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MajGen Scaparrotti: Thanks Mike.  

Well, to the AFA and to General Schwartz in particular, and to the senor leadership of the Air Force, thank you very for this honor and it is an honor for me.  

I would start out by saying that I am comfortable as a team mate with the Air Force.  I started out in the 82nd, and from my first day being a team mate with the Air Force at Pope, it was something you learned quickly as a 2nd lieutenant.  I remember one of the first things about being in the 82nd is we had a day where we spent the entire day with a C-130 crew, got up, went through their ops briefs in the morning and flew with them for the day on multiple turns over Sicily, and the next day I got to rig them up, put about 250 pounds of stuff on them, and they went through the back of one of their C-130s, all the way up until we went out the door and they unhooked and sat down. [Laughter]. But it was an experience that was a good one for both of us. Since that early start I’ve known that I’ve got great wingmen and partners with the Air Force.  

Another story, and it’s a true one, I actually applied to the Air Force Academy and the Military Academy, thinking that I wanted to fly. They came back and said because of a football injury to my knee I didn’t pass the physical. So obviously I went to West Point and they said you can spend your career jumping out of airplanes. [Laughter]. Two knee surgeries later, here I am.  

Again, it is a great honor, sir, to speak here today. My intent is to talk about RC East, Regional Command East, CJTF 82 in Afghanistan, that portion of the fight that I have. And I’ll talk as a part of that about air power in COIN and take questions at the end, if you’d like.  

I want to highlight a couple of the initiatives that are new in RC East that are really initiatives within our part of that that are coupled or nested with General McChrystal’s drive to protect the population in a different culture or mindset as it pertains to COIN in Afghanistan. I title this “Our Unified Way Ahead”. 

I’ve got to start with a map because I’m a ground guy and I’m in the Infantry, but I would like to spend a minute, and I hope you can see this a bit, because I want to explain RC East to you.

RC East, as you know, is one of five of the regional commands, Kabul being one of those, and then four as you go around the country. To get you oriented a bit, you’ve got Bagram right up here, and Kabul right in the center. Torkham Gate’s right out here. It is 300 miles by 300 miles, 43,000 square miles of terrain. You have the Hindu Kush up through here. Also mountainous up in this area in Bamiyan and Panjir, and then along the border with Pakistan.

The altitude, even at Bagram it’s almost 5,000 feet. What most people don’t realize is even when you’re on flat ground going from Bagram down to Kandahar this way, you’re rising in elevation as you go, which is a challenge for our helos and it can catch you if you’re not paying attention. Most of us ground guys, we don’t realize that. My aviators do.

The weather is in this part of the country very unpredictable. Our Air Force weather team that briefs me multiple times every day, has to keep a constant watch on it because in those passes that weather can change in 45 minutes and make a huge difference in what you’re trying to get done.

This is Highway 1 here, known as the Ring Road. This goes out to Torkham Gate. Within this area we’ve got about 25,000 soldiers. It’s between 25,000 and 30,000 service members throughout the year. That fluctuates with folks coming in and out. Out of that, we’ve got 4700 airmen there, and the 455th and AEW, Brigadier General Steve Kwast, his folks within that country, we have an awesome team there at Bagram. Steve and I start every morning together with a combined update with our close staff on what we’re going to do that day. We share that with each other. Then I have a situational awareness room that I come back into after I’ve done my circulation of the battlefield. So does Steve. That’s how we spend every day together and that’s just an indicator between the two senior airmen and soldiers there how it works throughout the task force, I would tell you, and it’s been just a great effort with both of us.

The other things I’d point out, there are 14 provinces in RC East. There are 34 in Afghanistan. Fourteen within RC East, 158 districts, almost 10 million people. To deal with the insurgency in that area, again, about 25,000
service members. I now have about 145 civilian experts. I’m going to talk about that in just a little bit in a little more detail.

The Command Master Chief talked about the agricultural teams. We’ve got eight of those right now with more coming, and they are an incredible asset. One of those tools that pays huge, huge dividends when you look at the number of people you have. I may talk a little bit more about that in a bit as well.

