

## Stability and Reconstruction Operations: What we can Learn from History?

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### **SETTING THE STAGE FOR A CHANGING WORLD ORDER**

The world changed with the end of the Cold War. The United States is the only remaining superpower and as such, is no longer impelled to preserve status quo. The U.S. is free to ignore or solve international conflicts rather than just “manage” them. Few states now have the resources, or the need, to attack the United States (U.S.) directly in the near future but many will challenge the U.S. for control or dominance of a region. Many of the conflicts today do not directly affect U.S. interests but do indirectly affect U.S. humanitarian interests, access to global markets and materials, the safety of our citizens around the world, and the stability necessary to sustain democratic government.<sup>1</sup> Potential adversaries, such as non-state actors, are more likely to resort to, and in the case of al Qaeda have used, asymmetrical means to threaten U.S., and other nations, national security interests. U.S.-led actions in the new world order tend to secure near universal international support—Iraq was an exception, a coalition was established but it did not enjoy the near universal support that was experienced in the Balkans and Afghanistan.

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<sup>1</sup> FM 3-07, Stability Operations and Support Operations, February 2003.

Weak regimes that had been propped up during Cold War for geopolitical reasons disintegrated when abandoned by former patrons—Somalia, Yugoslavia, and Afghanistan. The major threats to U.S. and world order today come from weak, collapsed, or failed states and non-state actors such as terrorist. International organized crime is a threat as well. Of concern, however, is the fact that weak or absent government institutions in developing countries form the thread that links terrorism and weapons of mass destruction. Before 9/11, the U.S. government viewed global terrorism with a somewhat lesser priority than today and viewed with even less concern the chaos in far away places such as Afghanistan. However, with the intersection of terrorism and weapons of mass destruction, the regional areas of weak or failed states have become of major concern to U.S. national security interests.<sup>2</sup> We cannot allow collapsed states, or rogue states to fester; their failures have become our problem. Our tolerance for failed states has been reduced by the global war on terrorism and necessitates that we not leave weak and failed nations crumbling and ungoverned. Terrorists seek out such places to establish training camps, recruit new members, and tap into a black market where all kinds of weapons can be found for sale.<sup>3</sup> Interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq represent a shift in American politics: the United States has now taken on the responsibility for the stability and political development of Muslim countries in regions considered important to national strategy. In these countries, success is no longer a matter of only winning the war. Success means winning the peace by helping to create self-sustaining democratic political institutions and robust market-oriented economies not only in these countries but also throughout the region.<sup>4</sup>

Today's threats have required military responses that included combat and stability and reconstruction operations and the trends indicate that the demands placed on the U.S. military, and the Army in particular, to conduct operations in the 21<sup>st</sup> century will be greater than ever. For example, since the start of the global war on terrorism, U.S. forces have been operating in a high operations tempo crisis mode around the world. A large part of the military force is either deployed in Afghanistan and Iraq, returning from there in a reduced readiness state, or getting ready to go. At the same time, a large number of forces are also deployed in cold war locations such as Germany, Japan, Korea, and the UK and in ongoing peace operations in Bosnia, Kosovo and now Haiti. More than 370,000 Army troops are deployed in 120 countries around the world. About 150,000 of these troops are Army National Guard and Army Reservists, many in certain specialties that have been called up repeatedly in the last ten to twelve years. Since the end of the Cold War the United States Army has been deployed time and time again in peacekeeping and stabilization operations, requiring numerous service support troops from both the active and reserve component forces. For many reserve units this cycle has meant some individuals and units have been deployed continuously. Low density/high demand Reserve Components such as Civil Affairs have been in constant demand for deployments around the world and this is seriously eroding their readiness for new deployments—new missions keep coming and the old ones don't go away.<sup>5</sup> The net result is that our military forces will likely continue to deploy and operate across the full spectrum of conflict in more complex, dynamic, and uncertain environments involving civilians.

<sup>2</sup> The Atlantic Monthly article “Nation Building 101” by Francis Fukuyama.

<sup>3</sup> February 5, 2004, floor statement by Senator Richard Lugar introducing the Stabilization and Reconstruction Civilian Management Act.

<sup>4</sup> The Atlantic Monthly article “Nation Building 101” by Francis Fukuyama.

<sup>5</sup> The Atlantic Monthly article “The Hollow Army” by James Fallows.

U.S. military involvement in supporting stability and reconstruction operations is not new, however. During World War II, for example, U.S. forces assisted in military government and reconstruction activities in both occupied territories as the war progressed and in post war Germany and Japan.<sup>6</sup> During the Vietnam conflict, Army units conducted “pacification,” which involved civil-military operations such as assistance to civil authorities for security and administration. Domestically the military were used to support damage relief in central Florida in the aftermath of Hurricane Mitch. Since the end of the Cold War, the U.S. military has participated in stability and reconstruction operations about every two years. These operations ranged from humanitarian assistance to nation building, the latter being something the U.S. has been in denial about doing but have been doing for sometime and will likely continue to do in the future. In the latter case, however, success has been marginal at best so we need to learn how to do them more successfully. In some interventions, formal agreements for cease fires among the belligerents allowed stability and reconstruction operations to take place in a less combat stressful environment where as others such as Afghanistan and Iraq they have taken place concurrent with low intensity combat operations. In fact, the line between Phase III (Combat) and Phase IV (Stability and Reconstruction) operations has become blurred.

The lesson from history is not “nation building can’t work;” the lesson is that it is very hard, and that it demands a great deal of both patience and modesty—qualities that do not come naturally to American policymakers or, for that matter, to Americans.<sup>7</sup> It should be noted, however, that nation building is more than military stability and reconstruction actions, it has a substantial civilian component as well that is under trained and resourced to do the job and is also being stretched in their ability to meet current real world demands. Both an improved military stability and reconstruction capability and a more robust civilian nation building capability are needed to respond quickly and effectively to post-conflict situations Effective planning, coordination and integration of the civil-military response are keys to success as well. Nation building is no longer a subject for debate: we will get it right or pay the price.

The research supporting the findings presented herein is based on the authors’ participation in a study of stability and reconstruction operations needs and gaps led by the Center for Technology and National Security Policy, National Defense University. The results of the NDU study have been published in the book titled, *Transforming for Stability and Reconstruction Operations*, 2004.

## INTRODUCTION

Out of 55 major UN peacekeeping missions since 1945, 41 (nearly 80%) have begun since 1989. During the Cold War, the U.S. averaged one military intervention per decade (Dominican Republic, Lebanon, Grenada, Panama). In the post-Cold War era, there has been about one every three years (Somalia, Haiti, Bosnia, Kosovo) and post 9/11, there has been one every 18 months or less (Afghanistan, Iraq, Haiti).<sup>8</sup> The Iraq intervention is probably the

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<sup>6</sup> FM 27-5, Manual of Military Government and Civil Affairs, 1940.

<sup>7</sup> New York Times magazine article “Making Sense of the Mission” by James Traub, 11 April 2004.

<sup>8</sup> “America’s Role in Nation-Building From Germany to Iraq,” James Dobbins, RAND, 2003.

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most complex and challenging stability and reconstruction operation undertaken by the U.S. since the post World War II occupations of Germany and Japan.

In spite of extensive U.S. involvements in Somalia, Haiti, the Balkans, Afghanistan and Iraq, improvements in the U.S. ability to conduct stability and reconstruction operations have not been commensurate with its experience. Additionally, although dramatic improvements have been made in the U.S. military war fighting capability over the past decade, there have not been comparable improvements in the post conflict stabilization and reconstruction capabilities of either the military or civilian elements.

