

“Detainee Aspects of Transition”

National Defense University

Feb 12th, 2009

Dr. Doug Stone, MajGen USMC

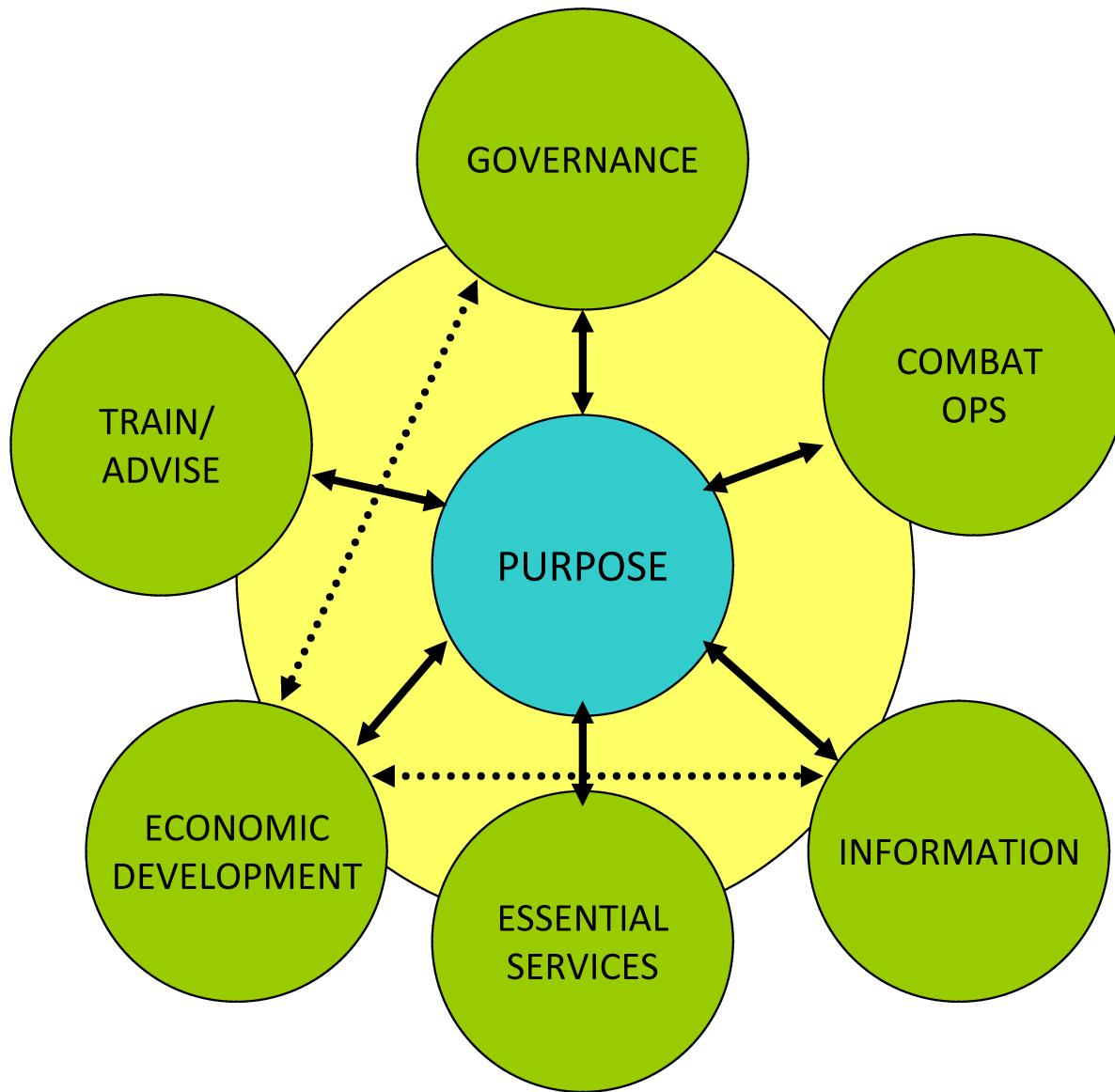
Introduction---the Challenge

The Basics (Islam, Islamists, COIN)

The new Approach

The Role of Leadership---The Challenge

COIN Campaign Design Components



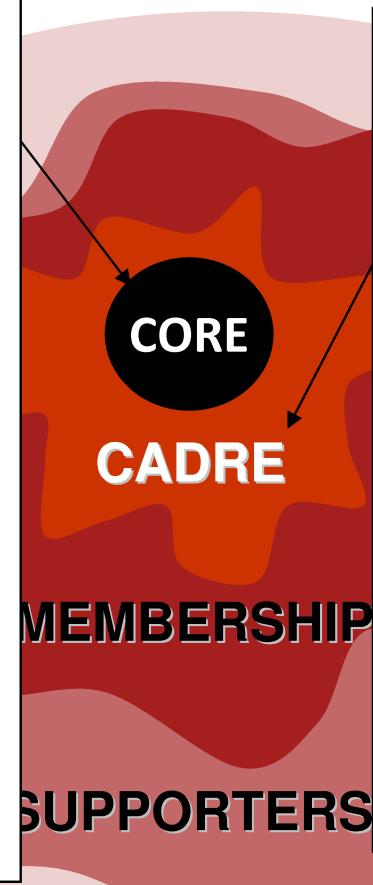
Goal is to isolate irreconcilable insurgents, increase # of moderates, and minimize impacts of detention policy on alienating population (i.e., creating insurgent supporters and recruits)

COIN doctrine, FM 3-24/MCWP 3-33.5, 15 Dec 06

Treating a civilian like an insurgent...is a sure recipe for failure. Counterinsurgents that use excessive force to limit short-term risk alienate the local populace. They deprive themselves of the support or tolerance of the people. This is what insurgents want.

**Frustrate insurgent recruiting.
Lose Moral Legitimacy, Lose
the War.**

~~Consider how the populace~~



Galula:

"A system...which would encourage soldiers to kill or capture the largest number of enemies...may well be disastrous in [COIN]."

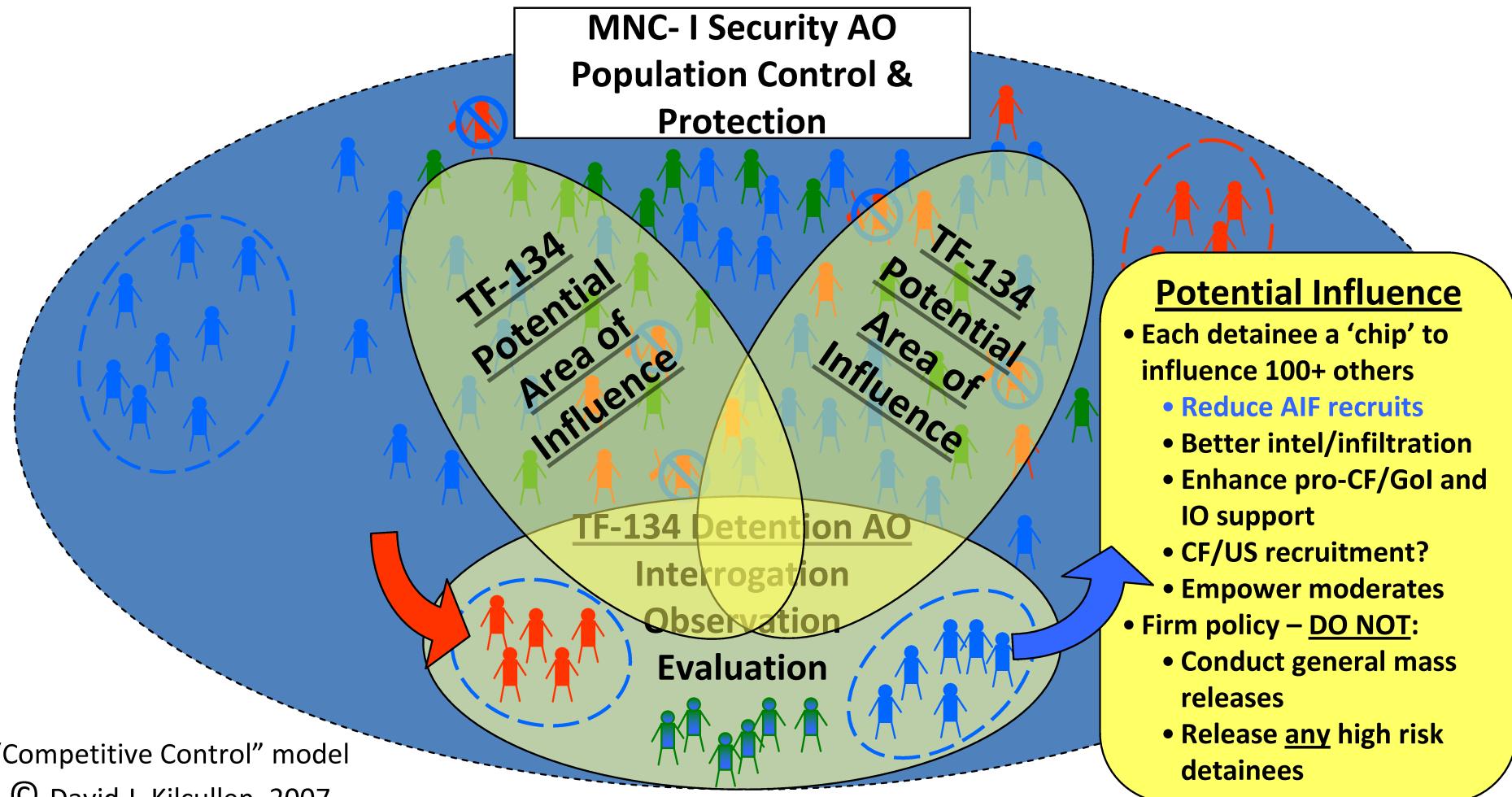
'Victory' in COIN: "...not [just] the destruction...of the insurgent's forces...that, plus the permanent isolation of the insurgent from the population, isolation not enforced upon the population but maintained by and with the population."

Avoid actions that might

~~alienate the population~~

TF-134 promoting detainee policies that exploit Iraqi cultural peculiarities to turn moderates away from insurgency

Strong indications that enhanced detention ops with selective releases can positively impact the greater COIN fight – reduce insurgent #s and capability, bolster support for CF/Gol –



"Competitive Control" model
© David J. Kilcullen, 2007

Much closer coordination between TF-134 / operational MNC- I subordinate commanders needed to enable extended effects



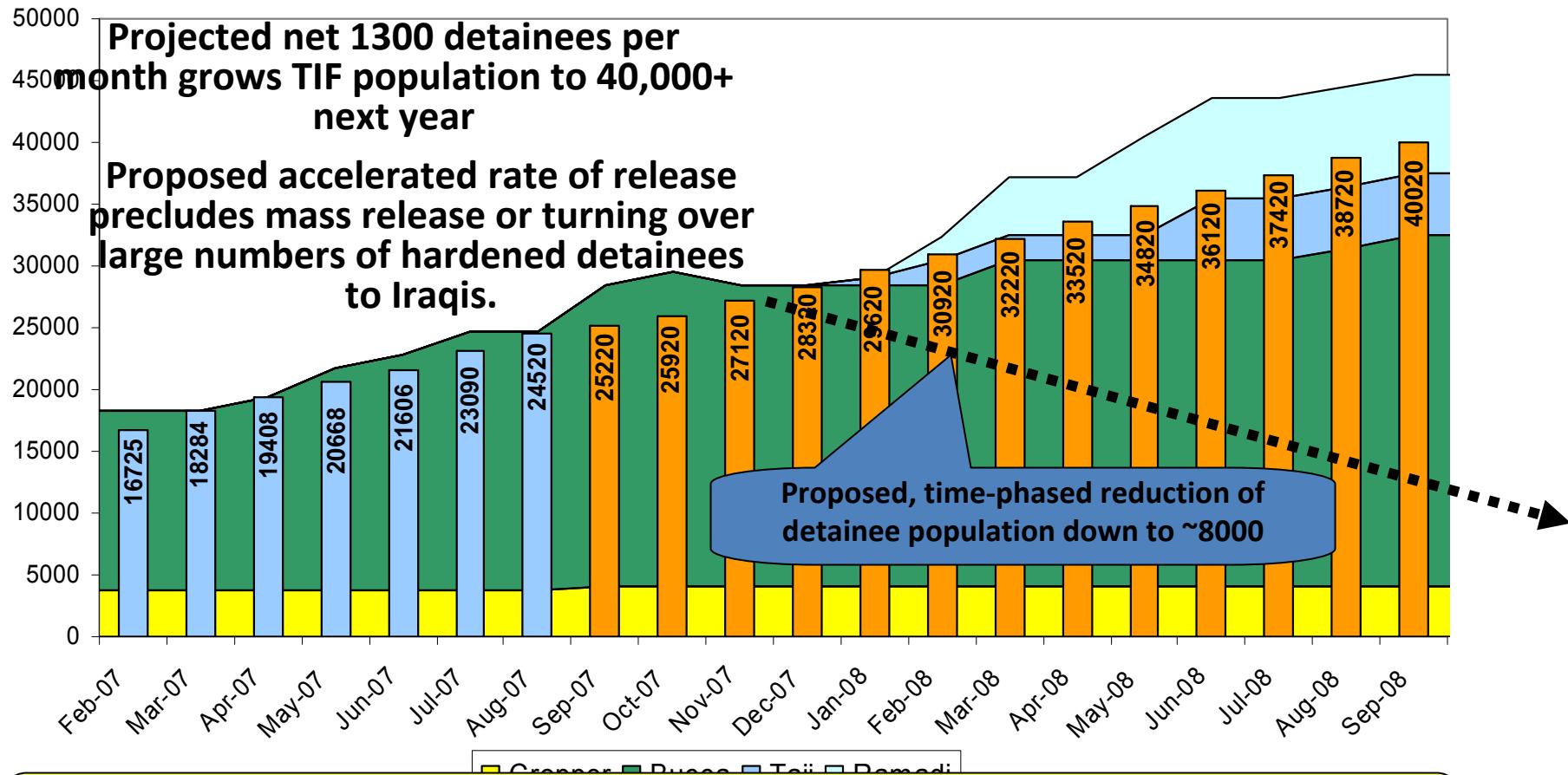
Defining Strategic Success

VICTORY

- Establish an alliance with moderate Iraqis
- Empower them to effectively marginalize violent extremists
- Provide momentum to the process of reconciliation with Iraqi society