Then Provincial Reconstruction Teams are those teams, ten of those from the U.S.; three from other countries that are arrayed throughout my battlefield that help us with governance and development. They bring not only their own security but also then the expertise to do governance and development within the AOR.

The way it’s arrayed here, we have a Brigade Combat Team up here in Nurestan, Kunar, Laghman, Nangarhar. This is a French brigade of about 2200 in Kapisa and a portion of Kabul district in Sarobi.

We have the 38th ID from Illinois that has a headquarters element and part of my 82nd that provides security and development in Panjshir, Parwan and Bamiyan.

Then within Logar, Wardak, we have the 173rd Airborne Brigade out of Italy.

This is a Polish brigade here in Ghazni, about 2200 strong. Then 4/25 out of Alaska has Paktia, Khost and Paktika.

I also have a battalion from the UAE and I have a battalion from Jordan, so it is a coalition effort and quite a large one.

What I want to try and do now is tell you a little bit about how RC East works. When we formed this team called CJTF 82 over a year ago in October, my first words to the staff were, we’re going to build our campaign concept and how we’re going to work off of this sentence. We’re going to protect the population by, with and through the Afghan National Security Forces. In other words, protect the population means you operate differently. You approach the problem in a different means, and it is a mindset change. Secondly, that our top priority is to develop the Afghan National Security Forces. In RC East it is not only the Army, but I have responsibility for the Police and the Border Police as well.
But it’s interesting to me that as we studied this problem, that’s where we started. We preceded General McChrystal coming in by about a month, but I only bring that up because it was in line with what at least our study had been as well, and it was very easy for me to fold into that and understand where he wanted us to go.

Within RC East as you look at this, across the northern part here in Bamiyan, Panjir and Parwan, this is Hazara and Tajik population. It’s generally stable. In fact I think I’ve had two significant activities in that portion of RC East in probably three months, four months. They secure it themselves. The Police are pretty darn good in each of those provinces. I provide one or two MP platoons, not for their security or ours, but to train their Police and make them better and to get their coordination centers up.

What we’re looking to do there is to recognize provincial recognition status here. In other words, they already have their security and they’re handling it. We’re working in the governance aspects to connect Kabul to those governors who are pretty decent so that they can take over the entire running of those provinces. And frankly, I think if things continue to progress there’s opportunity to do that this summer, perhaps, in some of those areas here in the north.

As you go into the northeast, it’s not as stable there. But what’s interesting about the northeast, and this is Nuristan, Kunar, Nangarhar, and Laghman here, it’s a localized fight in this area. You would know because of the fights that we’ve had in the Korengal, Wanat, Wangal, those are names that are familiar from the news where we have had some very terrific fights, and we do have a good deal of kinetic activity. But there are localized insurgencies, by and large, and they’re in the valleys that are off of the main areas. In some cases my personal opinion is that part of the problem’s we’re just there. We have largely come out of a good bit of the Kamdesh, up in here. We trained their forces. We trained additional Border Police and additional Police in these areas and replaced, literally replaced our forces up there. It is going quite well right now and it has been that way since about November. So we’ve moved through the winter. We’ll go into the summer. But I’m pretty confident that that is working pretty well. So it is localized.

When you come into the valley here, in Kunar, Nangarhar, off the Torkham Gate and into Laghman, it’s very fertile. Great agriculture. We’ve built roads in there in the last several years almost all the way up to the
northern part of Kunar at this point. There’s abundant water there. What I would tell you is the micro economy there, just on its own after building that road, is starting to take off. There’s lots of potential here.

There is great mineral wealth. There’s marble there that’s equal to that in Carrara in Italy. There’s gems, precious stones, there’s timber. So there’s the potential in Nangarhar, Kunar Valley, Laghman Valley, for development here that can really help this country.

