands in a range of nonkinetic engagement and security cooperation activities. In this regard, he does a nice job of explaining the evolving role of geographic commands in the post–Cold War international security environment with observations along the lines of those found in Dana Priest's *The Mission: Waging War and Keeping Peace with America's Military* (W.W. Norton, 2003). However, Reveron often overstates the changes. Consider U.S. Africa Command, which he frequently cites as the primary example of the changing face of the U.S. military. The command suddenly found itself leading an air campaign in Libya to enforce United Nations Security Council Resolution 1973. U.S. Africa Command, like other geographic combatant commands, essentially pursues two lines of effort: building security partner capacity and preparing for a wide range of potential crises. So while DOD has correctly elevated building partner capacity to its rightful place alongside five other core missions, partner building has not replaced other geographic combatant command missions. This important point, although not absent in Reveron's analysis, is often obscured by his enthusiasm for the so-called new face of the American military.

Chapter five provides a handy primer on security cooperation programs and funding sources. It highlights the long bureaucratic road that key Department of State Title 22 programs such as international military education and training, foreign military financing, and the Global Peacekeeping Operations Initiative follow from concept to execution; strategic- and operational-level interagency cooperation; and expedient funding mechanisms provided to DOD by the Congress. Maritime security issues such as poaching, piracy, and drug trafficking, and the emerging role of the U.S. Navy in developing partner capacity in the maritime realm, are the focus of chapter six.

For a work of this scope and detail, the final two chapters are somewhat disappointing. In some respects, this work is an argument without a conclusion, as it does not offer concrete doctrinal force structure or training proposals. Moreover, the study never comes to grips with an essential question: How do our geographic combatant commanders and senior policymakers really know that our partner-building programs and activities are truly achieving our national and theater objectives? In an era of constrained resources and growing skepticism regarding foreign entanglements, how DOD links programs and activities to outcomes will become increasingly important. JFQ

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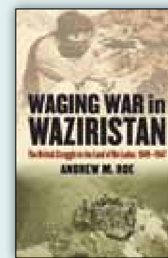

Waging War in Waziristan: The British Struggle in the Land of Bin Laden, 1849–1947
By Andrew M. Roe
University Press of Kansas, 2010
328 pp. $34.95
ISBN: 978-0-7006-1699-2

Reviewed by
TODD M. MANYX

In the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks that destroyed the World Trade Center's Twin Towers, Osama bin Laden, along with senior members of his al Qaeda terror group, decamped his safe haven in Afghanistan for a location believed to be in Waziristan, a remote, mountainous area of northwestern Pakistan. It is home to fiercely independent tribes that have refused to submit to outside governance for centuries and that today are part of Pakistan's semiautonomous Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). It is particularly well known by the British military as the home of the Fakir of Ipi, an early 20th-century Islamic extremist who was the subject of intensive British manhunts of up to 40,000 troops scouring the countryside between 1936 and1947. The Fakir was never caught, and he lived out his days in the region, dying a natural death in 1960.

In his inaugural book, Andrew M. Roe has taken on a region of the world that is obscure to most people not concerned with the ongoing efforts in Afghanistan and Pakistan. However, despite the remoteness, Roe has combined his significant practical experience as a British infantry officer and former Afghan army *kandak* (battalion) mentor with an academic's sense of history derived from his postgraduate and doctoral studies of the area to pen a book of substance that should appeal to historians, military professionals, and policy planners.

In establishing the purpose for his book, Roe is guided by Shakespeare's assertion that "what's past is prologue." In particular, Roe is convinced that we need to examine the British experience in the late 19th and early 20th centuries for policies that were developed through trial and error and that have been the guiding principles for administration of the FATA for nearly a century. In the end, the raison d'être for this book is that Roe strongly believes that history and culture matter and that the "many . . . hard-earned lessons from Waziristan can be adopted as part of a contemporary solution" (p. 14).