Major contributing factors to the current situation are U.S. policy that emphasizes fighting and winning the nation's wars and an investment strategy that supports this policy and the lack of adequate policy emphasis on winning the peace and the commensurate lack of improvements in the ability to execute stability and reconstruction operations. The improved war fighting capabilities allow U.S. military forces to execute rapid decisive operations and this has created capability gaps in the areas of civil-military planning and organizing, training, and equipping to execute stability and reconstruction operations. The means for addressing these gaps include adjustments in U.S. policy to emphasize "*Winning the Peace as well as the War;*" civil-military force transformation initiatives targeting improving the ability to organize, train and equip forces to conduct stability and reconstruction operations; and investment strategies that also focus on improving civil-military capabilities to conduct stability and reconstruction operations.

Historical case studies ranging from the post-World War II occupations of Germany and Japan to the present operation in Iraq have been examined to identify common factors that contribute to achieving success in conducting stability and reconstruction operations. The studies were also helpful in understanding the implications of possible capability gaps for rapid, decisive, and preemptive military operations in the future. The RAND publication, "*America's Role in Nation-Building: From Germany to Iraq*" and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace policy brief titled, "*Lessons from the Past: The American Record on Nation Building*" were important sources of insights to lessons from history. Numerous other studies, articles, and reports and interviews with subject matter experts were used as well.<sup>9</sup>

## BACKGROUND

Various terms have been used to describe post conflict operations. In Germany and Japan they were referred to as occupations. In Somalia, Haiti, and the Balkans they were considered to be peacekeeping or peace enforcement operations. The operations in Afghanistan and Iraq are referred to as stability and reconstruction. In all cases, the intent of these operations was to use military force to underpin a process of democratization.

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<sup>9</sup> Sources included, interviews of senior personnel such as Ambassadors Robert Oakley and James Dobbins, literature searches, and review of findings from studies by the National Defense University, U.S. Army War College, U.S. Institute of Peace, ASD C3I Command and Control Research Program, Institute of Defense Analysis, RAND, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Association of the United States Army, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Government Accounting Office, Open Society Institute and U.N. Foundation, and other subject matter sources.

Germany, Japan, Somalia, Haiti, the Balkans, Afghanistan and Iraq represent important instances of use of military power to support democratization and were used as the historical case studies in this “quick look” assessment effort. Factors that influence the relative ease or difficulty of conducting post-conflict operations and contribute to the relative degree of success or failure were examined and are summarized in Figure 1.

	Germany	Japan	Somalia	Haiti	Balkans	Afghanistan	Iraq	Contributions to Success
<b>Military Mission</b>	Regime Change; Security; HA/Refugees/DP; Reconstruction	Partial Regime Change; HA/Refugees/DP; Reconstruction	Humanitarian Aid; Regime Change	Regime Change; Stabilization; Reconstruction	Stop Ethnic Cleansing; Stabilization; Reconstruction	Regime Change; Stabilization; Reconstruction	Regime Change, Stabilization, Reconstruction	Regime Change can be successful
<b>Previous State of Society/Economy/Politics/Structure</b>	Developed	Developed	Chaotic, Violent, Dysfunctional	Fragile	Unstable to Dysfunctional	Dysfunctional	Totalitarian, Unstable	High
<b>Damage Caused by Military Action</b>	Devastating	Devastating	Some	Very Little	Moderate. Mostly warring factions	Some	Limited. Most due to neglect	Medium
<b>Continuing Hostile Activities</b>	Low	Low	High	Low	Medium	High	High	High
<b>Post-Conflict Duration</b>	7 Years	7 Years	2 Years	2 Years	Bosnia 7+ Years Kosovo 3+ Years	2+ Years	Months	Needs abt. 5 Years
<b>Troop Strength per Capita at Outset</b>	High	Modest	Modest	Modest	High	Low	Low	High
<b>Foreign Aid/Investment</b>	High	Low	Low	Low	High	Low	Low	High
<b>Multilateral Involvement</b>	Limited	None	Medium	Medium	High	Medium	Limited	Medium
<b>Degree of Success</b>	Very	Very	Not	Not	Modest	Mixed — TBD	Mixed — TBD	

*Figure 1: Historical Case Studies — Post-Conflict Assessment.*

It is acknowledged that each case examined and summarized in Figure 1 is unique and that care must be taken in generalizing findings but there are some observations and common lessons that serve to set initial conditions for success and help highlight gaps in current capabilities. For example, the high level summary in Figure 1 suggests that the major factors contributing to the relative degree of success in Germany, Japan, and the Balkans versus the lack of success in Somalia and Haiti and yet to be determined outcomes in Afghanistan and Iraq is the level and duration of effort invested by nations to achieve democratic transformation in the target nation—stability and reconstruction operations are time and resource consuming efforts.<sup>10</sup>

The RAND nation-building study sought to compare measures of input (troops, police and money) and output (casualties, elections and economic development) and identified several correlations. There was an inverse relationship between troop strength and casualties; the better-funded and manned operations were more successful; and long operations seemed to be more successful than short. Bottom-line: there are no short cuts in nation building—five years seems to be the minimum time needed to get the process on track and costs can be high to achieve success.

The post-World War II occupations of Germany and Japan were America’s first experiences with the use of military force in the aftermath of a conflict to underpin rapid and fundamental societal transformation and these efforts set the standards for successful post conflict nation building. During the Cold War years, the U.S. military power was employed to preserve the status quo, not to alter it; to manage crises, not resolve the underlying problems. The U.S. averaged one military intervention per decade and these were undertaken to overthrow unfriendly regimes and reinstall friendly ones rather than bringing about fundamental societal transformation. Since the end of the Cold War, there have been a

<sup>10</sup> “America’s Role in Nation-Building From Germany to Iraq,” James Dobbins, RAND, 2003.

rash of nation state failures and the U.S. has averaged one intervention every two to three years and post 9/11, there has been two interventions within 18 months. In the post Cold War cases, the U.S. intervened not to simply police cease-fires or restore the status quo but to try to bring about more fundamental transformation of war-torn or oppressed societies. In most of these cases, the U.S. was able to secure broad international support.

Each successive intervention has generally been wider in scope and more ambitious in intent than its predecessor. Somalia started as a humanitarian operation and expanded to democratization. In Haiti, forces restored a democratically elected president. Bosnia focused on creating a multiethnic state and Kosovo targeted the establishment of a democratic polity and market economy from scratch. Afghanistan focused on the removal of the Taliban and establishment of a democratic government. Iraq has taken on a scope comparable to the transformational attempts still underway in Bosnia and Kosovo and a scale comparable to the early occupations of Germany and Japan.

Today's challenges in Iraq have all too familiar similarities with past experiences: abrupt and total collapse of old regime (Somalia, Kosovo and Afghanistan); break down in law and order (Somalia and Kosovo); unavailability of local security forces to fill gaps (Somalia, Haiti, Kosovo and Afghanistan); emergence of extremist elements and organized crime (Somalia, Bosnia, Kosovo and Afghanistan); and neighbors acting at cross purposes to stabilization efforts (Somalia, Bosnia and Kosovo).

An important consideration that differentiates the stability and reconstruction challenges in the Balkans, Afghanistan and Iraq operations from those of the occupations of Germany and Japan is the emergence of organized crime to fill power vacuums created by the conflicts and terrorist activities that required the use of not only military forces but the use of specialized counter terrorism teams and the integration of constabulary forces such as the Italian *Carabinieri* and the French *Gendarmes* and civil policing elements to address security and enforce rule of law. Additionally, Afghanistan and Iraq differ from the Balkans in that stability and reconstruction operations coexist with combat requiring those who do not normally operate in combat environments, such as, civilians from government agencies (USAID, State and Defense Departments), IOs and NGOs and military support elements, such as, Civil Affairs to conduct the civil-military stability and reconstruction and nation building operations in a hostile and dangerous environment.