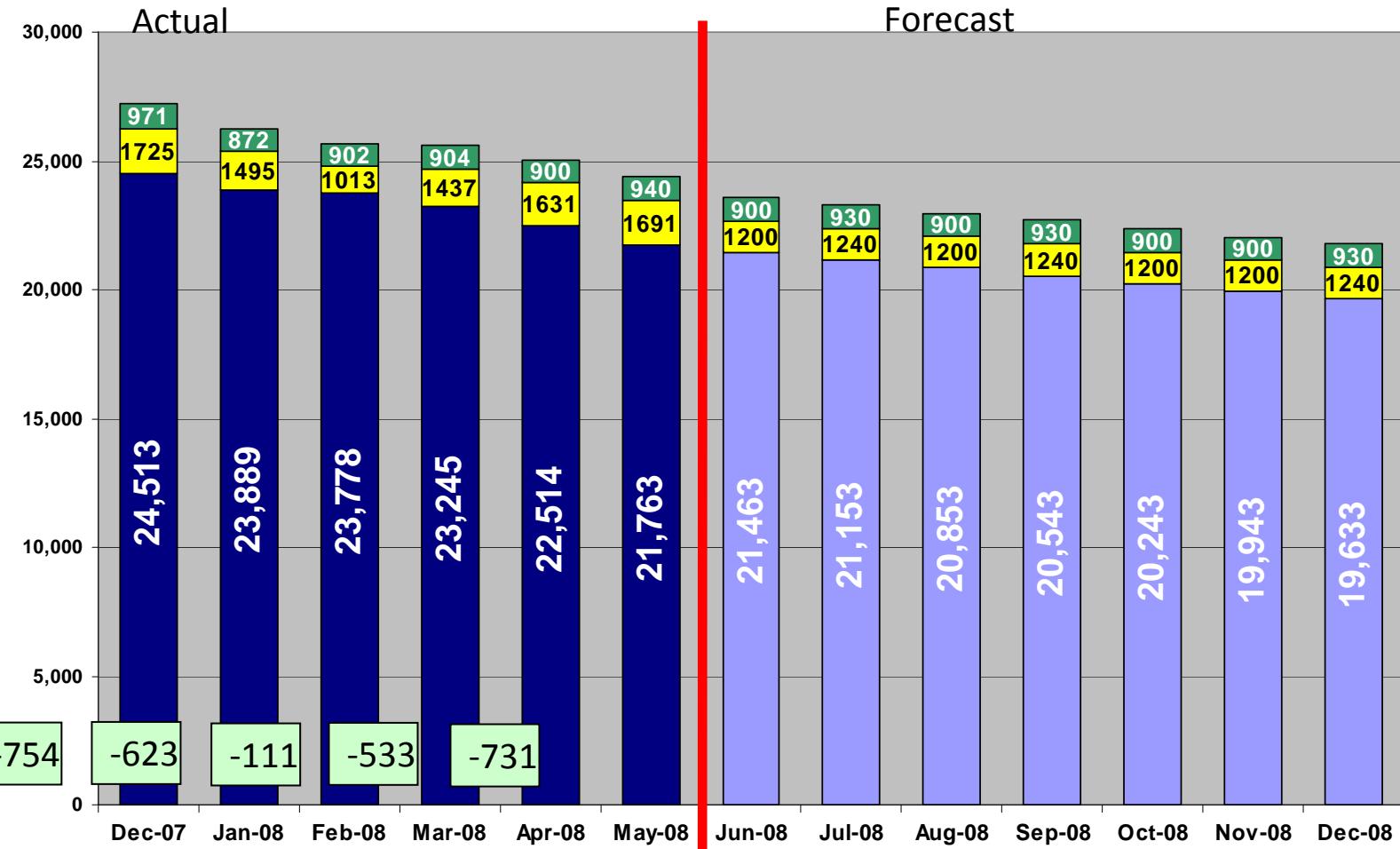
Detention impacts on #s of insurgents and reconciliation major decision criteria, but detention capacity, resources used for TIFs, and eventual turnover of detainees to ISF also decision criterion

Population and Capacity Projections



Study compares / balances factors related to reducing # detainees and # of insurgents

TIF Detainee Population Actual & Forecast



APR 08 Projections:

30 Intakes per day

40 releases per day

■ Population ■ Releases ■ Intakes

APR 08 Actual:

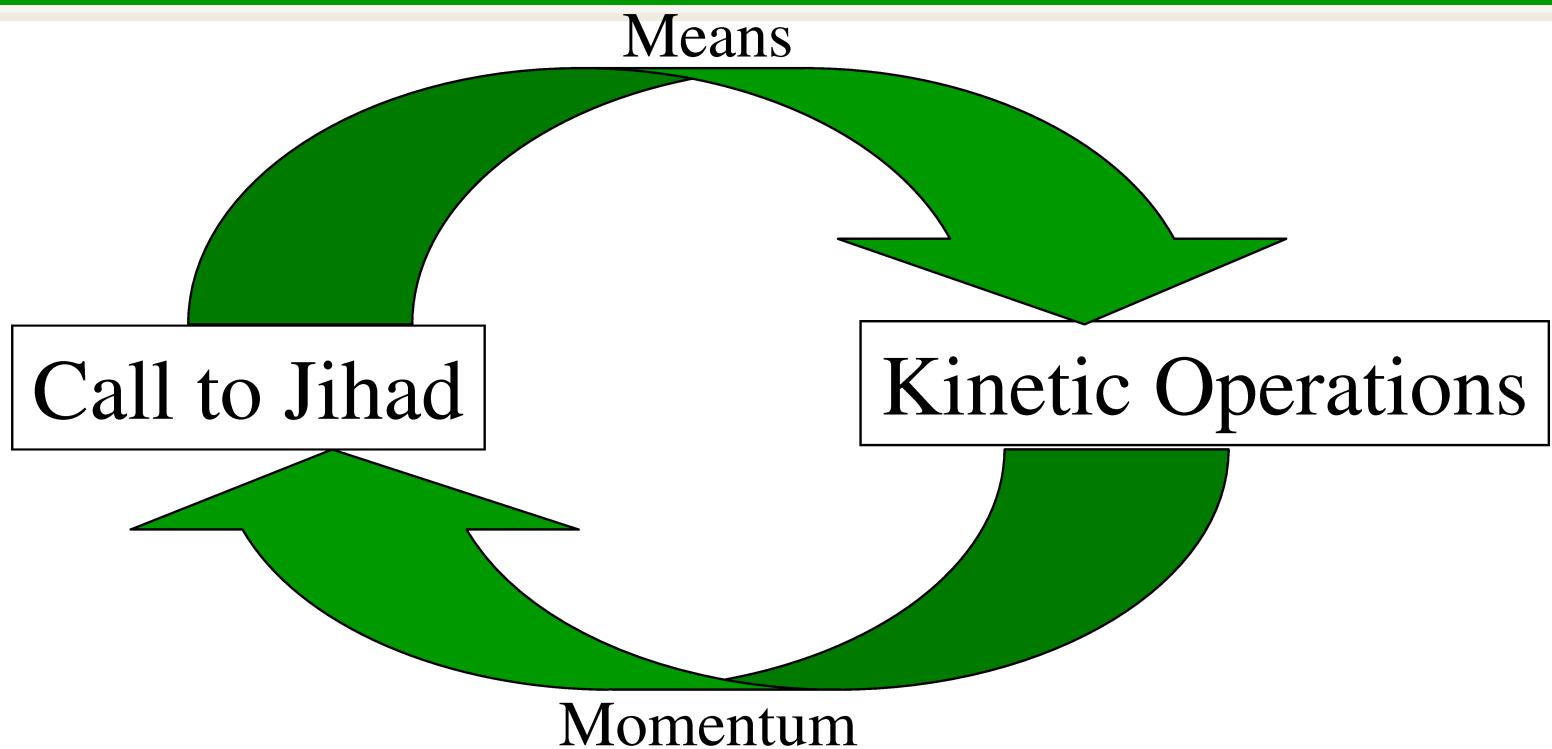
28 Intakes per day

21 Releases per day

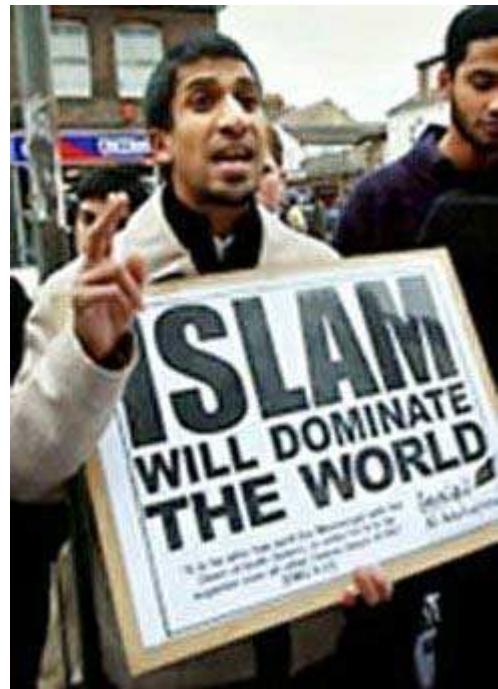
Line of Operations:

1. Unite the Ummah

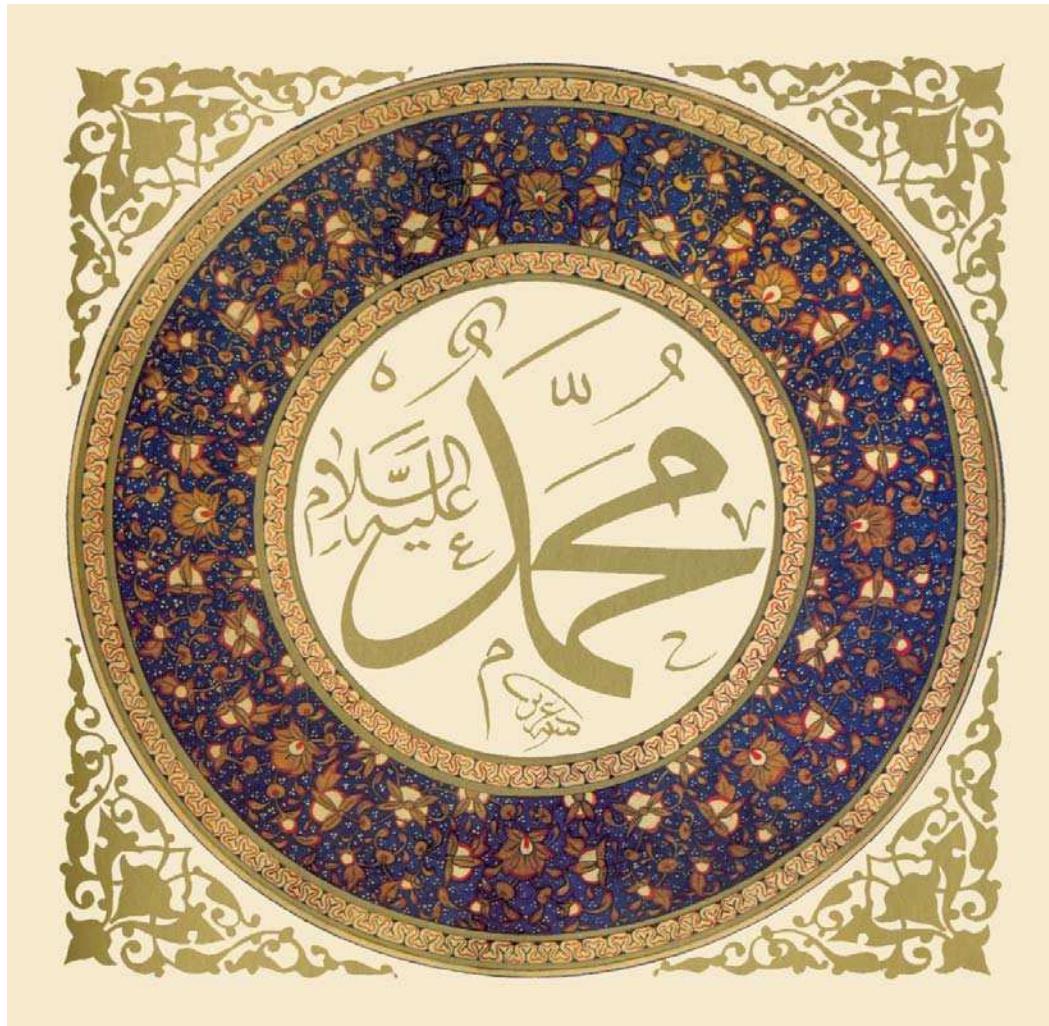
“The sword and the word will complement one another.”
--Zarqawi to Bin Laden, June 2004, (U//FOUO)



“... Islamic governments... are established as they [always] have been: by pen and gun, by word and bullet, by tongue and teeth.”
- *Al Qaeda Manual, (U)*



NOT the Enemy



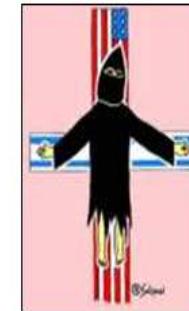


tention: Viewed as a Problem

Historic failures in custody and care serve as recruiting tools for foreign fighters.