Just in the year we’ve been there, we’ve nearly tripled the revenue coming out of the Khyber Pass already, just by applying our soldiers, sailors, airmen and marines and civilian expertise there to help them improve Customs, improve collection of taxes, improve security. And there’s a lot more capacity there. We’re only working about 10 hours a day on Customs as it is in the Khyber Pass, and 40 percent of illicit trade in Afghanistan comes through there. So a great deal of potential. But we’re excited about this and I think that we’ll see that move along. We’re finding ways to solve the problems of instability.

In the news in the last several weeks, you’ve heard of the Shinwari Tribe who signed a pact to support the Afghan government. That tribe is right down in here and it’s a very large one. They literally said that they would support the government and they would not allow passage of Taliban or haven for Taliban in their tribal lands, and that within those tribal lands those who violated it would be fined and their home would be burned to the ground. That was essentially what it said. But they’ve committed that and they’ve committed a male from each one of their families to help secure the area. That’s a beginning of acceptance of a large tribe in that area and we hope that we can see other solutions where they come to the front to defend their own country rather than having us do it.

When you move into this area, this is along the border of Pakistan. Paktika is the larger part of it. Khost, Paktia, Ghazni, Wardak, and Logar. Those areas are still, we’ve got a fair bit of fighting going on there, but in the past year I would tell you we’ve made a good deal of progress, particularly in Paktika and in Wardak and Logar here. This is the area that the brigade went into as a part of that 21,000 just a year ago.

Five months ago, for instance, in this areas here we had three IED cells operating, a very good insurgent cell there and it was deadly. The battalion that I’ve taken the most casualties in was in this area. I could not go out there in the battlefield and circulate without my PSD and
probably a rifle platoon. Two weeks ago I flew out there and landed. I walked out of a compound and down the street in Saidabad along Highway 1, talked to the merchants. A man asked me to have tea with him. I went into a used car dealership and sat down with about 10 or 12 of the elders and two or three young men and had tea for about 25 minutes, and I asked them, how’s it going? They said it’s going great. The highway’s open, there are more people stopping here now, it’s safe to go out and walk around, and the district center’s open and it’s operating. This was a place five months ago you would not have thought of doing that. That’s an example of some of the progress that’s being made.

Both Saidabad and Baraki Barak here, what we call the security bubble, and as these people see that improve, others come in. We’ve had elders from the villages below this come in and say how do I get some of this? How do I get some of this security, and how can I help our people with the development? So it’s the ink blot and it starts to grow and it’s starting to work right here in a very tough place.

In fact the gentlemen that were sitting there with me said that the district center’s open, the legal folks are working, and they’ve had so many people come in to resolve land and water title issues, et cetera, they used to have them stay over in the mosque because they’d stay overnight, it would take a couple of days. They told me they’ve had so many people coming in now to the DC that they’re thinking of building a hotel. You know, that’s progress.

So I left there and I said, you know, I’m feeling pretty good today, but those are some of the things that are going on here in RC East.

This area here is coming along. This is the area that we’ve got a good deal of work to do and I’m confident that we’re going to get it done and it will take the Air Force and us combined to do it, and I’ll show you that here in the next slide.

Before I close, these are four pilot districts you see in here -- Saidabad, Baraki Barak, Sarkani and Kogiani. Those are areas that the Afghan government chose to focus upon and they’re putting their expertise in as well as ours to develop governance and security simultaneously, and expand out from there.

Just recently we have named another 41 within RC East, there are 80 total in Afghanistan. This is part of the Afghan government’s plan, not ours, in conjunction with
General McChrystal and NATO, to work in areas where we have the greatest population, the best assets and resources or potential for growth, and we believe that we can make demonstratable progress within the next two years. So that’s where we’re heading now. There are many more of these that have just been designated and I think you’ll see that happening over the next year and a half.

Let me talk to you about air power now in our counter-insurgency. If you look at these slides, these are your men and women working every day. Everything from this one right here in the corner is the Air Force who is training the rotary wing pilots in the Afghan Air Force. And they’re working with us and our CAB actually in training their crew members, et cetera, and it’s pretty exciting. They actually did their first combat air assault about three weeks ago in Gazni Province in conjunction with RC East. Exceptional. That’s the kind of progress that is being made.