Tony Cordesman, Center for Strategic and International Studies, reminds us that, "a war can defeat a regime, but it cannot create a new culture or set of values, or suddenly create a modern, stable political system and economy."<sup>11</sup> The costs and risks associated with reconstruction and nation building remain high and the low success rate is a reminder of the difficulties of such operations. The post-Cold War efforts have not matched the success of the post-World War II occupations of Germany and Japan. Efforts by the U.S. to win the peace have been problematic—failure in Somalia and Haiti, moderate success in the Balkans, and yet to be determined outcomes in Afghanistan and Iraq. In Iraq, there have been successes in restoring essential services to levels greater than when Saddam was in power and the economy is starting to recover but the security environment remains violent a year after combat started and the number of casualties (coalition military, Iraqi military and security forces) since the President of the United States declared an end to hostilities in May 2003 has far exceed combat losses.

<sup>11</sup> The Iraq War: *Strategy, Tactics and Lessons*, Anthony H. Cordesman, CSIS, Washington, 2003, p. 536.

## DISCUSSION

Stability and reconstruction operations success is heavily dependent upon the early establishment of a safe and secure environment, strong leadership and strategic vision, an integrated civil-military plan, sustained political commitment and public support, international civil-military involvement (contributes to legitimacy, burden sharing and staying power), investment of adequate time and resources (people and money), collaboration and coordination of civil-military planning and execution to achieve unity of effort, effective information sharing among the civil-military participants, support of indigenous population and political and religious leaders, and early transfer of power to legitimately elected leaders of the target nation.



*Figure 2: The Civil-Military Challenge.*

The decision to intervene in a conflict is political. The military mission in support of the intervention reflects the political process. The primary mission of the military is to create a safe and secure environment so that civilian agencies, IOs, and NGOs can conduct humanitarian assistance and assume appropriate responsibilities for civil policing, justice, governance, and related reconstruction and nation building activities (see Figure 2). The military is not there to do the jobs of the civilian agencies and organizations; however, since provision of adequate security is one of the most basic and immediate needs in a post conflict environment, the military, as the principal representative of the occupying power, are obligated to provide security (military and civil) and appropriate humanitarian assistance,

governance, restoration of essential services, and other reconstruction assistance until the security environment permits civilian access to perform their duties.

Intervention can range from hostile engagements with the adversary military to separating warring factions and enforcing the peace to providing security for humanitarian assistance operations. The most complex and challenging operation is regime change requiring hostile engagement with enemy forces before entering into stability and reconstruction operations, e.g., Afghanistan and Iraq. In this case, the military not only needs to conduct the war fighting but must also be capable of enabling and facilitating the transition of civil security, humanitarian assistance, governance, and reconstruction operations to civilian authorities concurrent with ongoing low-intensity combat operations. The civilian authority role is to facilitate rebuilding the nation and the ultimate transition of power to a duly constituted government. The military role, in support of the civilian authority, is to establish and maintain a safe and secure environment and set the initial conditions for reconstruction and nation building operations to start.

Concurrent civil-military planning that spans the continuum from pre-war to war to stability and reconstruction to transition of power to indigenous leaders is a major challenge. Post-hostility operations are inherently complex, misunderstood, difficult to manage and often highly contentious. Therefore, it is important at the outset to clarify the mission and end state, set realistic objectives, and allocate roles, responsibilities and adequate resources to achieve success. In order to accomplish this, the interagency process needs to enforce collaboration and coordination of civil-military organizations and agencies activities (including international participation) to ensure concurrency of planning and execution to achieve unity of effort to win both the war and the peace.

During the transition from combat operations to stability and reconstruction operations, it will be necessary to adjust the force structure and capabilities, see Figure 2. In today's operational environment, however, there will likely be no distinction of phases but a blurring of the phases with low intensity combat operations being conducted in parallel with civilian and military stability and reconstruction operations—this is the case in Iraq. There will be a need to move from a heavy combat force to a force configured to operate in urban areas. Force augmentation or adjustments will need to address coexisting civilian security, counter insurgency, counter terrorism, and organized crime security needs and stability and reconstruction needs such as humanitarian assistance (food, clothing and shelter), restoration of emergency services (fire and rescue, hospital, ambulance), infrastructure repair (power, water, transportation, communications, sewage), health care services, education, and other quality of life needs including jobs for the unemployed.

The security aspects will require the use of a mix of military forces, MPs and constabulary and civil law enforcement elements. In fact, experience in the Balkans suggests it may be important to introduce an early (may be even before hostilities cease) civil policing and constabulary capability to bridge the gap between civil and military policing capabilities and to provide specialized skills and integrated civil-military capabilities to help address terrorist activities, organized crime and other criminal activities, crowd control, riots, looting, and other civil unrest and demonstrations needs. In regard to stability and reconstruction operations, military Civil Affairs, PSYOP, engineers and medical service elements will be needed and there will also be International Organizations (IO) and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO) actors on the ground to support post-conflict needs.

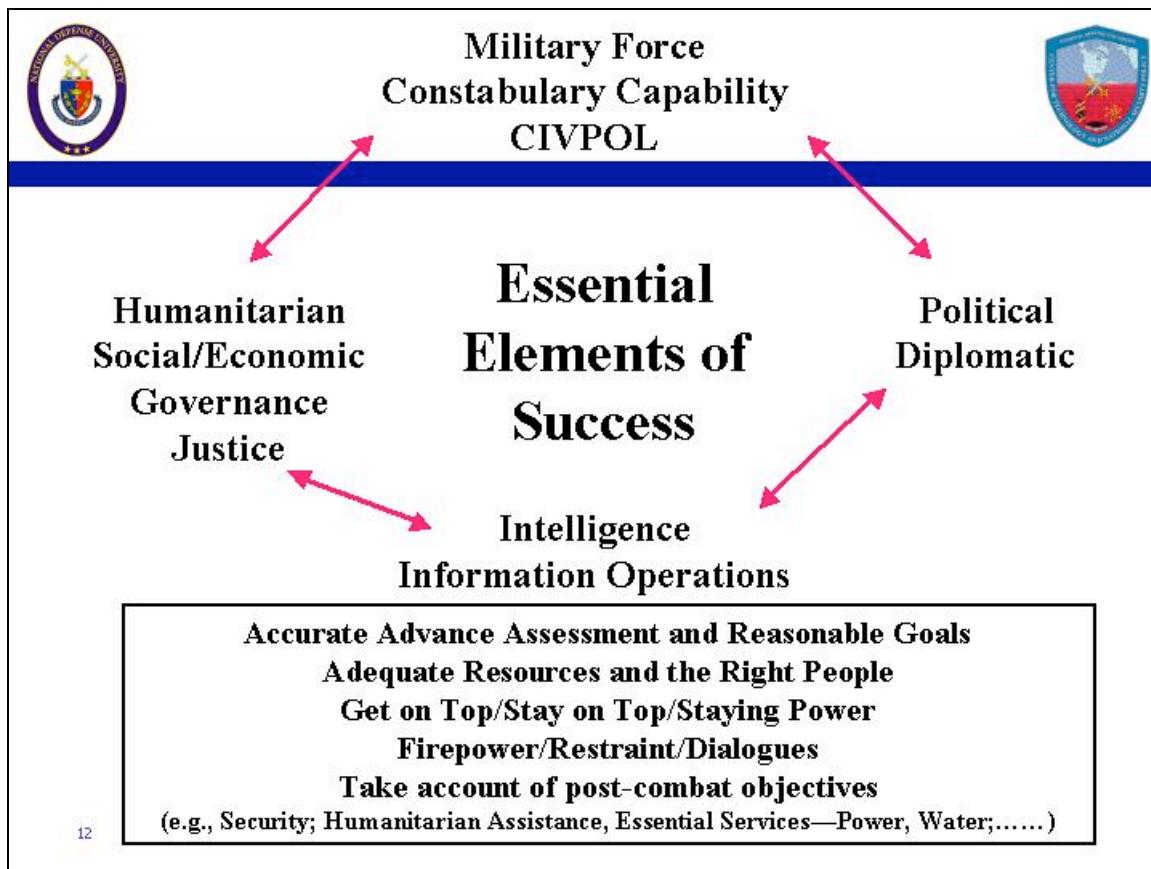


Figure 3: Essential Elements of Success.