Detention had also served as a place for insurgents to conduct recruiting, training, and disciplining of future combatants.

The image of the war – selected examples of its use



Political Cartoons



CBS



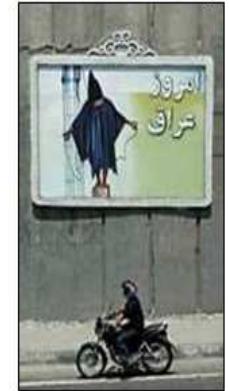
Picture from bombing in US Mess Hall, modified by pro-insurgent blogger



Basra



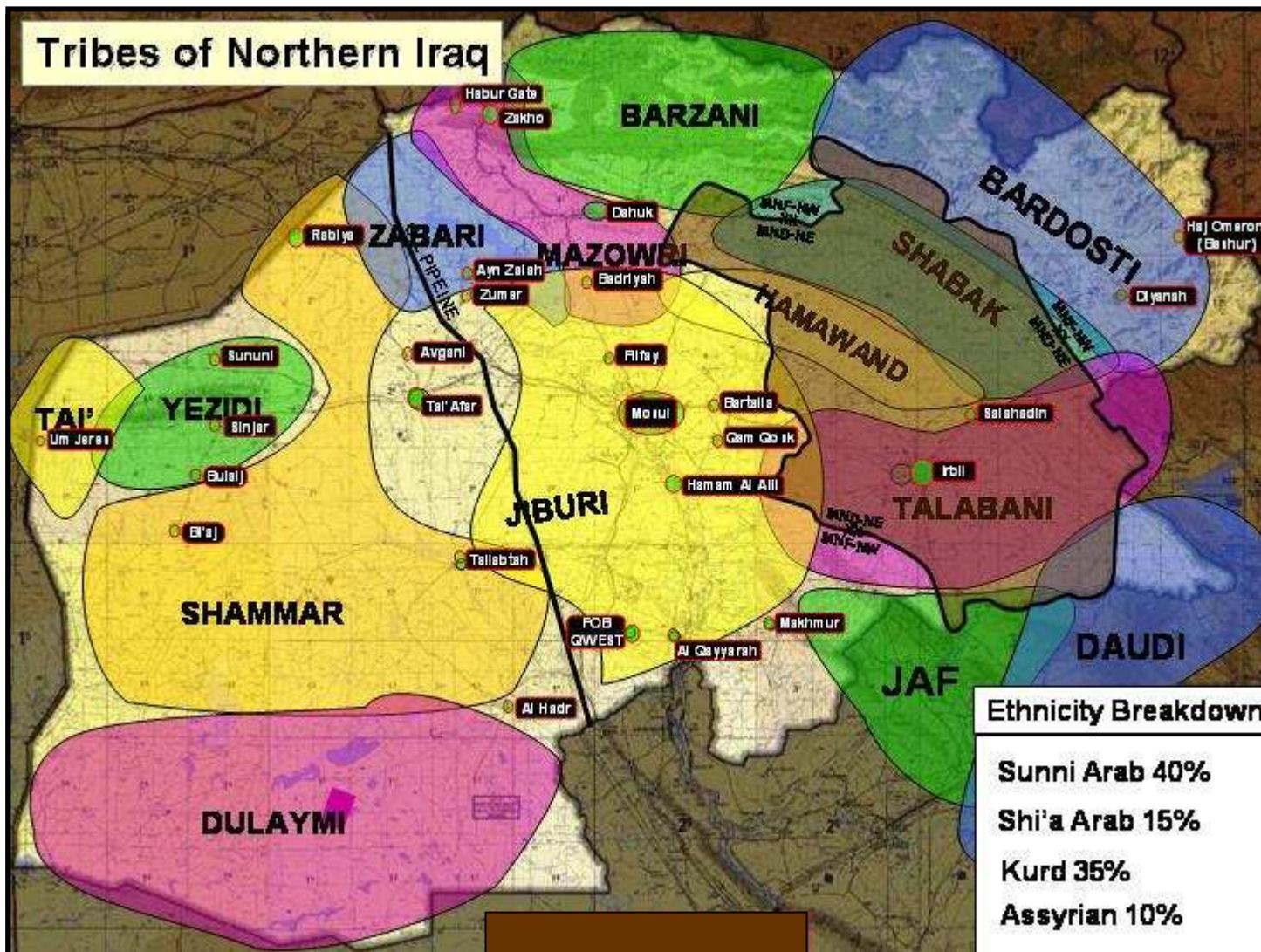
Outside Fort Benning



Tehran



Gaza





The HQ Soviet 40th Army in Kabul, 1987.



Soviet Trucks in Afghanistan--2002



The Fall of Saigon





TF-134 Goals

- Ensure standards of care and custody
- Determine if detainee is Imperative Security Risk
 - if so, reduce the risk, replace the destructive ideology
 - when no longer a threat, release
- Identify detainees who are Enduring Security Risks
- Collect information from detainees and provide intelligence
- Defeat any insurgency within the TIF



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Previous Detention Process (before July 2007)



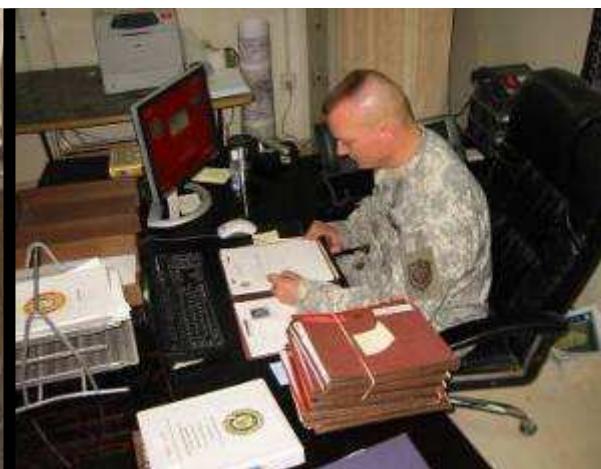
Capture



MAG CELL & CRRB



Release



GO Review



Detention

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AFTER

Current Engagement Process



Capture



Interrogation



MAG CELL & CCCI



Assessment & Transition In



MNFRC & C2X/Corps Vetting

MNFRC Rehearing
C2X/Corps Vetting

Family Advocacy

VOTECH &
Work ProgramsCivics & Islamic
Discussions

Education

Govt of Iraq Reintegration &
Reconciliation

Pledge & Guarantor



Release



Post-Release

Historical Comparison:

Non-lethal Expenditures

BEFORE

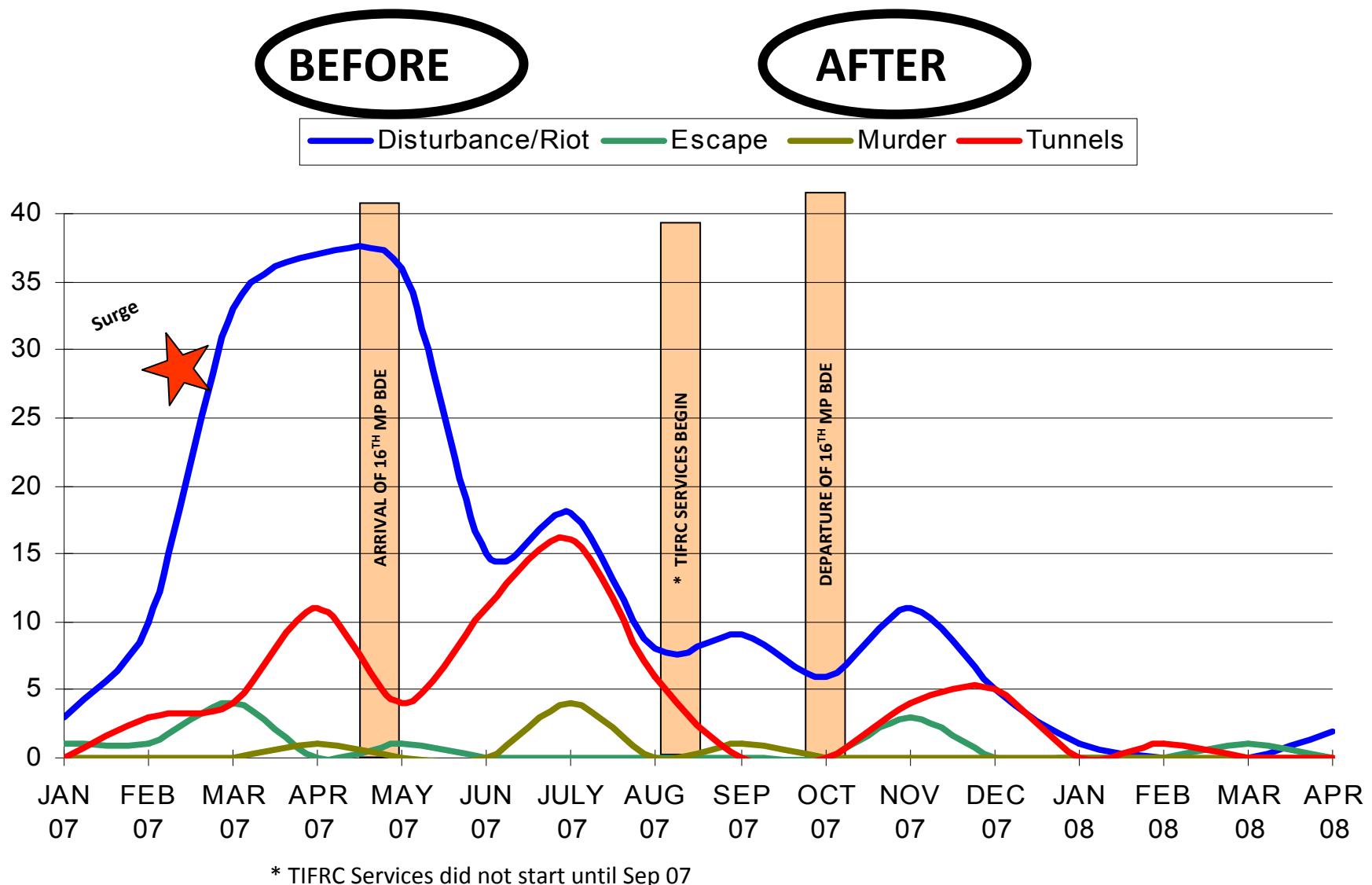
AFTER

MAR-JUL 2007
16,897 Rounds

JAN-APR 2008
1,134 Rounds

DODIC	Nomenclature	Mar-07	Apr-07	May-07	Jun-07	Jul-07	Jan-08	Feb-08	Mar-08	Apr-08
AA51	12 GAGE PNT CNTRL M1012	1482	895	343	78	929	282	15	10	5
AA52	12 GAGE CRWD DISP M1013	1684	1425	677	70	1275	178	2	10	4
AB08	12 G Extended range X1092	0	110	165	81	275	249	6	17	12
B567	40MM CS TACT	47	97	30	0	8	1	0	0	0
BA06	40MM N-L M1006	82	122	38	6	262	72	0	3	3
BA13	40MM CRWD DISP M1029	103	97	114	9	286	125	1	0	2
BA27	40MM MARKING IMPACT Ext Ran	0	3	43	4	108	23	0	2	0
FN320	FN 303 IMPACT PROJECTILE	506	689	397	32	271	0	16	1	0
FN330	FN 303 MARKING ROUND	1852	919	532	111	194	13	7	5	13
G924	Grenade, Non-Burn CS NL	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
G963	GRENADE, HD TACT CS	23	12	31	0	0	0	0	0	0
GG04	GRENADE, HD RUBBER BALL	86	78	56	0	0	25	0	0	1
GG09	GRENADE, STUN	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
COTS	GRENADE, CS EXPULSION	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
KM05	INDIVIDUAL CS DISPENSER.2/4	5	24	50	10	26	2	0	5	3
WA97	CROWD CONTROL AMMUNITION	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
COTS	TASER CARTRIDGES	0	0	0	0	2	2	7	0	3
COTS	OC Fogger	0	21	12	3	7	3	0	1	7

TF Bucca Force Reduction Impacts



BEFORE

The Powder Keg Exploding, Jihadist University

Poor Intelligence

2004-2007

Inability to Segregate Extremists

No Services

Inadequate Command and Control

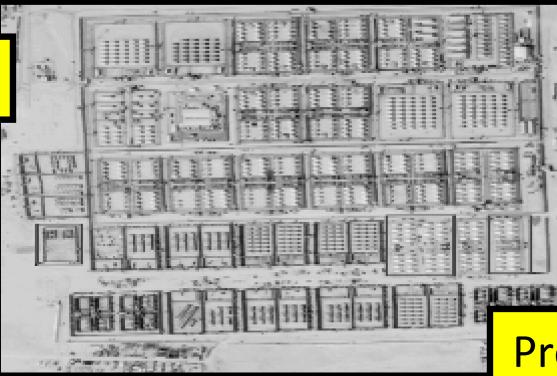


In 2007 there were a total of SIX detainee murders and up to 25 severe mutilations.

In 2008 there have been zero detainee murders and zero mutilations.