But in every facet of everything we do, we have air power involved. Within my staff I have Air Force men and women and in every one of my staff sections I think except J1, everything from legal, PAO, weather, all the different normal staff functions. Then as the Command Master Chief said, I’ve got them instability ops, I have them out on not only in PRTs but leading PRTs which is a real challenge out in the provincial areas, and part of agricultural development teams. So there are literally personnel in every aspect of this fight.

In terms of the way we array our forces in COIN, I’m required really to get this done, to be out in the population, out with the Afghan Army, Border Police and Police, which means I’m in district centers out in Paktika, for instance. Twenty-five Americans, another group of policemen, miles from anything but a couple of villages, training that Police Department, helping with governance. But it requires us to be distributed and in small groups.

It requires us to be precise. We’re trying to protect the population so when we use ordnance we have to use it in a very measured way and ensure that we don’t have civilian casualties. I agree with that wholeheartedly. It takes a great deal of precision.

So the way we operate could only be done with air power, with what the Air Force brings to this fight. There’s no doubt in my mind about it.

We had visitors in one of the briefs, a Vietnam veteran said to me afterwards, he said candidly, he goes,
you know, General, when I look at your array of force he said you’re taking a great deal of risk here. In Vietnam our platoons were never out of mutual support. They were never away from the company command post more than a march. They were always under heavy artillery. Doesn’t that make you uncomfortable? The reason I can say no is because I know that I have air power no more than 11 minutes from a dead stop over top of those troopers that are out there in harm’s way. Whether it’s a small patrol or an outpost on the border or somebody in the Kamdesh, in the Koremgal.

And some of the vignettes in just AARs, I had a lieutenant in a pretty fierce fight up in the Kamdesh, and afterwards, how was it? He said sir, it was tight, but as soon as I heard that F-15 screaming down the valley, he said I knew it was going to be okay. That is what air power’s about.

And a sergeant who once said, sir, we were exhausted after that fight. We knew that there still could be a fight left. He said, but I could close my eyes because I heard the Apaches and the F-15s. I got some sleep.

That’s what it brings to us.

What else does it do? We move things all the time. When you’ve got that many troops and that much distance you’ve got to be able to move supplies and resupply. One of the things that’s really been tasked for me is my utility helicopters. So in the course of this year we’ve worked very hard with Steve Kwast, with the Air Force down range to really get efficient about the movement of people and supplies. We’ve doubled, I’m sure, and we’re probably approaching triple the amount of aerial delivery that the Air Force provides us to get us to these places and put it on target, and we don’t have to drive it and we don’t have to fly it out in rotary wings. That’s a huge help to us. It means no matter where we go, I know I can get resupplied in.

Our accuracy rate’s over 96 percent, by the way, sir. And we worked to get that up there. But it is very good and it’s helping a lot. We’re now working in a combined effort with my movement control center to get even more proficient so I can use C-30s not get out to my brigade hubs and then use my utility helicopters in a shorter ring route on a daily basis. That’s going to help me a great deal as well.

There are just a number of ways that this helps.
Finally, in terms of precision of air power, we do far more shows of force today than we do dropping of munitions. We can shape what might be a battle, keep it from being a battle in that way, and then we can also use precise but limited munitions most of the time to deny the enemy a fight with us. It’s the ISR which is the only piece that’s not shown up there that allows us to do that.

ISR is, and I’m talking the spectrum, the complete system from national systems all the way down. We as a team are getting more and more proficient at using that entire system, at coordinating it, and being effective and efficient with it, and it makes all the difference in the world in COIN. In fact I couldn’t do what I’m doing without it. Because I don’t try to get the foot soldier or the insurgents, per se. My targeting process is a networked targeting process that goes after the key leaders, the facilitators, the logisticians and the financiers, very specific people. Most often when I take those people out with precision, the elders will come out and say thank you. That was a bad guy. We appreciated the way you got him.

So again, hats off to the Air Force. It is a great team effort out there and we could not do what we’re doing, protecting the population and having success without air power.