The early introduction of stability and reconstruction civil-military elements requires advanced planning for and training of such a capability. There are also significant challenges in creating and executing an integrated civil-military security capability. Military police, civil affairs, engineers, medical, and EOD elements will be key military force augmentations in the early phases of the stability operation to address humanitarian assistance, civil administration, restoration of services such as power and water, provision of public health and medical services, mine and UXO clearing, and infrastructure reconstruction needs. Judicial teams will be needed to address rule of law and early establishment of courts and prison systems. Civil Affairs plays an important role in educating the military commanders on IO/NGO relief activities and needs; conducting community-based assessments for situational analysis of social, economic, ethnicity, restoration of essential services, infrastructure repairs, and other needs; providing security and mine awareness, community status, infrastructure project opportunities, and humanitarian related information to UNHCR, IOs and NGOs; and coordination of and information on refugees, displaced persons, and other relief and development needs. Civil affairs role is to facilitate and share information not do the job of the IOs and NGOs. Special Forces teams and PSYOP and Civil Affairs teams play important roles in shaping the information environment, winning hearts and minds of the indigenous population, building trust relationships with local leaders and influencing the local population to support and not interfere with the military activities. The essential elements of success and their relationships are illustrated in Figure 3.

Civilians normally are required to work only in permissive environments but experiences in the Balkans, Afghanistan, and Iraq suggests that it may be appropriate to consider early

embedding of civilians as part of the war fighting force structure in order to address planning for civil security and administration, essential services restoration, reconstruction needs, and to facilitate the transition to the civilian authority responsible for conducting the longer-term reconstruction and nation building effort. This was the intended role of the Office of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance (ORHA) in Iraq but the planning for this capability started late and they were not deployed soon enough, given proper field authority, or adequately resourced to do the jobs they needed to do upon arrival in country.

The military arrive with a breadth and depth of capabilities but are focused on combat operations and do not have the excess capacity to support the civilian elements at the outset. Over time, they become the de facto enabler and facilitator for transitioning to stability and reconstruction operations that will largely be a civilian-led activity in the longer term. Civilian agencies, on the other hand, tend to arrive with limited capabilities and need to grow to the level necessary to get the job done. In many cases, they are responsible for their own security, transportation, communications, and other care and feeding needs. For example, ORHA/CPA had its own logistics contract and used Kellogg, Brown and Root for various support services. Since there was little to no military security protection and access to information services for early ORHA elements, they contracted security protection services (hired Gurkha's for facility protection and South African's for personal security) and communications and information services were contracted as well.

There are numerous civil-military participants (e.g., multinational military, civilian government agencies, IOs, NGOs, regional leaders, indigenous population and leaders, contractors) on the stability and reconstruction landscape with good intentions to help but come with different capabilities, agendas, accountability, and expectations and multiple independent lines of authority directing their activities. There is a general lack of mutual understanding of roles and capabilities. The military commander and civilian authority have little control over many of the participants. Therefore, understanding the roles, relationships, capabilities and motivations and managing expectations in this complex environment are key to success. Effective civil-military collaboration, coordination and information sharing is essential to achieve unity of effort, especially in an environment where no one civil-military element is really in-charge of the over all operation. Even for the coalition military with a highly structured command arrangement, there were shadow and independent national level reporting lines of command of the troop contributing national military elements.

The assessments supporting Figure 1 suggests factors such as the previous state of the society, economy and exposure to Westernization, the state of the civil infrastructure following combat operations, the will of the people, and likelihood of continuing hostilities have a collective influence on the degree of difficulty of conducting stability and reconstruction operations, including the civil-military organization arrangements and provision of resources (manpower and money) to support the effort. For example, although Germany and Japan were already highly developed, economically advanced societies—made economic recovery somewhat easier—both nations military were defeated and their civil infrastructure suffered severe damage by the war actions. The Germans were a defeated people. In Japan, devastation from the war, including firebombing of cities and two atomic attacks, created a sense of complete defeat. There was a significant refugee crisis in both nations and there was a great deal of concern about preventing a security vacuum. The situation at the end of the war created a tremendous challenge for the stability and reconstruction operations. Actions such as early provision of large U.S. loans and aid to European countries, the substantial resources provided by the “Marshal Plan,” and financial

assistance from international organizations such as the International Monetary Fund contributed to rapid economic growth and recovery in Germany.

Intervention operations since have addressed failed nation states, regime changes and attempts to transform war-torn societies but with a degree of difficulty less than that faced in post conflict Germany and Japan. Humanitarian assistance for refugees and displaced persons has been a significant challenge. A number of the nations where interventions took place had not been exposed to Westernization and were not socially and economically advanced societies. The military efforts did not include the unconditional surrender of the opposing military force and combat operations did not in many cases inflict severe damage to the civil infrastructure. Adversary military capabilities were destroyed in some cases and in others, the forces agreed to stop fighting and still in others, the forces quit fighting and disappeared and then resorted to insurgent and guerrilla-style tactics creating security challenges for the stability and reconstruction operations. Damage of the civil infrastructure in most cases was due more to the internal fighting among the warring factions or the lack of attention and investments of the governments to maintain the services. For example, in Iraq the use of precision weapons by the U.S. military resulted in minimum collateral damage, the poor state of the infrastructure was largely due to years of neglect by the Saddam regime. Homogeneity is another possible factor explaining the differences in outcomes. Communal and tribal hatred in Somalia, Haiti and Afghanistan and ethnic hatred in the Balkans added to the difficulties of democratization efforts. The process of democratization has made some progress in the Balkans, largely due to the level of international effort invested. Somalia and Haiti failed due to the lack of sufficient international investment in time and resources.

There have been a number of U.S. unilateral and U.S.-led multilateral attempts since the 1960's to achieve regime change but a majority of these efforts resulted in failure, due to the limitations of interim rule by U.S. surrogate regimes or the lack of investing enough time and resources to transition to a democracy. In the 1960's to the 1980's, efforts to support U.S. surrogate regimes in the Dominican Republic, South Vietnam, and Cambodia failed because the surrogate governments lacked indigenous legitimacy and could only survive through repression after the U.S. departed. In Grenada and Panama, a quick transfer of power to legitimately elected local leaders resulted in a successful transition to democracy.

In the early 1990's, the U.S. found itself once again engaged in efforts to help transform war-torn societies. The U.S. performance in conducting stability and reconstruction operations in the 1990's started off poorly with failed attempts in Somalia and Haiti, largely due to lack of time and resource investments to build civil and political institutions. Improvements were achieved in the Balkans, where major international investments of time and resources have been and continue to be made.

It is still too early to tell how effective the U.S. efforts will be in Afghanistan. In fact, the U.S. may have taken a step back in its efforts to conduct stability and reconstruction operations. There is little democratic structure in Afghanistan, no real government authority beyond Kabul, little economic and infrastructure reconstruction, and a tenuous stability (largely run by warlords and armed ethnic and tribal militias) exists throughout the country. U.S.-led provincial reconstruction teams (a mix of military force protection and civil-military reconstruction elements) have started infrastructure repairs but this effort needs significant additional resources and under the current security situation, success depends on payoffs to local warlords. Likewise for Iraq, there have been significant stability and reconstruction

challenges to be overcome by the military and civilian authorities, and much remains to be done including establishing a safe and secure environment through out the country.