Recognizing that "there is a lack of contemporary literature" (p. 6) on Waziristan, Roe has organized his book into three areas: a regional background, an overview of the British military and civilian government experience, and an analysis of modern parallels between the colonial period and present-day issues along the Afghanistan-Pakistan border. The first two chapters provide the historical context defining the grindstone upon which the British would simultaneously sharpen their troops' proficiency in counterinsurgency warfare and wear down their own political resolve to dominate the tribes. Principal factors influencing the tribal mentality include the unmatched harshness of the terrain, the intense isolation of the people, and the unwavering dictates of the Pashtunwali code of honor.

Roe is particularly adept at explaining the importance of differentiating between the isolated and independent tribes, categorized as *nang* (honor) tribes, in which individual independence was of paramount importance and that were characterized by "proud and uncooperative self-government" (p. 41), and the *qalang* (rent/tax) tribes identified by strong centralized leadership. As he notes, "The psychological difference between the . . . tribes . . . was stark" (p. 39). In describing the region's major tribes, Roe's descriptions of the Waziris (for whom the region is named) and the Mahsuds hold as true today as they did 150 years ago, when one official described the tribes as "the largest known potential reservoir of guerrilla fighters in the world" (p. 59).

The subsequent six chapters provide an exceedingly detailed account of the specific policy and military efforts undertaken between 1849 and 1947. Reminiscent of Peter Hopkirk's seminal work, *The Great Game*, Roe draws from an extensive number of primary government sources, unit histories, memoirs, and news accounts of the day to recount Great Britain's efforts to secure the northwest border of the empire's "crown jewel," India. Without reexamining Roe's detailed analysis, this section of the book will be most appreciated by historians and those interested in the finer details of British northwest frontier policy formation. It is an excellent recounting of the politics and practicalities associated with evolving and implementing the close border policy, the forward policy and *maliki* (tribal leader) system, and the modified forward policy.

The crux of these different systems lies in how they addressed the issue of "rule" with the tribes. As the British quickly learned, the tribes produced excellent guerrilla fighters who would never quit. The resulting changes eventually led to a policy of cooption and containment in which the government utilized heavy subsidization to influence *malikis* to accept those benchmarks deemed to be "good enough" (p. 196) in attaining Great Britain's goals, and to realize the importance of cultural experts and experienced political officers who could negotiate with the tribal leaders.

The final chapters summarize the lessons learned during this period as well as analyzing parallels that exist between the colonial era and the present day. On the whole, these chapters represent an unnatural flow from the rest of the book; however, they are the most relevant from a policy and planning perspective. Within the author's analysis, there are no perfect solutions, yet he notes, "[d]espite a varied record of success, the British approach to tribal control was adopted by the Pakistan state at independence" (p. 193)—an approach that remained little changed until President Pervez Musharraf, pressured by the United States, began to modify how the Pakistani government approached the now restive tribal areas.

In the final analysis, Roe is clear in noting that current issues—such as the role of a reality-based policy informed by clear cultural understanding, the challenges of the disputed border as represented by the Durand Line, and the need for a civil-military relationship that is both flexible and responsive to changes on the ground and that "employs all the elements of national power" (p. 256)—are necessary in establishing a policy that effectively works to resolve the issues of distrust, politics, and pride that guide tribal interests.

As the governments of Afghanistan, Pakistan, and the United States work to counter Islamic extremists, particularly along the ill-defined border derived from the Durand Line, the region of Waziristan will remain as central to resolving the issue as it was a century ago. Success will not be achieved through attainment of Western-dictated standards. Instead, it will be accomplished by realizing that the tribes must be consulted and their preexisting structures used.

History is replete with lessons to be learned if only we take the time to study them. In this case, the consequences of failing to draw on the lessons of our predecessors cannot be known. We have put "payment received" on Osama bin Laden's personal debt to society. However, if the past is perceived as prologue, we can almost be guaranteed that unless we draw from the British government's 19th-century playbook, senior insurgent leaders will likely—much like the Fakir of Ipi—die of old age in the safety of Waziristan's remote hills and protective tribes. JFQ

Lieutenant Colonel Todd M. Manyx, USMC, is an Intelligence Officer deployed to the International Security Assistance Force.