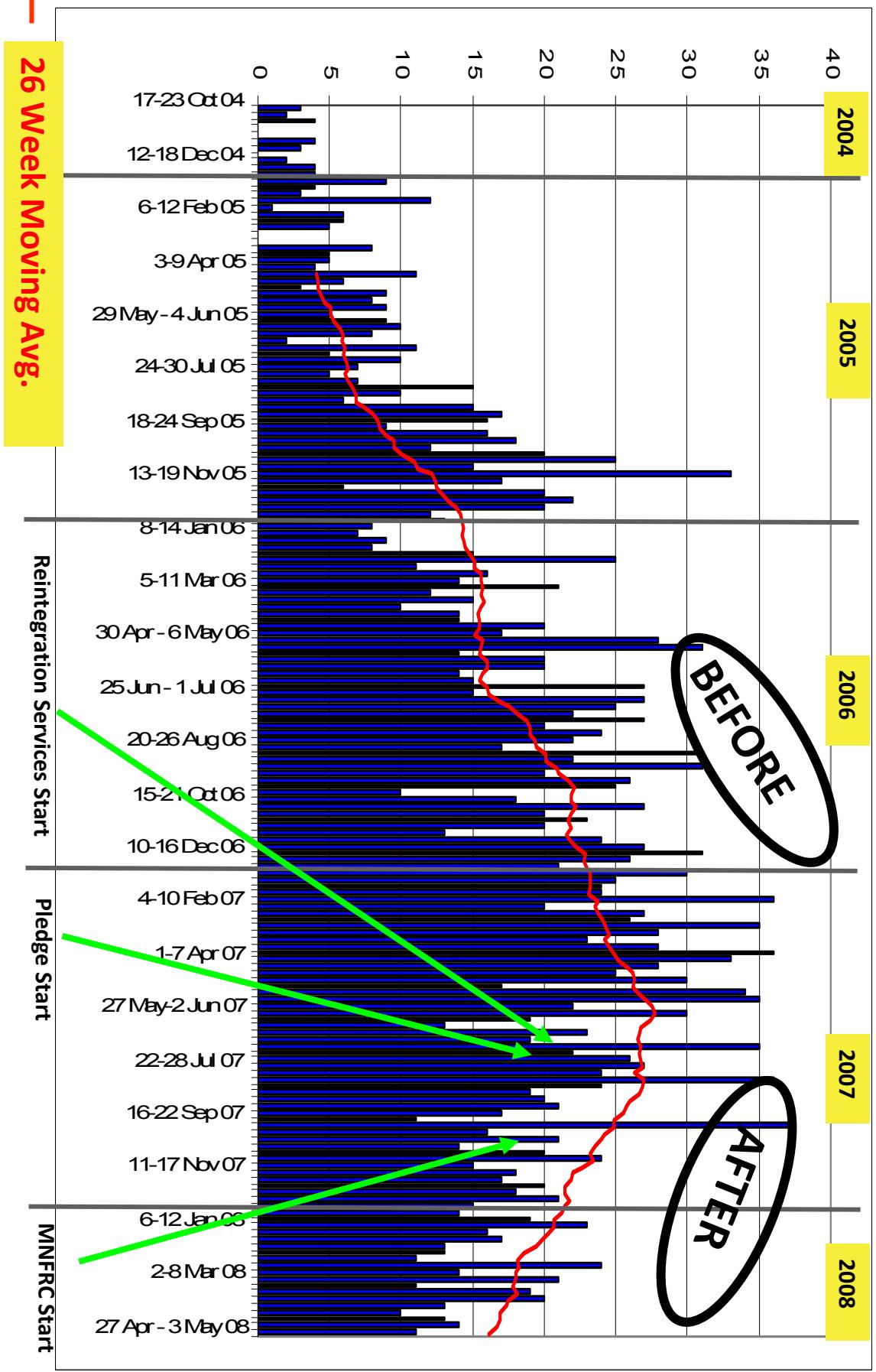
AFTER

Empowering moderates through:

Intelligence**Reconciliation Services****Segregating Violent Extremists****Proper Command and Control**

TIF Weekly Re-internments 2004-2008

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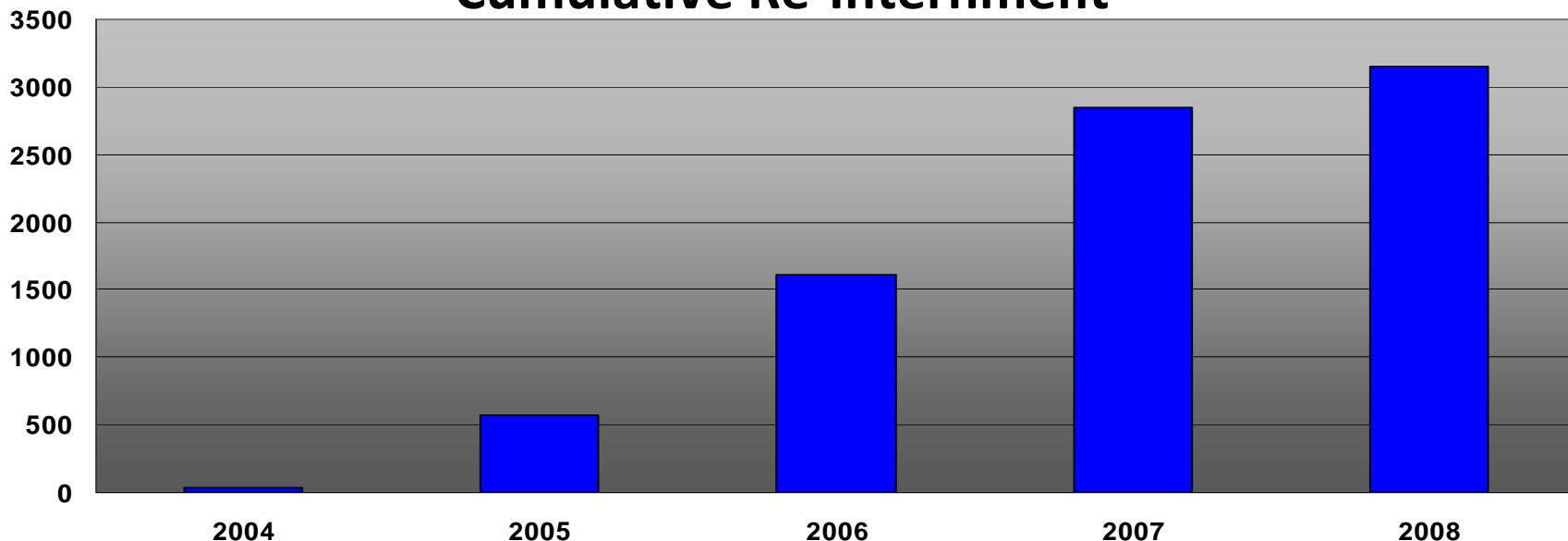


TIF Release & Re-Internment

	2004	2004-2005	2004-2006	2004-2007	2004-2008
Cumulative Releases	10350	20412	34368	43319	49632
Cumulative Re-Internments	37	571	1606	2847	3145
Cumulative Re-Internment Rate	0.36%	2.80%	4.67%	6.57%	6.34%
				7 Sept-31 Dec 07	7 Sep 07-17 May 08
Cumulative MNFRC Releases				3743	8546
Cumulative MNFRC Re-Internments				6	28
Post MNFRC Re-Internment Rate				0.16%	0.33%

AFTER

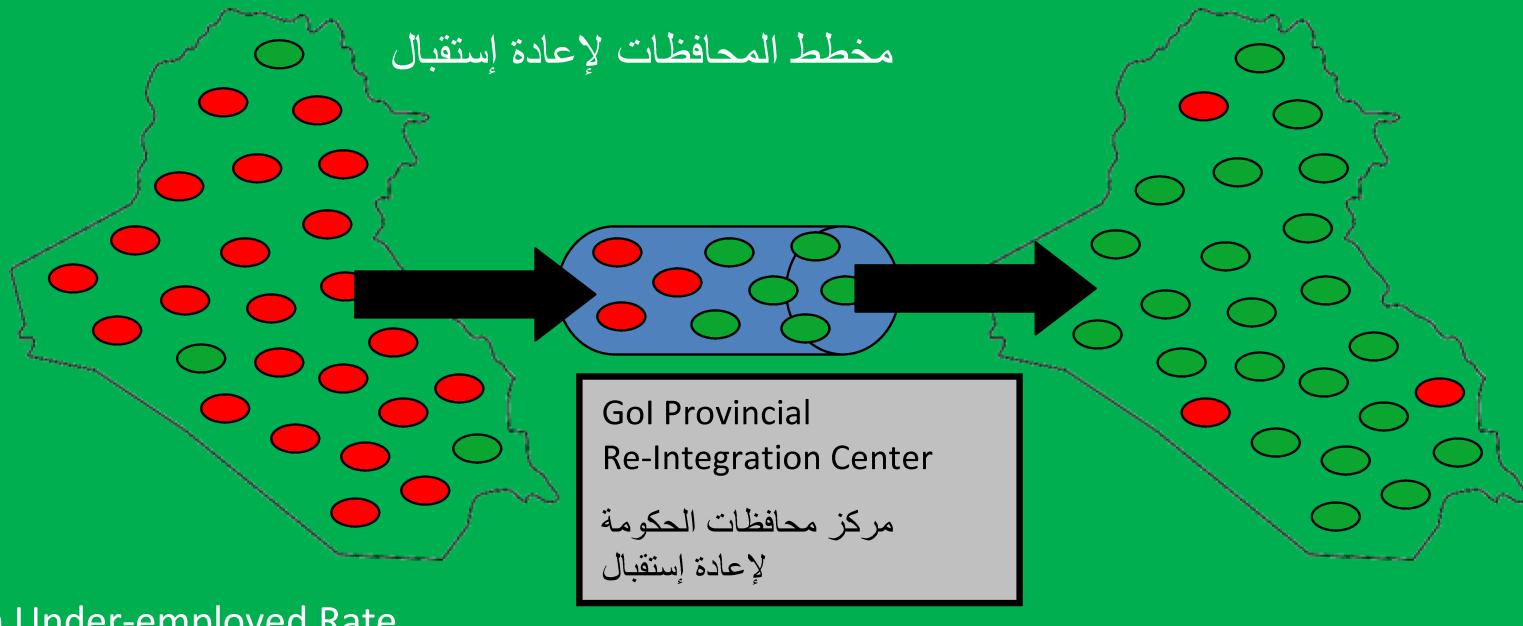
Cumulative Re-Internment





توسيع النموذج EXPANDING THE MODEL

A Provincial Re-Integration Plan



- High Under-employed Rate
- Many Refugees Outside Iraq
- Many Internally Displaced
- معدل عالٍ لغير العاملين
- الكثير من اللاجئين خارج العراق
- الكثير من المهجريين داخلياً
- معدل خفيف لغير العاملين
- عودة الكثير من اللاجئين
- عودة الكثير إلى مناطقهم فرحين



A Path to Radicalization

- The West, led by the United States, is engaged in a war against Islam
- Muslims are obligated to defend their religion and there are theological justifications for doing so
- Violence is the necessary means to defend the religion



The Plan

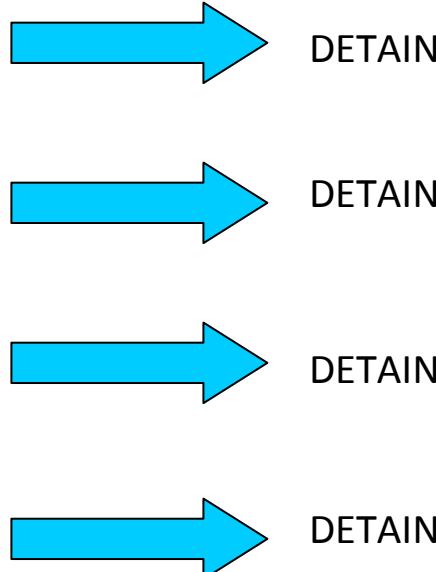
- Phase I: Apply COIN principles to TIF, separate extremists from population, and protect populations both inside and outside the TIF
- Phase II: Defeat the insurgency within the TIF, succeed in the battlefield of the mind, and identify ideas which are contagious
- Phase III: Engaging populations with detainees, families, and releasees and establish a “social epidemic” which advances the objective of empowering the moderate ummah to marginalize the violent extremists within Iraq



Envisioning the Engagement Process

Former Detention Operations
Doctrine

Care & Custody Only



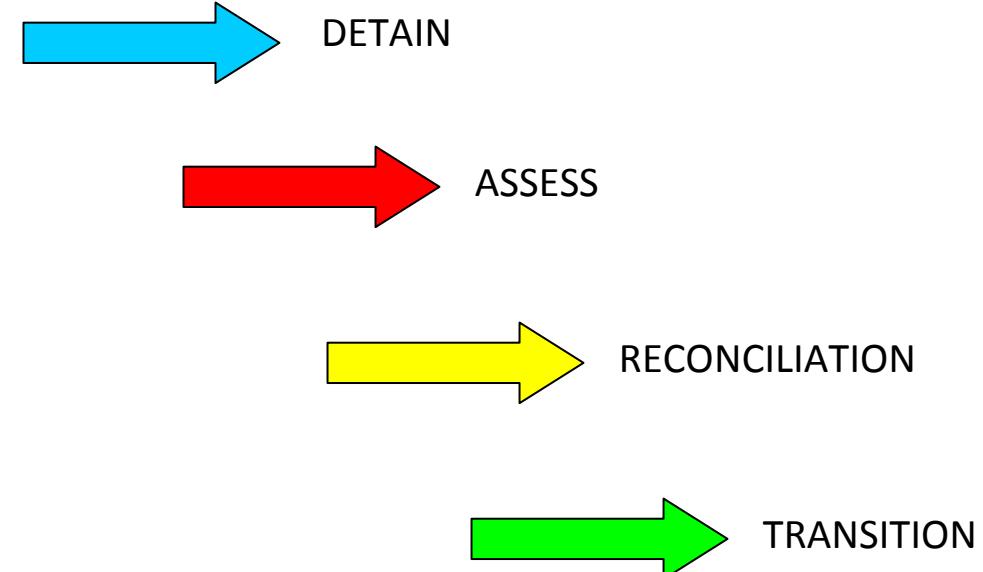
= Strategic Risk

Our Mission

Care & Custody

+

POPULATION ENGAGEMENT



= Strategic Advantage

What Works and What Doesn't in a COIN Environment

from FM 3-24 (Table 1-1)