Recent operations in Afghanistan and Iraq suggest that there are some unintended consequences associated with the improved military capability to conduct rapid decisive war fighting operations with speed, precision, and smaller force packages on the ground. In past operations, the larger combat force transitioned to support the resource intensive stability and reconstruction operations as combat subsided. They were also augmented with additional military police, civil affairs, PSYOP, engineers, medical and other specialized capabilities. This arrangement worked reasonably well for slow transitions from combat to stability operations. Under the improved force package arrangements, there are fewer forces and capabilities available on the ground to conduct these operations and the transition is much quicker. If there is continuing low intensity conflict or need to conduct stability and reconstruction operations concurrent with combat, the ability to conduct both operations simultaneously is further reduced without timely augmentation by specialized capabilities that could include civilian elements such as law enforcement and civil administrators.

### **“DÉJÀ VU ALL OVER AGAIN”**

The following discusses some of the important lessons from history including recent experiences in Afghanistan and Iraq.

***Lesson 1: Policy and strategy needs to emphasize, “Winning the Peace as well as the War.”***

Strong U.S. policy and leadership focused on managing the civil, economic and political change, military presence over a long period of time in both Germany and Japan, and significant international effort to achieve democratic transformation was key to the success of these operations. Close coordination between civil, economic and military functions is an important condition for achieving success but in Afghanistan these elements were fragmented and little economic and civil progress has been made. In Bosnia these functions were fragmented initially and in Kosovo they were reasonably well coordinated and the international community focused on stabilization and institution building. Iraq policy has been overly focused on war fighting and less on post-conflict operations and coordination of the civil, economic and military activities. As a result, efforts of the Office of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance/Coalition Provisional Authority have been slow to mature due to the late start in their reconstruction planning and execution efforts and a lack of adequate field authority, personnel, and money to conduct their operation.

Lessons from recent operations suggest the lack of adequate policy emphasis on winning the peace coupled with the improved war fighting capabilities has created capability gaps in the areas of civil-military planning and organizing, training, and equipping to execute stability and reconstruction operations. Attempts to address gaps in policy and provide guidance for clarifying roles and developing political-military plans to address post conflict reconstruction actions and civil-military responsibilities are contained in Presidential Decision Directive-56 and NSPD-XX. PDD-56 was, however, never fully implemented and the President has not signed NSPD-XX that expands upon PDD-56. Managing the Interagency process is difficult as well and needs strong leadership to make the process work.

The need to take action to resolve gap issues is re-enforced by the President's National Security Strategy of September 2002 that adds the option to take "preemptive actions to counter a sufficient threat to our national security." Such an option has always existed and has, very occasionally, been exercised but for the first time, the option of preemption is an official declaratory policy of the United States and is prominent in the administration's National Security Strategy. Preemption has, however, a post conflict reconstruction piece that has yet to be adequately addressed.

There is draft legislation based on the bi-partisan Commission on Post Conflict Reconstruction that has specific recommendations for creating a more coherent and effective U.S. post-conflict reconstruction capability within the Department of State, and USAID in particular, and to also establish within the Department of State an interagency training center for post conflict reconstruction operations. The legislation also includes a proposal to establish an Integrated Security Support Component of NATO that would be used to support stability and reconstruction operations. Enactment of this legislation would influence the U.S. military and civil agency roles, organization structures, skill needs, and training and investments needed to equip both the military and civilian agencies to conduct civil-military stability and reconstruction operations in a multilateral environment.

*Lessons 2: Plans to win the war and conduct stability and reconstruction operations must be addressed concurrently as interdependent elements of the overall campaign for winning the peace. The military and civilian agencies need to be organized, trained and equipped to conduct stability and reconstruction operations concurrent with combat operations.*

Stability and reconstruction operations are complex and need a clear civil-military strategic plan at the outset to be successful. The process for developing the civil-military plan is just as important as the plan itself since the process allows key players to build trust relationships, facilitates clarifying and establishing civil-military roles, responsibilities, and working relationships, helps identify and resolve inconsistencies and gaps, and helps to synchronize the overall civil-military activities. History suggests, however, that the U.S. seldom has a comprehensive plan that spans the continuum from war to termination through a military to civilian control transition phase and then into a well-defined end state. Civil-military planning is much more ad hoc and since the military organize, train and equip to win the nations wars, post-conflict stability and reconstruction planning receives little attention at the outset of planning.

Although planning for Iraq post-conflict stability operations started early the various civil and military planning activities lacked adequate integration during the deliberate war planning process. For example, CENTCOM's Operation Internal Look in December 2002 demonstrated that it had not adequately anticipated connections between winning the war and winning the peace. In response to this finding, CENTCOM organized and deployed Task Force IV (composed of civilian government and military participants) to work with Combined Forces Land Component Command planners whose focus had been mainly on the war fighting aspects but now needed to expand its efforts to include some early considerations of stability and reconstruction planning needs. For numerous reasons (e.g., late augmentation and lack of collocation of respective planning elements) the efforts of TF IV were not effectively integrated with CFLCC Phase IV planning and therefore, although the intentions were good, the contributions were marginally successful in helping improve

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the planning for Phase IV operations. In fact, with the creation of ORHA, TF IV was disbanded and some members went to ORHA staff and others to CFLCC staff.

In Iraq, expectations did not match reality, the transition to stability operations was blurred with simultaneous combat limiting the ability to sequentially establish Phase IV organizations and procedures and refine operational plans to more effectively include stability and reconstruction requirements. Additionally, early postwar planning efforts of State Department, USAID, the CIA and the Army War College were not fully considered by and in some cases not made available to the military or the Office of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance (ORHA). Within the military, CENTCOM, Civil Affairs Command, CFLCC, TFIV, and the Pentagon engaged in different and separate planning efforts for Phase IV operations. In the civilian community, each agency initiated planning based on its mandate and anticipated role in post-conflict operations. It appeared that the civilian agencies had their planning efforts proscribed to be within their institutional mandates rather than as full participants of an interactive process.<sup>12</sup>

Civil-military planning for stability and reconstruction operations tends to be ad hoc and lacks concurrency, coordination and integration with the war planning activities. For example, the ongoing military planning for Iraq focused on winning the war fighting with apparently little emphasis on stability and reconstruction aspects. The State Department's "Future of Iraq Project" spent a year planning for post-conflict reconstruction. There were 17 working groups that drew upon U.S. and Iraqi exile expertise to develop ideas and plans that addressed foreign and national security, democratic principles, economy and infrastructure, public finance, education, transitional justice, public health, oil and energy, public outreach and other areas important to the transformation of Iraq. Some would argue that these efforts were more analysis than planning but in any case they generated valuable insights that could have been of use to the military planners. The State Department had also crafted a draft Political-Military plan but the military resisted offers from the State Department to help integrate it into the military planning activities.

The reconstruction task for Iraq was given to the Defense Department who created ORHA a few months before the war fighting started to initiate the reconstruction planning for post-conflict Iraq and this civilian-led effort did not fully benefit from the earlier State Department planning or the interagency political-military planning process. ORHAs successor, the Coalition Provisional (CPA), did use some of the earlier work, such as the AUSA/CSIS Post-Conflict Reconstruction Project<sup>13</sup> study and checklist as a point of departure for its planning efforts.

The interagency process has not been effective in enforcing timely decision-making and concurrent military and civil agency planning for war, stability and reconstruction operations. Hence, there have been issues with clarity of civil-military missions (including war fighting termination criteria, transition to civilian authority, and end state definition), allocation of resources (manpower and money), and the degree of international involvement (including U.N. mandates) as well as disconnects in establishing roles, responsibilities, relationships and

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<sup>12</sup> Author discussions with Dayton Maxwell regarding his experiences as a member of USAID, TF IV and ORHA/CPA.

