



# **SMA CENTCOM Reach Back NPS Panel Discussion**

**In Support of US CENTCOM**

**Booklet**

**16 May 2018**

**1300-1500 EST**

**Dial (866) 712-4038;  
Passcode 37250264#**

Strategic Multi-Layer Assessment (SMA) provides planning support to Commands with complex operational imperatives requiring multi-agency, multi-disciplinary solutions that are NOT within core Service/Agency competency. Solutions and participants are sought across USG and beyond. SMA is accepted and synchronized by Joint Staff/J-39 DDGO and executed by ASD (EC&P).

# Agenda

**Panel Description:** On 16 May, 1300-1500, NPS will convene a panel session and discuss areas related to the latest SMA/CENTCOM Reach Back Cell study focusing on stability and future pathways in Afghanistan. Speakers will include:

Dr. John Arquilla (NPS)  
Dr. Thomas Barfield (Boston University)  
Dr. Hy Rothstein (NPS)  
Dr. Craig Whiteside (NPS)

The panel will discuss the questions guiding the study, listed below.

## **Initial Prioritized List of Study Topics:**

1. What would reconciliation between the Taliban and GIRoA look like? What are the essential pre-conditions for political reconciliation? What groups would or would not reconcile? How would this affect GIRoA organizationally (potential devolution of power, etc.)? Would devolution of GIRoA power be a condition for Taliban integration? How would the reconciliation affect the power brokers (warlords) currently aligned with or part of GIRoA?
2. What would a favorable Pakistani stance to Afghanistan look like? Would it be homogeneous? Or, if not, how would groups like the ISI operate outside of the official Pakistani government stance? How does competition with India factor into Pakistan's willingness to support US (and other partner nation) objectives in Afghanistan?
3. What are the potential Russian options regarding their interference/participation in Afghanistan? What would trigger these options? How do the Taliban and the Afghan government view Russian objectives in Afghanistan?
4. What would be the effect of increasing/decreasing US relations with India on Pakistan?
5. How could China affect Pakistan/Afghanistan? What drives the Chinese decision calculus? How do key actors in Pakistan and Afghanistan view China?
6. How could a Grand Bargain between the US and China (or other permutations) manifest itself in Afghanistan/Pakistan?
7. Iran wants to limit US military influence in the region, including Afghanistan. What are Iran's strategic interests in Afghanistan? How is Iran seeking to limit US influence and increase its own in Afghanistan?
8. How do population dynamics on the ground hinder or support reconciliation?
9. What are the interests of key coalition partners in Afghanistan? In what ways do they align or differ from US interests?

# Speaker Biographies

## Dr. John Arquilla (NPS)

Dr. John Arquilla is professor and chair of defense analysis at the Naval Postgraduate School where he has taught in the irregular warfare program since 1993. He is best-known for having predicted, back in the mid-'90s, the rise of terrorist, insurgent, and transnational criminal networks. His books include *Networks and Netwars* (2001), *The Reagan Imprint* (2006), and *Insurgents, Raiders, and Bandits* (2011). He contributes regularly to *The New York Times*, *Foreign Policy*, and *Politico*.

## Dr. Thomas Barfield (Boston University)

Dr. Thomas Barfield's current research focuses on problems of political development in Afghanistan, particularly on systems of local governance and dispute resolution. He has also published extensively on contemporary and historic nomadic pastoral societies in Eurasia with a particular emphasis on politics and economy.

Dr. Barfield conducted ethnographic fieldwork in northern Afghanistan in the mid-1970s as well as shorter periods of research in Xinjiang, China, and post-Soviet Uzbekistan. He is author of *The Central Asian Arabs of Afghanistan* (1981), *The Perilous Frontier: Nomadic Empires and China* (1989), and *The Nomadic Alternative* (1993), co-author of *Afghanistan: An Atlas of Indigenous Domestic Architecture* (1991), and editor of *Blackwell's Dictionary of Anthropology* (1997). Barfield received a Guggenheim Fellowship in 2006 that led to the publication of his newest book, *Afghanistan: A Political and Cultural History* (2010).

He is also director of Boston University's Institute for the Study of Muslim Societies & Civilization and currently serves as president of the American Institute for Afghanistan Studies.

Position: Professor and Chair (Fall 2016)

Education: PhD- Harvard University, MA- Harvard University, BA- University of Pennsylvania

## Dr. Hy Rothstein (NPS)

Dr. Hy Rothstein is the director of the DoD IO Center for Research, and a member of the Center on Terrorism and Irregular Warfare, at the Naval Postgraduate School. He has a Ph.D. in International Relations from the Fletcher School, Tufts University. Dr. Rothstein has spent considerable time in Afghanistan, Iraq and the Philippines since early 2002 observing, up close and in the most remote areas, the conduct of the wars. He served in the US Army as a Special Forces officer for more than twenty-six years spending much of his time in Latin America training and advising governments threatened by active insurgencies. Dr. Rothstein has written and edited books about Afghanistan (*Afghanistan and the Troubled Future of Unconventional Warfare* (2006) and *Afghan Endgames Strategy and Policy Choices for America's Longest War* (Feb 2012)), Iraq (*The Three Circles of War* (2010)), an anthology that explores the similarities between insurgency and gang violence (*Gangs & Guerrillas* (2011)) and a comprehensive volume on deception titled, *The Art and Science of Military Deception* (2013). He is currently working on a book about "assessing war" that will be published by Georgetown University Press in 2015. Dr. Rothstein teaches courses and conducts research on the strategic utility of special operations, military deception, and psychological and political warfare.

## Dr. Craig Whiteside (NPS)

Dr. Craig Whiteside is an Associate Professor at the Naval War College Monterey, California where he teaches national security affairs. He is a senior associate with the Center on Irregular Warfare and Armed Groups at the Naval War College in Newport, Rhode Island and a fellow at the International Centre for Counter-terrorism – the Hague. Whiteside's current research focuses on the doctrinal influences on the leadership of the so-called Islamic State movement and its evolving strategies. He has a PhD in Political Science from Washington State University. His recent publications on the Islamic State can be found [here](#).