Unsuccessful Practices

- "Overemphasize killing and capturing the enemy, rather than securing and engaging the populace."
- Ignore peacetime governmental processes, including legal procedures
- Place a low priority on assigning quality advisors to HN forces

Successful Practices

- Emphasize intelligence
- Isolate insurgents from the population
- Conduct IO
- Provide amnesty and rehabilitation
- Police lead; military support
- Expand and diversify the security force

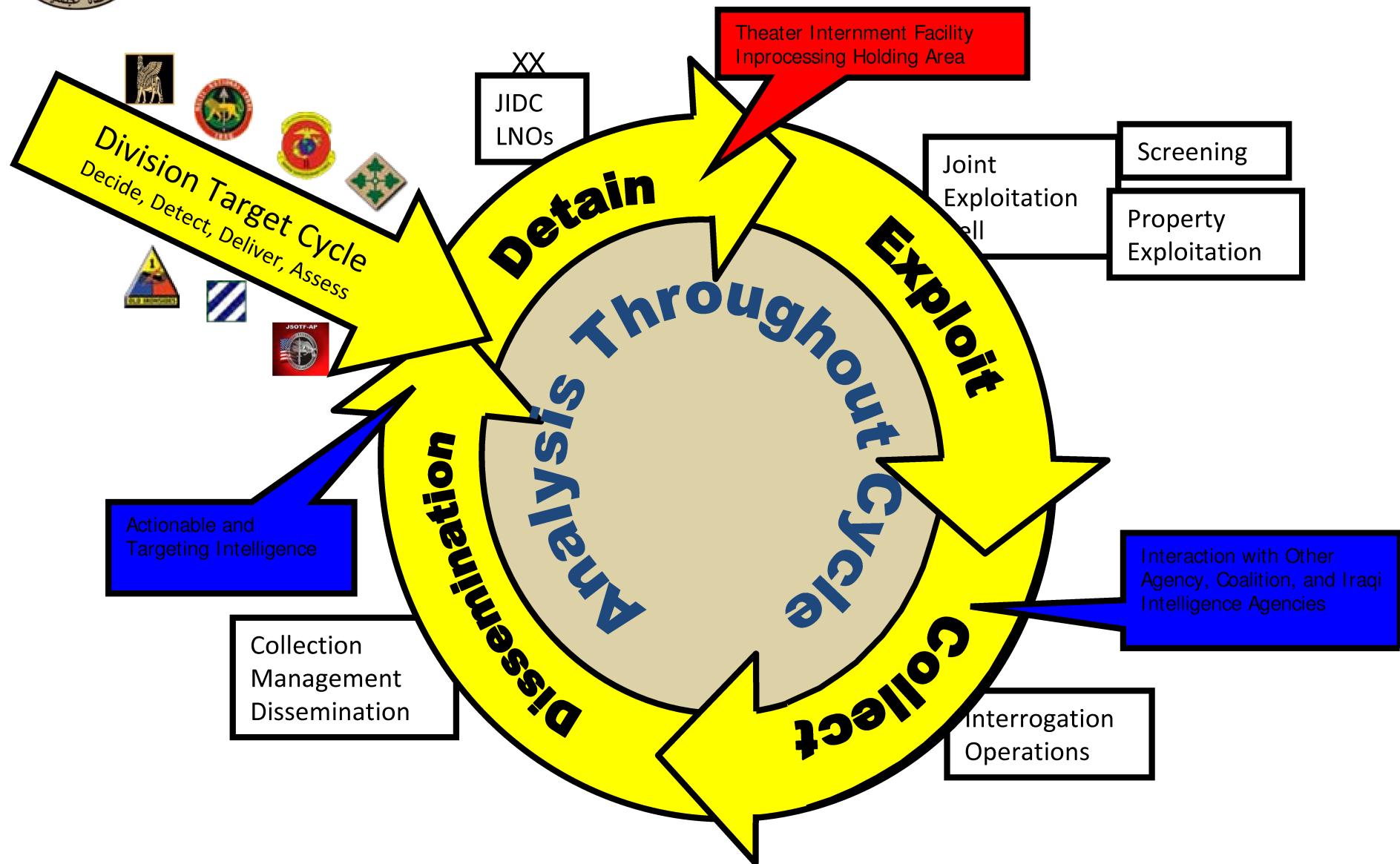
"Old Way of Doing Business"

The Way Ahead for Detention Ops

"In COIN environments, distinguishing an insurgent from a civilian is difficult and often impossible. Treating a civilian like an insurgent, however, is a sure recipe for failure" (7-40).



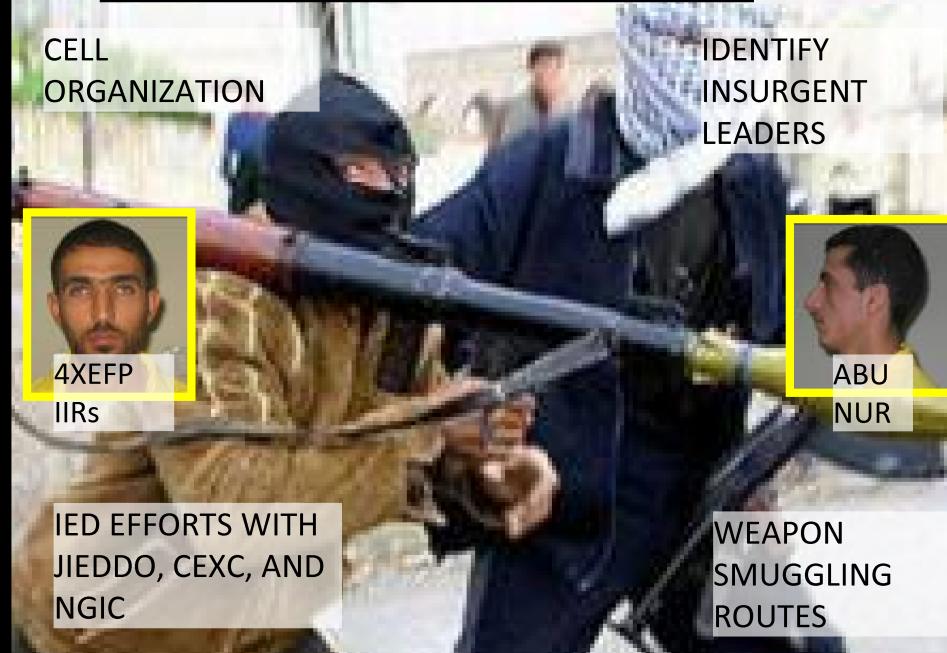
The Interrogation Cycle



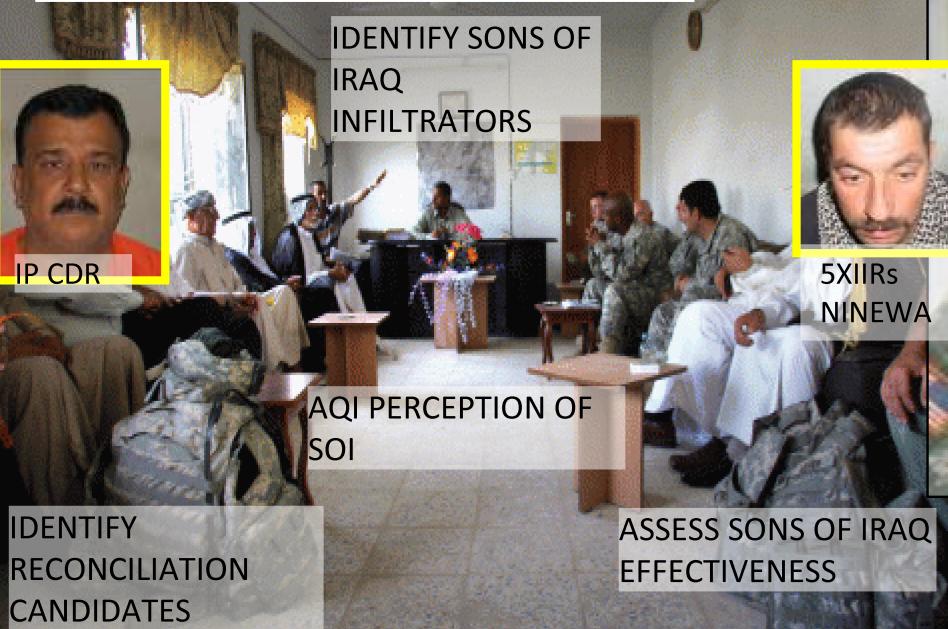
ACTIONABLE INTELLIGENCE



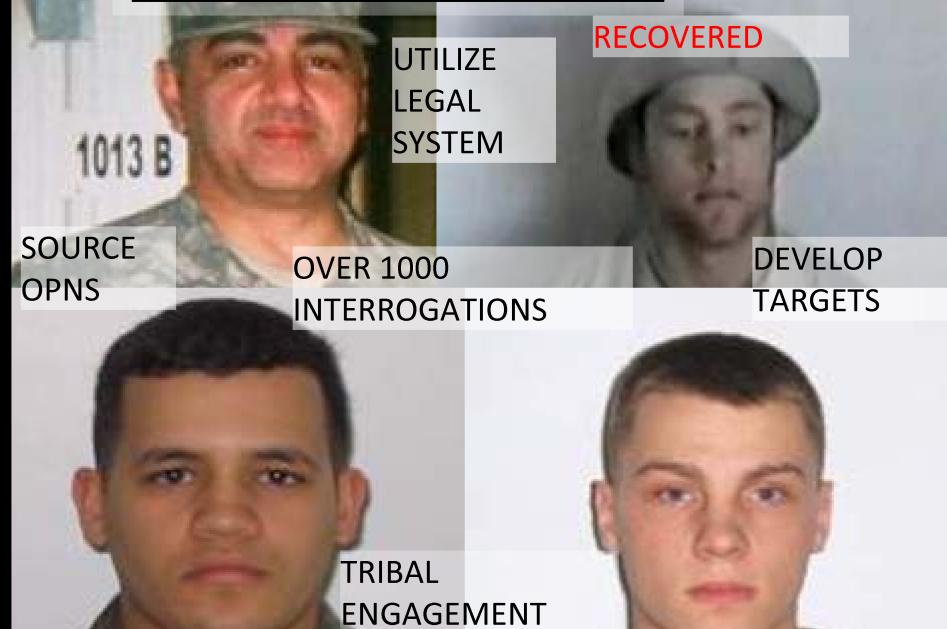
INSURGENT AND TERRORIST TTPs



INTEL SUPPORT TO SONS OF IRAQ



INTEL SUPPORT TO MISCAP



Detainee / Sensitive Site Material Exploitation Results

- Highlights of two month period (Oct - Nov 2007)
 - 508 Detainees led to 422 capture / kill operations
 - 131 of 422 ops resulted in captured / killed terrorists
 - 1,181 cell phones were captured
 - 47,000 phone numbers
 - 21.9 terabytes of data
 - 355 Violent Extremists were captured in follow-on operations
 - Tactical Interrogation Reports produced
 - Unique insights and trends into AQ network
 - Key Enabler for IA / OGA / Partner Nations

**Effective Interrogation Techniques: treat with dignity, courtesy, and respect / love of family

Strategic Releases

Strategic Releases: Capitalize on external Arab IO capabilities using Foreign Fighter detainees willing to publicly speak against Jihad



"Bernie's" Timeline (ISBN 168058— al Shayie)

Dec 2004 – Failed VBIED attack on Jordanian Embassy
31 July 05 – Turned over to Saudi Arabia
Mar 2008 – Bernie meets the DCG-DO in Saudi Arabia





Task Force 134



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BATTLEFIELD OF THE LAND OBJ CHARTER