<sup>13</sup> The Association of the U.S. Army (AUSA) and the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) conducted a two-year Post-Conflict Reconstruction Study. The result of this study, *Playing to Win*, was published in January 2003 and the CISI report, *A Wiser Peace: An Action Strategy for A Post-Conflict Iraq* was published in January 2003 as well.

tasks among the civil-military participants including IOs and NGOs. As a result, integrated civil-military planning and execution of stability and reconstruction operations tends to be poorly coordinated making unity of effort difficult to achieve. Additionally, successive U.S. administrations seem to treat each new mission as if it were the first and, more importantly, as if it were the last.

Experience in Afghanistan and Iraq suggests that the world has moved beyond tolerating delays and problems in dealing with reconstruction. Improvements in military capabilities to conduct rapid decisive operations with reduced combat presence on the ground makes the need to quickly engage in stability and reconstruction operations that much more important. Since both combat and stability and reconstruction operations are important for success, they must be planned for concurrently and the civil-military elements deployed need to be properly organized, trained and equipped to conduct these operations. In future operations, stability and reconstruction operations will most likely be conducted concurrent with combat operations, as was the case in Afghanistan and Iraq. Investments therefore need to be made to improve the post-conflict capabilities to meet the new demands.

*Lesson 3: Success can be achieved in different cultural settings. Although the level of development of the target nation, the degree of its national cohesion and homogeneity of its relevant population affect prospects for success, the controllable factors for success are the level and duration of effort of the U.S. and its coalition partners as measured in terms of manpower, time, and money invested.*

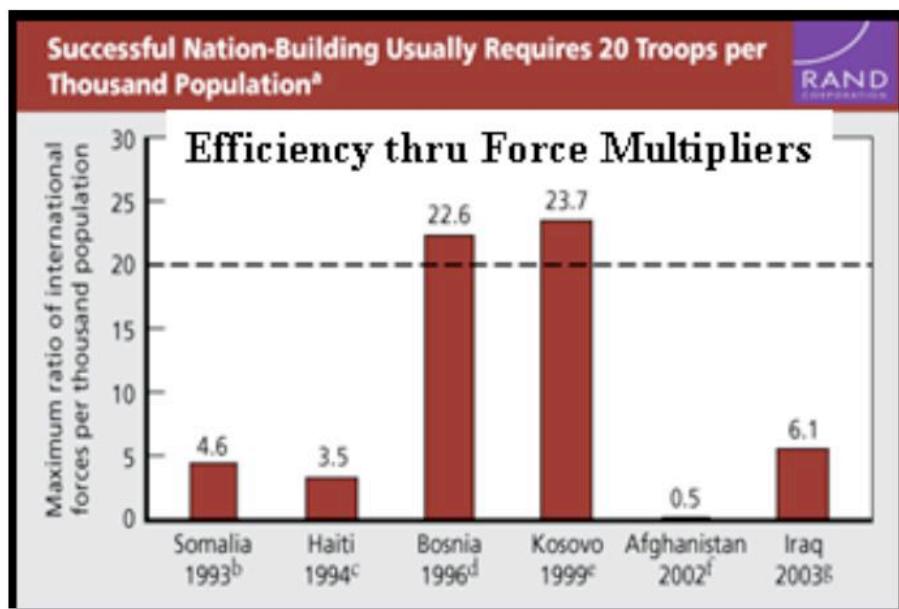


Figure 4: “Successful Nation-Building usually requires 20 troops per thousand population.”

Germany, Japan and the Balkans demonstrated that nation building works in different cultural settings. Democracy can be transferred and societies can be compelled to change. Denazification and transformation to democracy worked in Germany. Japan showed that democracy could be transferred to non-Western societies. In spite of the ethnic and

communal hatred in Bosnia and Kosovo, the process of democratization has nevertheless made some progress.

Analysis supporting the observations in Figure 1 suggests that although the complexity of the military mission, prior democratic experience of the target nation, level of its economic development and national homogeneity, the state of the civil infrastructure following combat operations, and the likelihood of continuing hostile actions influence the degree of ease or difficulty are important, collectively they are not the major factors influencing achieving a successful outcome. Likewise, although post conflict casualties have been a sensitive issue, it was only a major factor in Somalia where casualties from a relatively small military action resulted in a precipitous U.S. withdrawal and the eventual demise of the entire international effort. James Dobbins, RAND and former diplomat, suggests, "There is a clear inverse proportion between the size of the intervening force and the number of casualties inflicted. You need about 20 soldiers per 1,000 inhabitants to stabilize an unsettled population," see Figure 4.

The lesson from historical experiences suggest that *the controllable factors for success are the level and duration of effort of the U.S. and its coalition partners as measured in terms of manpower, time, and money invested.*<sup>14</sup> Additional important factors for success are the target nation's internal characteristics, a convergence of the geopolitical interests of the outside power and the target nation, and a commitment to economic development in the target nation.<sup>15</sup> These were contributing factors to the successes in Germany, Japan and the Balkans (Bosnia and Kosovo). In fact, Kosovo is widely considered the most successful attempt at stability and reconstruction since German and Japan. Lack of time and resource investments in Somalia and Haiti resulted in failure for these operations. For the Afghanistan operation, it is too early to tell but the low investment of money and multinational forces has resulted in a lack of overall security improvement, slow progress in transition to democratization and limited economic growth.

Iraq is a complex environment and it is still too early to predict the outcome of the operation but history suggests that more resources are likely needed to achieve success. For example, the RAND report on nation building calculates that establishing a Kosovo-level occupation force in Iraq (in terms of troops per capita) would require 526,000 troops through the year 2005. There are currently only about 150,000 coalition troops (mainly U.S.) in Iraq—about the same as the number that fought the war. Although numbers alone do not constitute a security strategy, RAND suggests successful strategies for population security and control have required force ratios either as large as or larger than 20 security personnel per thousand inhabitants.<sup>16</sup> Figure 4 illustrates the relative distribution of forces per thousand of population for recent conflicts and for Iraq, the number of coalition military deployed in 2003 is less than a third of the suggested level for successful nation building.

Money is also needed to build security and democracy. The RAND report calculates that to provide economic aid on a comparable level to what the allies gave post conflict Kosovo would require \$21 billion over the next two years. The report also makes the point that Iraqi oil revenue alone will not be enough to foot the bill. The Center for Strategic and

<sup>14</sup> "America's Role in Nation-Building From Germany to Iraq," James Dobbins, RAND, 2003.

<sup>15</sup> "Lessons from the Past: The American Record on Nation Building," Minxin Pei and Sara Kasper Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2003.

<sup>16</sup> "Burden of Victory," James T. Quinlivan, RAND Review, Summer 2003.

International Studies further notes that although there are also other sources of revenue such as appropriated funds, vested assets in the U.S., and assets that have been seized in Iraq,<sup>17</sup> the overall resources available are inadequate to the challenges at hand, especially if the security problems persist and oil infrastructure continues to be targeted.

*Lesson 4: Multilateral operations contribute to legitimacy, burden sharing and staying power. They are more difficult than unilateral operations but cheaper for any one nation and, if successful, more durable in result. Multilateral operations do not, however, guarantee success.*

History suggests that multilateral stability, reconstruction and nation building is more complex and time-consuming than undertaking unilateral efforts, but is also considerably less expensive and can produce more thoroughgoing society transformations. Multilateralism has limitations such as poor coordination and burdensome bureaucracy yet history suggests that multilateralism manages risk while unilateralism invites it. In spite of the limitations, international involvement is important for helping achieve success. For example, UN-sanctioned operations garner more international legitimacy, helps distribute the costs (manpower and money) more widely, and provides an insurance policy against the huge risks of failure for the image and interests of the U.S. It also provides a means to encourage staying power to see the operation through to a successful outcome.