I’m going to get the hook here in a minute. What I’m going to do is tell you two initiatives very quickly, and I’ll let you talk to me over a beer here in a second about the rest.

Combined action. Combined action in RC East is really embedded partnership. It’s not partnership. It is embedded partnership. What we’ve done in RC East as I move my forces to cover down on the greatest population in RC East and also on the Afghan Security Forces. I took one of my deputies, a brigadier general, and a part of my headquarters, and I moved it to the 201st Corps Headquarters. One of the Afghan Corps that’s in my AO. I took my other brigadier general and moved him out to the other two 3rd Corps headquarters and a part of my staff and set him in there so that we could develop their ability as corps commanders to fight this fight and their staff’s ability to do it.

I did the same thing with colonels and a staff from my two regional police officers that are generals, and the two zone commanders along that 450 miles of border that we own. Those two general officers now have battalion commanders and staffs with them.
So we’re integrated from the very lowest level at company, we’re integrated all the way up.

Our combat, combat support, combat service support forces all have partners. We live, eat, drink fight together. Because I came to believe after about two months there, that’s the only way we could rapidly develop their force. There’s nothing more powerful than someone else watching a U.S. airman, marine, soldier, sailor do their job. They learn quickly that way. They know that we’re now into this fight with them and it builds that trust. The whole purpose here is to gain accountability on their part to train their leadership, train their soldiers, and work myself out of a job. It’s working.

We’re learning a lot from them, particularly about the terrain. So that’s combined action.

Unified action. That is the single integration within RC East in order to get at the whole of government approach we have to have in COIN. You may know it from the news as the civilian surge. I’m here to tell you it’s happening in RC East.

When I arrived in May I had a [polad] and I had 25 or 30 civilian experts. I now have Ms. Dawn Laberi, who’s my partner. She and I co-chair RC East, if you want to put it that way. She’s a very senior USAID representative and has as many years in USAID as I have in the military in doing governance and development. Below here, we now have about 145 folks that are experts within RC East working on our staff, out in the brigades, and down into the districts. Seventeen district teams of three to five people out with our troopers, strategically placed to bring about governance and development. It’s a tremendous asset and resource.

If you look at this quickly in these pictures, these are not young folks right out of college. Most of them are career Foreign Service officers, USAID, Agricultural officers, or in many cases those who came back from retirement and volunteered and said I’ll go. And there’s a wealth of knowledge, and I’m having a great time getting to know them, but they’re the kind of folks that have years of experience that can make the difference in Gazni, Paktika, Nangarhar, et cetera, and they’re doing that every day. One hundred and forty today. By the end of March I’m supposed to have 175, and I literally have a name and an arrival date. So tremendous work going on there.
Continuity, and I’ll wrap it up because I’m getting close, but I wanted to talk to you a second about campaign continuity. The 82nd Airborne Division was the core of CJTF 82 two rotations ago. General Rodriguez was the commander then. He was replaced by the 101st. I then replaced the 101st. And on 15 June the 101st will replace me. That’s key. Because within my staff alone I have about 40 percent of my key personnel who were on that last rotation. My 3 was on his fourth rotation. My sergeant major was on his fifth rotation. My analysts have two and three rotations and they’ve stayed in this fight for the last two or three years. They know RC East extremely well. They begin to talk about personalities and relationships with me.

The power of that kind of continuity you just can’t understand until you see it. That’s what we’re building now and it will make a difference and it’s something that I know the Chairman has put a lot of focus on.

The other part of that is the AFPAC Hands, a DoD program to build a cadre of about 600 with three to five year commitment who have language skills and the cultural understanding to go to work both in Afghanistan, Pakistan and rotating from CENTCOM, the Joint Staff, OSD, et cetera. I’ll get my first tranche of those folks in April. I’ve got 23 coming in, four of them are Air Force. Out of that grouping. But we’re looking forward to that. I’m a firm believer that it will make a difference because this is such a complex problem. The tribal issues, et cetera, are much more complex than I experienced in Iraq, so all these kinds of things build to a successful outcome I think in Afghanistan.