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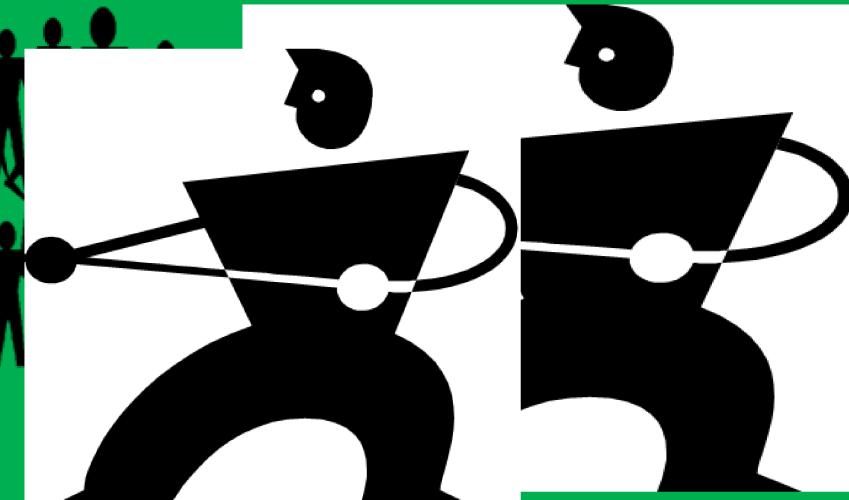
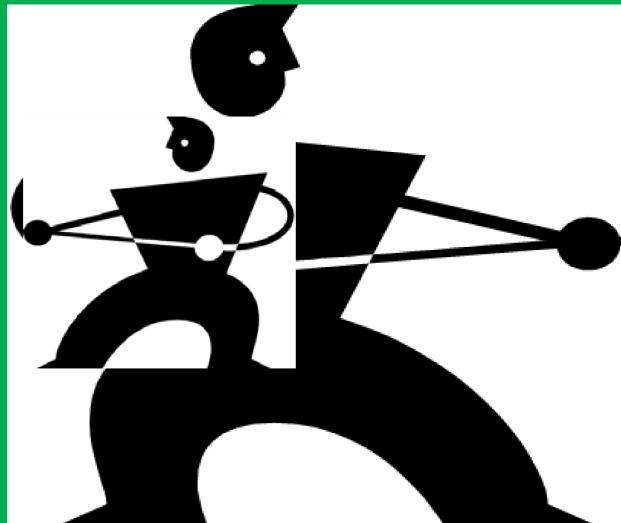
KUWAIT



Battlefield of the Mind



MODERATES



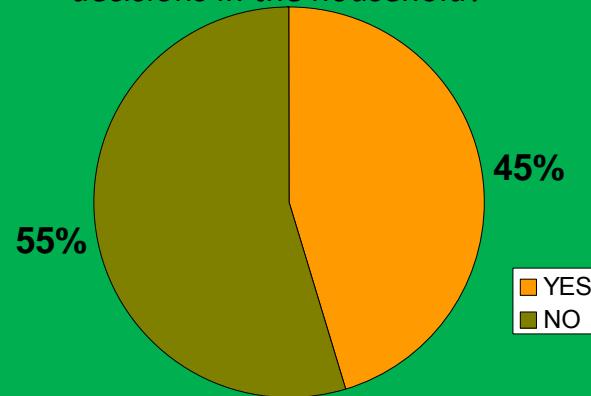
EXTREMISTS

GOI AND COALITION

Detainee Family Demographics: *Family Social Structure is Complex*

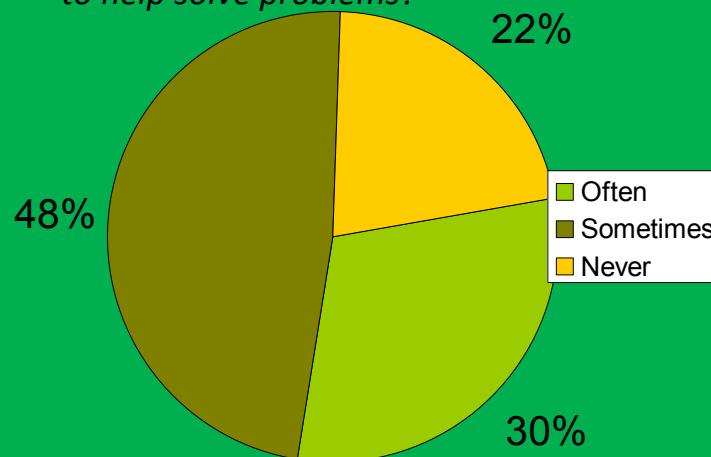
Majority don't make the decisions

Does the detainee make the decisions in the household?



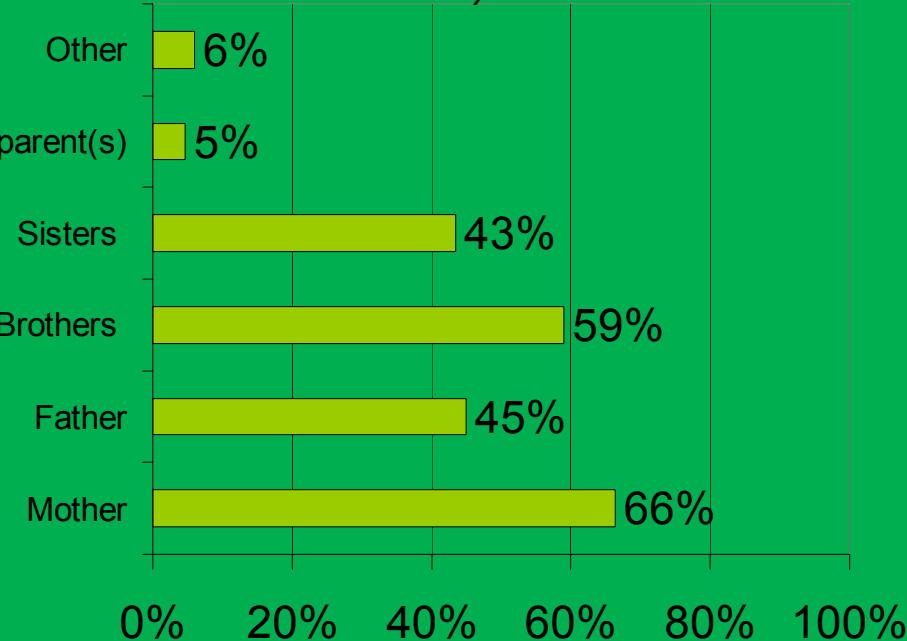
Tribal influence is a factor

Do you go to your tribal leader to help solve problems?

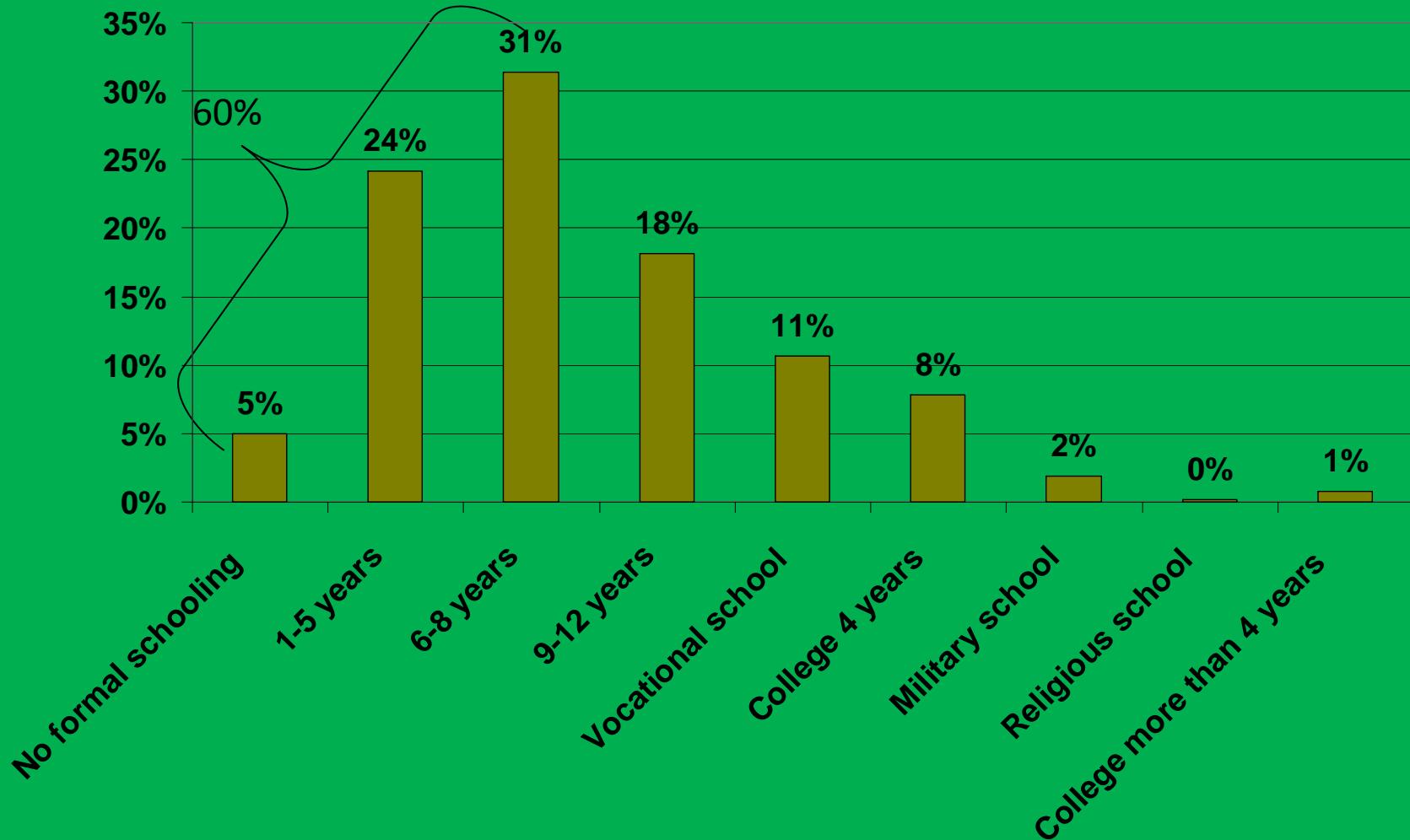


Most detainees live with extended family

Who else lives in your household?

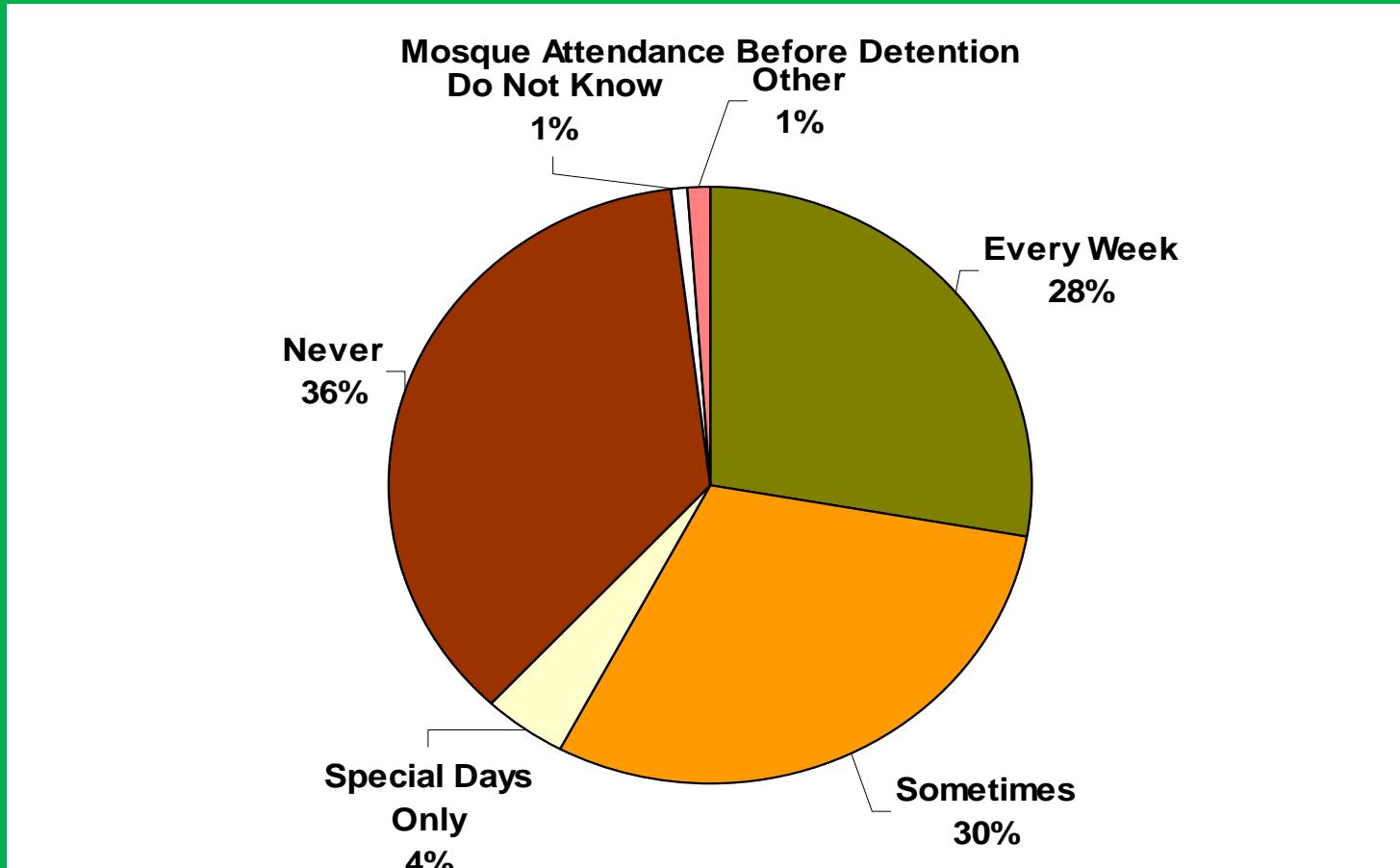


Detainees are Not Prepared to Compete *More than 60% of the Detainees Have not Completed High School*