International involvement has been mixed for the case studies examined and although a useful contributor, it does not guarantee success. Somalia was the first post-Cold War attempt by the U.S. to lead a multinational nation building effort. The effort failed due to the inability to establish and staff an international structure to fill the governance gap and begin reconstruction. In Haiti, the U.S.-led multinational military effort successfully restored President Aristide to power but the UN and multilateral nation-building mission was not very successful. U.S. and international elements departed before a competent administration could be created, self-sustaining democratic structures could be put in place, and lasting economic reforms could be instituted.

There have, however, been some multilateral efforts with varying levels of successes. Since the occupation of Germany, the largest international involvement occurred in the Balkans. In this case, there was multinational military participation led by NATO and supported by many of its member nation's military forces as well as forces from national military elements other than NATO member nations. Military unity of command was achieved through NATO. There was also significant international civil organization participation such as the UN, the OSCE, and the EU as well as assistance in kind from nations not contributing military forces (e.g., Japan's financial contributions for reconstruction efforts in Kosovo). Civil unity of command was established under UN auspices in Kosovo but in Bosnia this was more difficult to achieve since the international responsibilities were more disperse. Bosnia has made political and economic progress but is not yet a self-sustaining political and economic entity. Kosovo has been somewhat more successful in its democratic transformation because of the high degree of collaboration and burden sharing among the multilateral participants but its final status within the international community has yet to be resolved and this has hindered progress. With the exception of Germany, Kosovo has enjoyed the most rapid economic recovery among the cases studied.

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<sup>17</sup> "Iraq's Post-Conflict Reconstruction: A Field Review and Recommendations," Dr John Hamre, CSIS, 2003.

Multilateral involvement has been considered a major factor in the relative ongoing successes in Bosnia and Kosovo in particular.

Regional involvement and support for an operation is important as well since neighboring states can exert significant influence to help achieve the desired outcome as was the case in Germany. Neighboring states can also work at odds and try to pull things apart, as was the case in Bosnia. Consequently, it is necessary to both constrain and engage neighboring states. International participation can contribute to producing greater regional reconciliation, as was the case in Germany, Bosnia and Kosovo.

*Lesson 5: Unity of command and effort depends heavily on a shared vision and ability to shape the response of multilateral participants.*

In multinational operations, the U.S. military can find itself in both a lead nation role and a support nation role where U.S. military units reported to a non-U.S. commander (e.g., KFOR) and multinational units reported to U.S. commanders (e.g., MND-North in Bosnia and MNB-East in Kosovo). These arrangements provide numerous unity of effort and command and control challenges (parallel and competing chain of command arrangements) as well as collaboration and information sharing challenges—liaisons become a cottage industry and are used to overcome many of the communications (organization and procedure disconnects and language differences) and information sharing disconnects. Multinational military participation also presents other challenges since participating nations can have significantly differing capabilities and experiences and this can create complex interoperability problems.

In Bosnia and Kosovo, NATO was effective in ensuring broad multinational military participation and unity of command and effort. Unity of command and effort on civil side had mixed success. The Office of the High Representative in Bosnia was fragmented among competing civil agencies and there was little coordination between OHR and the NATO Implementation Force at the beginning of the operation. On the other hand, in Kosovo, multinational unity of effort was achieved under the United Nations Mission in Kosovo auspices and there was good coordination between NATO and the UN leadership and staff. Unity of command and effort and broad multilateral participation are compatible if the major participants share a common vision and can shape international institutions accordingly—such as was done with the UN, OSCE, EU, and NATO in Kosovo.

*Lesson 6: Need a collaborative information environment to facilitate civil-military coordination and information sharing.*

Achieving a shared civil-military vision, managing expectations, and facilitating collaboration and information sharing are key to achieving unity of effort. Experience suggests, however, that civil-military collaboration, coordination and information sharing has been and continues to be problematic. Some progress has been made in establishing multinational collaborative information environments for military operations but such an environment does not yet exist to support multinational civil-military operations. Even in the coalition military case of improved interoperability, real world operations suggest there is limited two-way communications among levels of command—information tended to flow up the chain of command but not down. IOs and NGOs use the commercial telecommunications systems to the extent possible and have established Internet web sites to facilitate collaboration and information sharing among their members. These capabilities are not

directly linked with the military networks as a federated civil-military network. On the other hand, the military unclassified information network has gateways to the Internet that can be used to accommodate some collaboration and information sharing with the international civilian elements.

Communications and information systems supporting stability and reconstruction operations tend to be stove-piped with limited coverage and capacity and little interconnection of the tactical military and civilian systems. The tactical military systems primarily support the military command and control needs with a very limited ability to provide service to civilian government elements. Communications support can also be an issue with forces such as Civil Affairs and PSYOP who do not arrive in country with their own communications and information systems needed to interface the military networks SIPRNET and NIPRNET—this was an issue in the Balkans and now in Iraq as well. The unit to which these elements are assigned needs to provide the communications and information services and this support, in many cases, is not planned for in advance of the operation and hence, only limited service can be offered and this is usually not sufficient to meet mission needs.

IOs and NGOs either rely on the civil telecommunications, if they exist, or bring their own such as satellite and cellular phones. In many cases, however, the civil telecommunications infrastructure has been destroyed or severely damaged making it difficult for the participants to communicate. In the field, the collaborative information environment to support civil-military information sharing is the Civil-Military Operations Centers (CMOC) established by Civil Affairs teams. In Iraq, there were other ad hoc Iraq Assistance Centers (IAC) and Humanitarian Information, Operations, and Assistance Centers (HICs, HOCs, HACs) set up by the coalition military, IOs, NGOs, and other participants to facilitate collaboration and information sharing within their communities of interest. In addition to manual means, the civilian-led humanitarian centers used the INTERNET to provide access to and disseminate information. However, on the ground, face-to-face communications often becomes the primary means of sharing information among the civil-military participants and with the local population.

Military operations security restrictions limit the ability of the military to share certain information with non-military elements. In Iraq, early Civil Affairs assessments of towns and villages, although unclassified, had information that identified the location of combat forces that was classified and the CA reports were disseminated over the secure military network, SIPRNET, adding to the challenge of first obtaining and then extracting the unclassified information that needed to be shared with IOs and NGOs. Manual work around arrangements had to be created to obtain and sanitize the information for release to non-military participants. Challenges were also encountered with the release of maps and mine location information. There were similar information release challenges in the Balkans and Afghanistan that impacted the ability to effectively share information in a mixed civilian and military environment.

The UN and US State Department both have initiatives to improve the ability to produce maps and collect, analyze, and disseminate humanitarian assistance related information to those who need it at all levels. For example, the US State Department Humanitarian Information Unit's (HIU) mission is to serve as the US Government nucleus to identify, collect, analyze, and disseminate unclassified information critical to preparation for and responses to humanitarian emergencies worldwide. Its operation depends on innovative

partnerships with US federal agencies, other governments, IOs, NGOs, academia, and industry.

Although progress is being made, there remains a need for a collaborative information environment to facilitate civil-military coordination and information sharing. The Combined Regional Information Exchange System used by CENTCOM in the Afghanistan operation to support collaborative planning and information sharing among the coalition military partners is an operational example of a collaborative information environment. The State Department HIU in Iraq and the UN Humanitarian Community Information Center in Kosovo and other civilian-established HICs in Afghanistan and Iraq are examples of non-military (IOs and NGOs) means to address the need for creating a collaborative information environment.