Sir, that was quickly going through it in about 30 minutes. I will take question and would encourage you. Again, it was my honor to speak here today. I hope you learned a little bit about what’s happening in RC East and how we’re moving this effort forward, literally, to build their competency, their capacity to lead and secure their own country. Thank you.

[Applause].

Moderator: Scap, like the last panel I think we could listen to you all afternoon. But as you did say, you’re standing between the crowd and the beer. I’m just going to ask one question and I’ve got dozens of them here to ask, including what kind of hotel it’s going to be. Is it going to be Hilton or -- [Laughter].

The larger question is, and I don’t want to drag you into the national debate, is what’s your assessment of the
enemy? Is it a thinking, learning enemy? Are you facing new things? Are they adapting to our strategy? Then as a corollary to that, and this is the part that I don’t want to drag you into the political debate, but the Afghan Security Forces, are they going to be ready in time?

**MajGen Scaparrotti:** The first one, it is an adaptive enemy. It watches us very closely, and as we counter some of the things they’re doing, you can bet that in short order they will be doing the same thing. They’ll start countering that. Even in my strategy. It’s been interesting, as a senior guy with a large area like that, I'm beginning to see a counter to my overall strategy and how I’m trying to shape RC East, and I’m fairly certain at this point it’s probably deliberate. So they are a thinking enemy.

One thing I would say about it is that it’s kind of a syndicate of enemies -- Taliban. Hakani is the main threat in my area. TNSM. You have groups of insurgent, insurgent groups that work somewhat together, and that’s one of their vulnerabilities, too.

I think while they are a thinking enemy, they can be defeated. I believe that we can defeat the Hakani network as well over time. It’s going to take pressure on both sides. We’ve got to work both Afghanistan and Pakistan to be successful in that sense, but we are making progress with Pakistan as well.

I would just speak for my part of it, I’ve worked both in CENTCOM and now with Pakistan counterparts, and I have in the past couple of months been on battlefield circulation with my counterparts on the other side of the border. I’ve literally sat down over a map and had a two hour discussion on what they’re seeing and what I’m seeing and then we get out of the cargo pocket, showed them what I saw of the enemy network, and they showed me theirs. I would have told you a year ago that wouldn’t happen. It’s happening today. They know they’ve got a fight on their hands and it’s beginning to work there too.

**Moderator:** How about the security forces?

**MajGen Scaparrotti:** I’ve got 20,000 Army in RC East, two corps, as I told you. The Army has discipline, they have a leadership that has been trained, they have the capacity to have a good NCO Corps. It’s very early, but it’s working, and I’m pretty confident of the Army. It will be difficult to do it in the numbers that we’re looking at, but I’ve grown six battalions and I’ve got about the first three of about 17 more companies between
now and June. It can be done. I think some of the other things that we’re doing of greater concern is really the attrition, once you get them trained. There are some other things we’re doing to tackle the attrition and the recurring problem. I think that will help.

The police is a different story. I would tell you that the police, I’ve got about 13,000 police. The [Tashkil] is full, they’re not under strength. But there’s a corruption problem in the police. That really gets down to leadership.

I believe the police, like the Army, can succeed, but we’ve got to solve the corruption and the leadership problem first. We haven’t done that yet, at least not in RC East, and it’s one of my major tasks.

The Border Police are pretty tough, but small. Not enough of them. But they’re growing and they’re coming along. There’s a decent force there in the border police to grow upon as well. Corruption’s a problem there.

So can we do it? I believe we can. I think the biggest problem of all of this in RC East for me at least, is the corruption problem. We’ve got to get after it. We’re making strides, but not in the way that we need at least today. I think we’ll get there.

**Moderator:** General Scap, on behalf of all of us at AFA, General Schwartz, our Chairman of the Board Joe Sutter, I want to thank you for giving us a day of your leave, and I want to thank you for your service. And in the tradition started by the United States Army, I have for you the vaulted AFA Chairman, Vice Chairman, and President coin.

**MajGen Scaparrotti:** Thank you, sir.

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