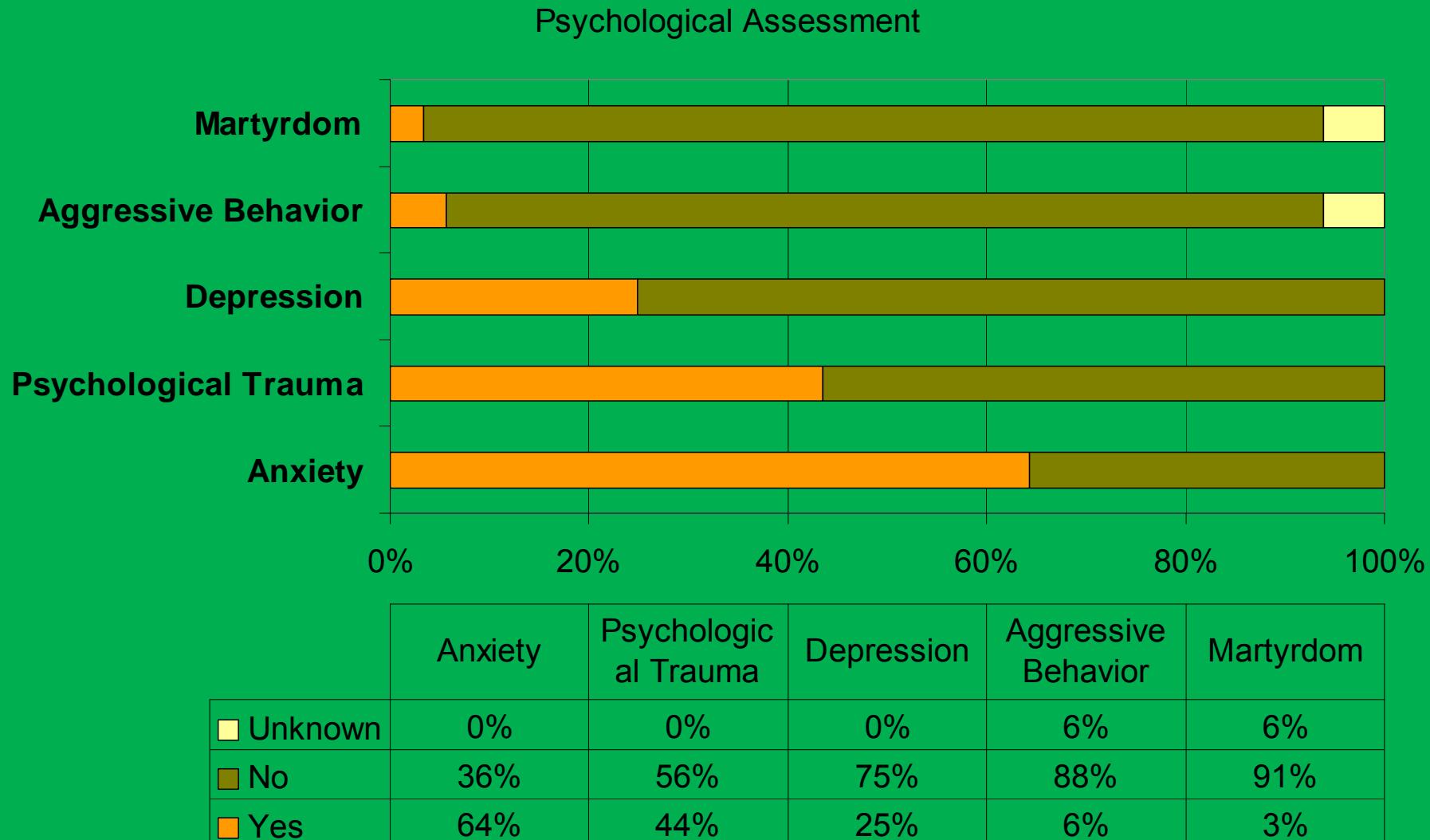
Religiosity

Mosque Not Central to Most Iraqi Detainees Lives



Note: 70% of detainees did not attend mosque every week

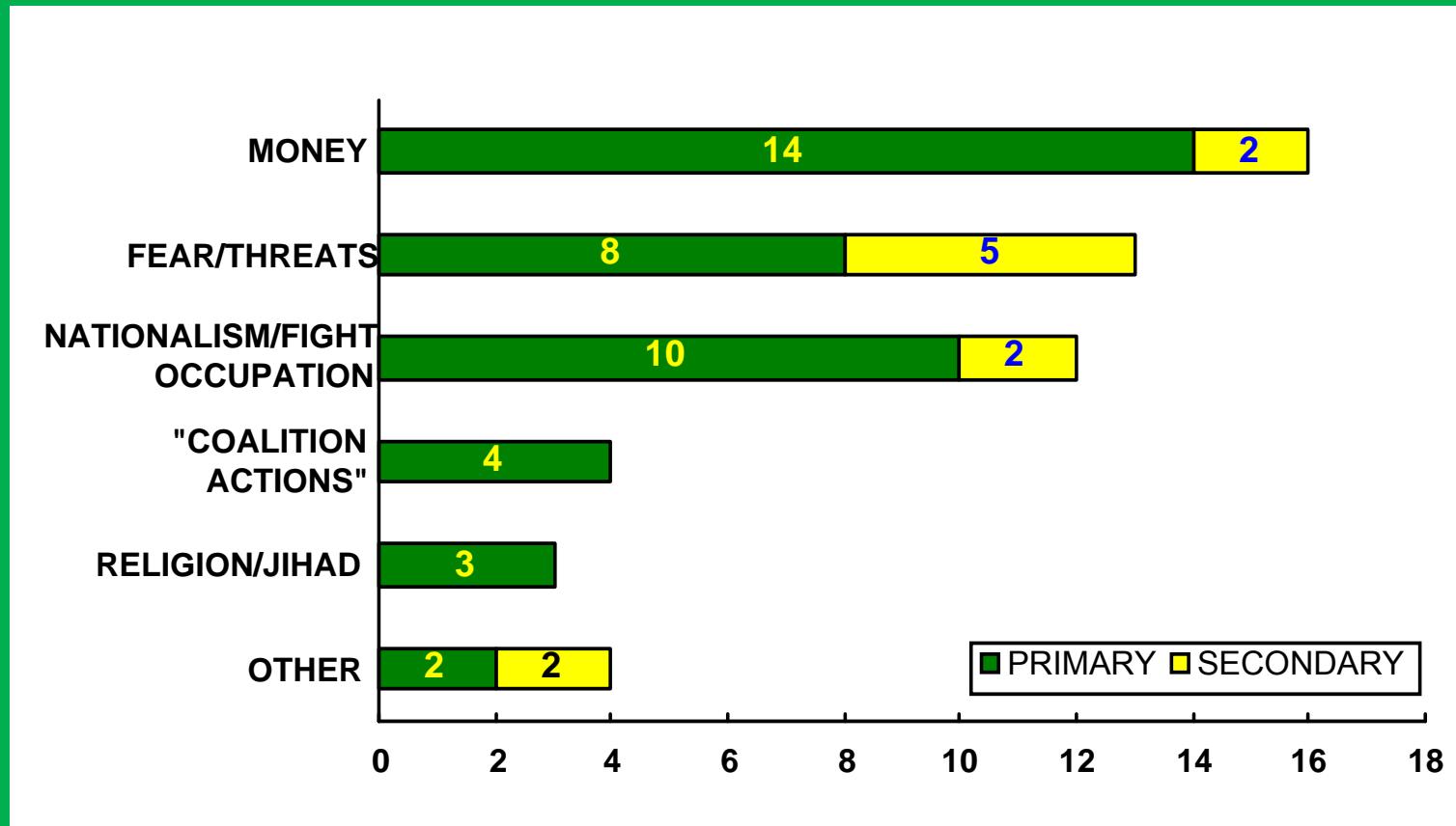
Many Detainees Exhibit Signs of Psychological Trauma and Anxiety; Very Few Have Ideas of Martyrdom and Aggression



DETAINEE POPULATION FACTS & FIGURES

حقائق و أعداد إحصائية للمعتقلين

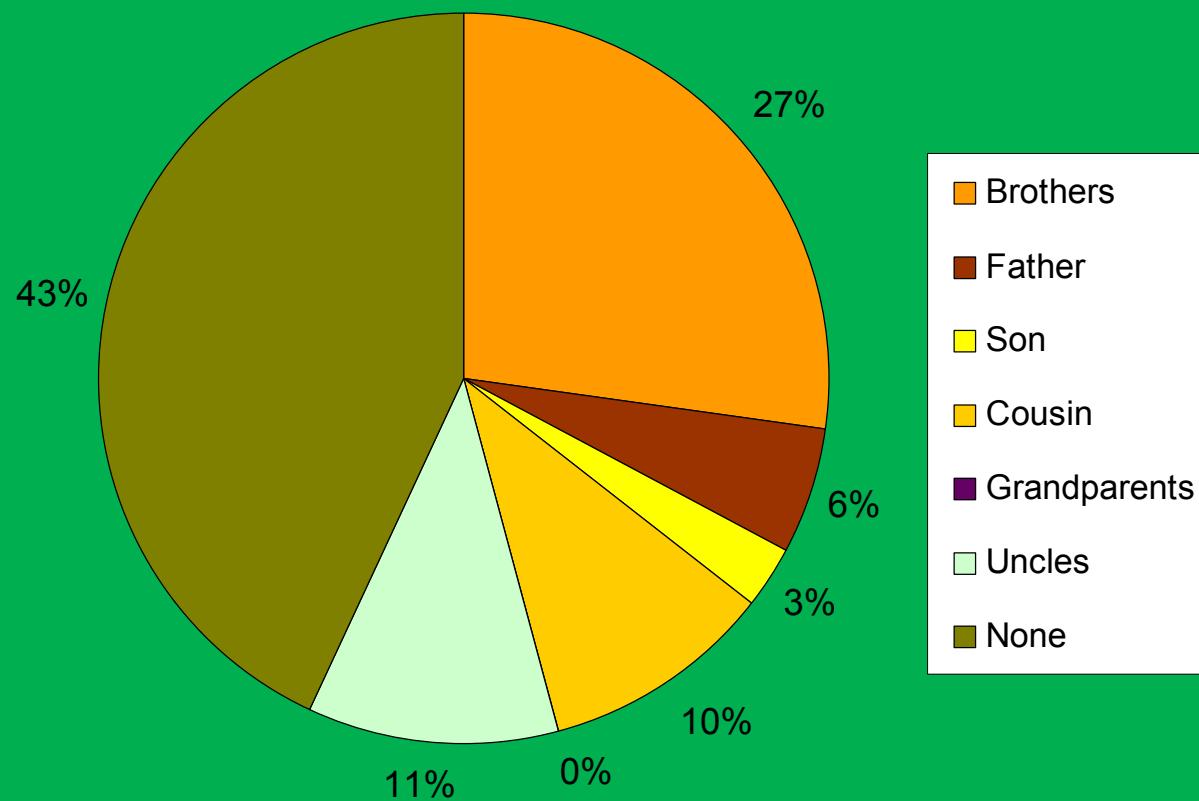
Who is in detention?



Attitude Toward Coalition

Insurgency & Detention Impacts Extended Family – 57% had family member detained

Have any of your family members been detained by the Coalition?



TESTIMONY FROM INSIDE THE WIRE



“Uneducated people join militias for money; if there were jobs, fewer people would join and this would also deter future fighters from turning towards the militias.”



“Most Al Qaeda members would like to leave the organization, but fear doing so because they will be hunted down and will not be accepted back into Iraqi society.”

ATTRIBUTES OF A SUCCESSFUL PROGRAM

“Our facilities are to be a reflection of the society we desire.”

- Extremists identified and segregated from moderates
- Psychiatrists/Psychologists engaged
- Islamic clerics working with detainees
- One-on-one counseling when required
- Religious discussion programs
- Family involvement
- Civics classes
- Art programs
- Multilayered evaluation process
- Provincial and Community Programs for post-release engagement
- Material incentives for workers
- Job placement
- Continuing Education
- Iraqis in the Lead

Current Engagement Process



Capture



Interrogation



MAG CELL & CCCI



Assessment & Transition



MNFR &
C2X/Corps Vetting



MNFR Rehearing
C2X/Corps Vetting



Family
Advocacy



VOTECH &
Work Programs



Civics & Islamic
Discussions



Education



Govt of Iraq Reintegration &
Reconciliation



Pledge & Guarantor



Release



Post-Release

Iraqi Correctional Officer Training



CARE AND CUSTODY

الرعاية و الاهتمام

Detention Operations

Quality of Life: We are dedicated to the welfare of the detainees. The highest standard of custody and care is given, to include allowing visitors, receiving mail and unannounced visits by the International Committee of the Red Cross.



Operations of Detention:

نوعية الحياة: ان عملنا مكرس لراحة المعتقلين. نقدم اسمى معايير الرعاية و العناية، من ضمنها السماح بالزيارات، تأقی البريد و زيارات مفاجأة من قبل اللجنة الدولية للصليب الاحمر.



Detainees receive the same medical treatment as Coalition Forces.

Healthcare for detainees is available 24 hours a day and 7 days a week.

يتأقى المعتقلون ذات العلاج
الطبي المقدم لقوات
التحالف.

توفير العناية الصحية
للمعتقلين على مدار 24
ساعة وطيلة ايام الاسبوع

VOLUNTARY ADULT EDUCATION CLASSES

دروس طوعية لتعليم البالغين



The Inner-Compound School is taught in concert with hired teachers and volunteer detainees.

The curriculum is varied among many subjects including Arabic, English and math.

Over 10,600 students have gone to voluntary education classes.

تعتمد مدرسة المجمع الداخلي (العنابر الداخلية) في التعليم على معلمين يتعاقد معهم و معتقلين متطوعين.

يتتنوع المنهج بين العديد من المواد بما فيها اللغة العربية، الإنجليزية و الرياضيات

اشترك أكثر من 10600 طالب



An education center will provide all detainees with a basic education program.

The curriculum is based on a core of six subjects: Arabic, English, math, science, civics and geography.

Over 160 students attend Dar Al Hikmah each week.

سيوفر المركز التعليمي برنامجا تعليميا أساسيا لكافة المعتقلين

المنهج التعليمي مبنيا على اساس ستة مواضيع هي:
اللغة العربية، الإنكليزية،
رياضيات، علوم، التربية
الوطنية و جغرافيا.

أكثر من 160 طالب يداوم
في مدرسة دار الحكمة
اسبوعيا



VOLUNTARY RELIGIOUS DISCUSSION

نقاش ديني طوعي

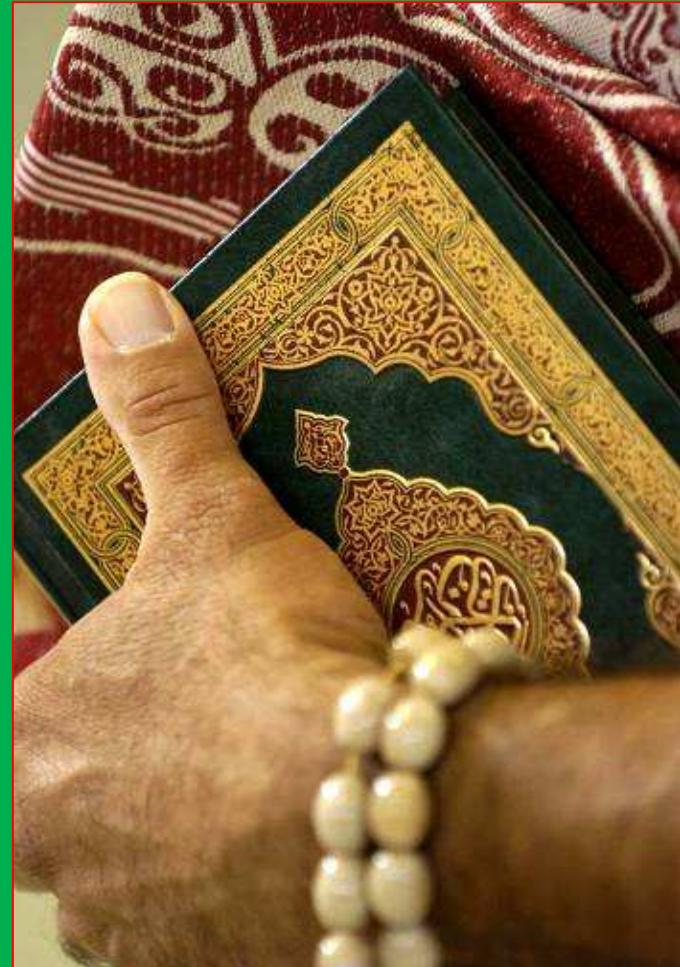


Islamic Clerics offer detainees a true understanding of Islam.

Over 3,000 detainees have participated in this program thus far.

يقدم رجال دين مسلمين مفهوماً واضحاً عن الإسلام للمعتقلين.

أكثر من 3000 معتقل اشتراك في هذا البرنامج إلى الآن.



WOMEN'S PROGRAM

Female detainees inside theater facilities comprise the group most at-risk for conducting suicide attacks on Coalition Forces.

The interment of females is controversial and poses a significant challenge for Muslim leaders and Iraqi society to understand.



Counselors, teachers and clerics offer female detainees a true understanding of Islam.

MENTAL HEALTH PROGRAM

Based upon the innovative work conducted by psychiatrists working in Afghanistan during Operation Enduring Freedom, Task Force 134 is implementing a new Mental Health Program at Camp Bucca. Pilot studies are underway to evaluate the high risk populations within the facility and create a suitable engagement plan to treat detainees whose mental capacity is abnormal or maladjusted due to trauma and violence.

برنامج عمل

WORK PROGRAM



The work and vocational educational programs will include developing textile and brick manufacturing facilities that will compensate detainees for their labor, enabling the detainee to send money home that will help support their families. Currently, over 3,500 detainees have participated in the work program.

ستشمل البرامج العملية والمهنية التعليمية مراكز لتطوير صناعة النسيج ومرافق لتصنيع الطابوق التي ستعوض المعتقلين بإجور مادية، كي يمكنهم من إرسال المال لدعم وإعالة ذويهم.

أنضم للبرنامج أكثر من 3500 معتقل





Camp Bucca Chiefs and Reconciliation

- New Focus has been Sunni Shia Reconciliation Efforts in the Program Designed by Abu Safa (300829)
 - “We need to get Imams involved in the Reconciliation Effort and for the Quad Chiefs to take ownership for the TAKFIRI within their quads”
- “Imams can teach about tolerance and acceptance between Sunni and Shia. If they see and hear their Imam accepting change they will follow.” (10C Chief)
- “ We can not only affect what happens in Bucca but also what happens in Iraq. We are here because of this disagreement between Sunni and Shia. We are separated from our families because of this disagreement. We need to fix this both here and at home.” (9B Chief)
- “Your quad is like a house that you built from the ground up. If there are TAKFIRI in your house its because you brought them in, so you need to get them out.” (3B Chief)



(u) 3B Chief addresses the group on the rules of the meeting



Detention: A New Solution through Reconciliation Efforts

Defeat the Insurgency by Empowering Moderates

- Identify individuals for separation early in the detention process
- Create a transparent legal review process to release those who are reconciled
- Criminals are turned over to ICS
- Extremists are separated. Gangs and disrupted and exploited.



Reintegration & Reconciliation Programs Modify Behavior

- Educate, inform, train and empower moderate reconcile in detention and prepare
- Provide support through programs that facilitate reintegration back into Iraqi
- Shia and Sunni together in all programs



FAMILY VISITATION

توفير الزيارات العائلية للمعتقلين، إضافة إلى الرسائل والاتصالات الهاتفية.

Family visitation is provided to the detainees, as well as letters and phone calls.

منظمة الصليب الأحمر الدولي أيضا تعمل على تنسيق الإتصالات بين المعتقلين وذويهم.

The International Committee of the Red Cross also coordinates communication with detainees and their families.

تقوم أكثر من 1200 عائلة بزيارة ذويهم في معسكر بوكا من كل أسبوع

Over 1,200 families visit their loved ones at Camp Bucca each week.





Task Force 134
supports Iraqi Rule
of Law.

Detainee's case on
a periodic basis.



يعمل مركز قيادة 134 على
مساندة سيادة القانون العراقي
يتم مراجعة ملف المعتقلين
بصورة دورية.



Public Relations & Detention

Western Media

The New York Times

BBC

CNN.com

العراقية

(Al Iraqiya TV)

Detention
Operations

العربية
BETA Version
Al Arabiya News Channel

Iraqi

Media



Pan-Arab Media

Iraqi Media Engagement

Viewer Data Collected by MNF-I StratEff: Jan 2008

Most-Read Newspapers

Feb 08	Al Sabah	24.0%
--	Azzaman	9.6%
--	Al Mashriq	5.2%
Dec 07	Al Sabah Al Jadeed	5.1%
--	New Kurdistan	4.8%
	None*	34.8%

Most Listened-to Radio

Feb 08	Al Iraqiya	16.2%
Feb 08	Radio Sawa	15.9%
Feb 08	BBC	7.0%
Feb 08	Dar AlIslam	6.1%
--	Monte Carlo	5.3%
	None*	25.3%

Most-Watched TV Stations

Feb 08	Al Iraqiya	25.6%
--	Al Sharqiya	23.3%
Feb 08	Al Arabiya	12.6%
--	Al Jazeera	9.9%
Dec 07	Al Hurra	7.9%
	None*	5.8%

Most-Important Media by Type

TV	78.7%
Radio	9.6%
Newspaper	2.6%
None*	9.1%

* None = No Answer / Not Sure / None



التعهد القضائي هو وعد من المعتقل يتعهد فيه امام قاضي عراقي بحفظ السلام و حسن السلوك. أكثر من 7200 معتقل قد أدوا هذا اليمين أمام قاض عراقي

The judicial pledge is the detainee's promise to an Iraqi judge to maintain peace and good conduct. Over 7,200 detainees have made the pledge thus far.

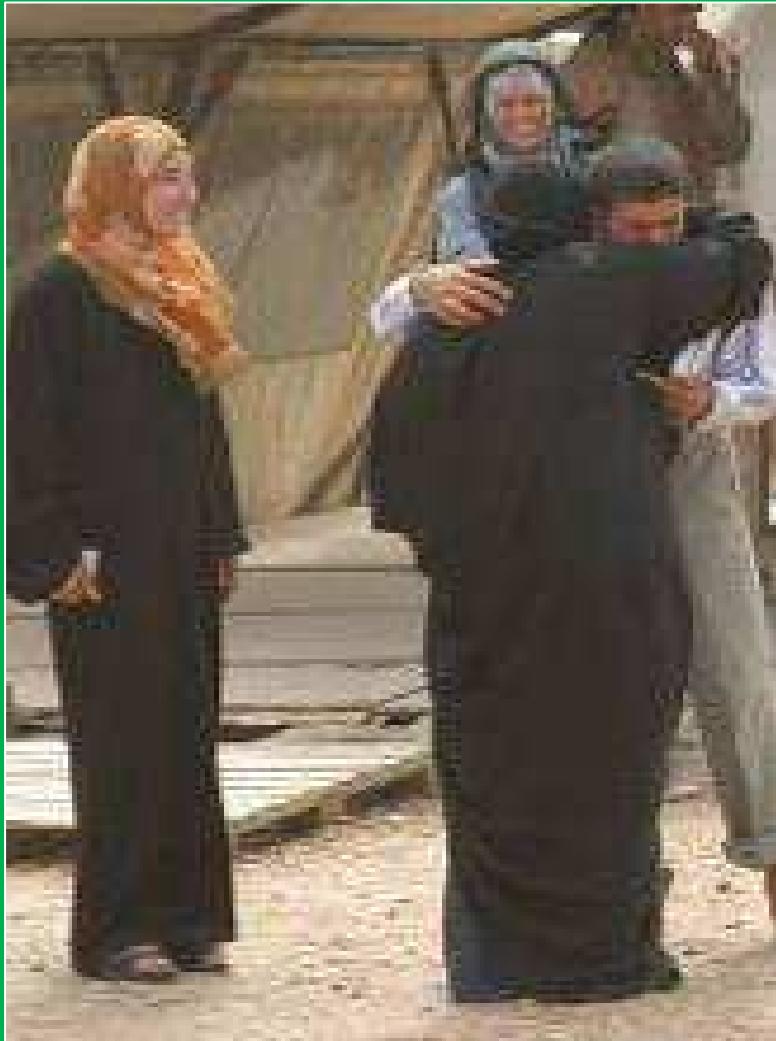
'LION'S DAWN' RELEASE CEREMONY

إحتفالية فجر الاسد للإفراج



This special program celebrates the release of a group of detainees. It's conducted as a public release ceremony for the detainees and their families. Iraqi VIPs attend the ceremony and typically invite Iraqi/Pan-Arab media to cover.

يحتفل هذا البرنامج المهم بإفراج مجموعة من المعتقلين. يحتفل بمراسيم إفراج عامة للمعتقلين و ذويهم. يحضر هذه المراسيم شخصيات عراقية بارزة، و بالطبع يتم إستدعاء الإعلام العراقي و المنابر للعرب للتغطية الإعلامية.



As of Nov. 1, 2007:
6,300 detainees have
been released

لغاية 1 تشرين الثاني
تم إطلاق سراح 6.300 معتقل
2007

The Government of Iraq (GOI) and Multi-National Forces-Iraq (MNF-I) have partnered together to expand the number of releases from Coalition Forces custody in an effort to foster throughout the year goodwill and reconciliation.

عملت الحكومة العراقية
بالاشتراك مع القوة المتعددة
الجنسيات على زيادة الأعداد
التي يتم إطلاق سراحها من
عهدة قوات التحالف لمحاولة
تعزيز حسن النية و المصالحة
على مدى طول العام.





Implications

Releases are Strategic

- Greater throughput between DO and Corps is necessary to uphold both the quality and quantity of intakes and releases
- Amnesty and mass releases are not viable options

Releases will Reshape the Battlespace

- There are over 20,000 Sunnis in detention who might be released back into their communities
- Closely monitoring recaptures and recidivists will be key indicators regarding the amount of risk

Releases are Necessary

- If a detainee is no longer viewed as an “imperative security risk”
- Implications of the UNSCR expiration at the end of 2008
- “Passing the Buck” will disadvantage follow-on forces and potentially offset many of the gains which have occurred. We need the involvement of the MNDs for successful reintegration to occur.



The Way Ahead

Post-Release Preparedness

- The impact of detainee return ceremonies
- “Guarantors” proceeding in Corps areas
- Continuing efforts to evaluate and assess

Coordinating Our Efforts

- Increased involvement from Corps in the MNFRC panel discussions
- Economic programs synced to meet the needs of battlespace owners
- Make every attempt to avoid the unmonitored detainee release
- TF 134 programs and services are prepared to assist out the DHAs with:
 - Legal Assistance
 - Judicial Investigators
 - Assessments and Motivation Research
 - Early identification of irreconcilables and extremists





Global Impact of Expanding the Model



As a historical and geographical center of Islam, what happens in Iraq will echo throughout the more than *1 billion* people of the Muslim Umma.