New operational concepts for collaboration are being developed and tested by the US military. For example, Joint Forces Command's rapid decisive operations experiments include testing new concepts and capabilities such as the Standing Joint Force Headquarters (SJFHQ), the Collaborative Information Environment (CIE) and the Joint Interagency Coordination Group (JIACG). These new concepts are aimed at providing the military commander an improved ability to conduct collaborative planning and execution, to improve shared situation awareness and information sharing and to provide a means to leverage the efforts of other civil and military agencies separated by organization boundaries and geographically. SJFHQ is a full-time joint C2 element within the Regional Combatant Command's (RCC) planning and operations staff that provides a means to enhance the command's readiness through improved understanding of the regional area situations and range of crisis response options available. Plans are in place to standup SJFHQs at the RCCs and possibly functional commands as well. CIE-like capabilities have already been employed operationally by CENTCOM in the Afghanistan operation to support multinational military information sharing and collaborative planning and execution activities and the JIACG ability to reach back or provide locally interagency expertise has been tested with some limited success in experiments and exercises but its effectiveness has yet to be proven operationally.

***Lesson 7:** There is no quick route to reconstruction and nation building and five years seems to be the minimum time to enforce an enduring transition to democracy. Staying long does not guarantee success but leaving early ensures failure.*

The cases studied differed in duration and expectations for departure. Haiti began with clear departure deadlines that were adhered to. Germany, Japan, Somalia, and Bosnia began with short times lines but saw them amended. Iraq started with expectations for a short duration but is now viewed as a longer duration effort. Kosovo and Afghanistan began without any expectations of an early exit.

History suggests there is no quick route to reconstruction and nation building and five years seems to be the minimum time to enforce an enduring transition to democracy—Germany and Japan took seven years. Even if democracy takes hold this does not necessarily provide the conditions for exit. In fact, in every successful case, U.S. troops are still based in these countries today. U.S. forces are still in Germany and Japan, nearly 60 years after war's end, and Bosnia, Kosovo and Afghanistan and it look's like forces will be in Iraq for some time to come. Lessons also suggest that staying around for a long time does not guarantee success but leaving early ensures failure, e.g., Somalia and Haiti. Additionally, setting

departure deadlines can unintentionally set expectations of imminent withdrawal and the assumption of shallow commitment that could prompt difficulties for the stability and reconstruction efforts, as is the case in Iraq with the proposed end of June transfer of power to an Iraqi transitional administration. Stability and reconstruction operations are complicated by the potential for rapid escalation to conflict so it is important to manage the expectations of all participants including the local population and leadership.

*Lesson 8: A rapid decisive conventional military victory does not guarantee a less difficult post conflict stabilization environment. Higher force levels for longer periods of time and international police presence over time help promote success.*

Germany and Japan surrendered unconditionally. Formal ceasefire agreements such as the Dayton Accords in Bosnia and the Military Technical Agreement in Kosovo set the initial conditions for the cessation of hostilities. Germany, Japan and the Balkans did not experience major post conflict hostilities. An observation based on the assessment of the case studies suggests that when a conflict has ended less conclusively and destructively (or not terminated at all) such as in Somalia, Afghanistan and Iraq, the security challenges may likely be more difficult and soldiers will likely come under attack during stability and reconstruction operations as has been the case in Somalia, Afghanistan and Iraq. In the Balkans, the security challenge was difficult but in this case it was ethnic revenge related and not directed at U.S. military forces whose security effort was largely focused on protecting ethnic minorities and enclaves.

The RAND report on nation building suggests higher force levels for longer time periods promote success. It notes that large numbers of U.S. forces were deployed in Germany, Bosnia and Kosovo, the forces stayed for long periods of time and the operations have been successful or are making successful progress. This was not the case in the Somalia and Haiti operations that ended in failures. The report also suggests the highest levels of casualties have occurred in the operations with the lowest levels of U.S. troops per capita. Only when the number of stabilization troops has been low in comparison to the population, such as, in Somalia, Afghanistan, and now Iraq, have U.S. forces suffered significant casualties. In Somalia, increased combat deaths resulted in the loss of public and political support and prompted the early withdraw of U.S. forces that contributed to the failure of the overall mission. By contrast, in Germany, Bosnia, and Kosovo, where troop levels were high, U.S. forces suffered few post conflict combat-related deaths. The Rand report also notes that the more recent innovation of dispatching U.S. and international police to supplement the efforts of the military forces to provide civil security helps contribute to success. It also notes, however, that it can take a year or more to build up and deploy a CIVPOL force once combat has ended so provision of civil security is a key mission for the military to fulfill for an extended period of time.

Experience suggests that once the fighting stops there will be public pressure to bring the military home. This was true in Germany and other operations and was true for Iraq with the deceleration of the end of hostilities. These factors need to be recognized and reflected in planning for stability and reconstruction operations.

*Lesson 9: Security and establishing rule of law is the primary military mission in support of stability and reconstruction operations. Achieving and sustaining a safe and secure environment and development of legitimate and*

*stable indigenous security institutions are the foundation on which progress and success rests and is also important to ensure that post conflict reconciliation and reconstruction goes forward successfully. The military are obligated to provide security (military and civil) and appropriate humanitarian assistance, governance, restoration of essential services, and other reconstruction assistance until the security environment permits civilian access to perform their duties.*

Security is the primary military mission in support of stability and reconstruction. Civil unrest and uncertainties in terms of whether there will be militant forces willing to continue to fight were concerns of the operations examined in the cases studies. Establishing a secure environment and law and order was the most important task. Military Police played an important role in helping maintain law and order and to train civilian police to assume these responsibilities but in many cases there were not enough to perform the mission needs. In Germany, a U.S. military-led constabulary force was created to fill the law and order gap. In the Balkans, the United Nations provided international police to train the local police force, a constabulary force composed of Italian Carabinieri and the French Gendarmes was used to bridge the civil and military security activities to help address organized crime and to provided capabilities to address crowd control and other civil unrest disturbances, and a judicial team of prosecutors, lawyers, judges and corrections officers were used to establish the courts and prison system.<sup>18</sup>

Creating employment opportunities for local nationals was also an important element of maintaining law and order and reducing civil unrest. In recent operations, organized crime has become a major area of tension as well that needs addressed as part of the security operation. In the Balkans, the United Nations provided a multinational specialized police capability to address organized crime. Augmentation of the military force by a civilian law enforcement capability (including a forensic capability) has become an important consideration to address criminal activities, war crimes investigations, and the civil security needs.<sup>19</sup> Terrorism has also emerged as an important area of concern. The Balkans experienced some but Afghanistan and Iraq have experienced a lot more terrorist related incidents. Specialized civil-military counter-terrorism Joint Task Force capabilities have been employed as part of the global war on terrorism. These capabilities are in addition to the force packages normally used to support combat and stability and reconstruction operations.

Refugees and displaced persons were also a major consideration and early military efforts included humanitarian assistance related tasks. If a safe and secure environment exists, IOs (e.g., the UNHCR, and ICRC) and NGOs become important players in the humanitarian assistance activities. Restoration of basic services becomes important even before a safe and secure environment has been established. Sometimes this needs to occur while hostile actions are continuing in near by areas or regions of the country, e.g., Baghdad and the Sunni triangle in Iraq versus the rest of the country. Initiating reconstruction of institutions and infrastructure were important as well. In fact, the military was required to provide security and appropriate humanitarian assistance, governance and other assistance until the security environment permitted civilian access to perform these and other nation building activities.

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<sup>18</sup> “The American Experience with Police in Peace Operations,” Robert Perito, Pearson Peacekeeping Center, 2002.

<sup>19</sup> “Establishing the Rule of Law in Iraq,” USIP, 2003.

The military were the enabler and facilitator of the transition to civilian authorities—military elements such as MPs, civil affairs, engineers, and medical teams became important players in these activities. These forces are also High Demand/Low Density elements that are drawn from an already over extended Reserve force that has a separate set of challenges related to maintaining readiness and availability of needed skill mixes. Rotation and replacement strategies need to take into account the preservation of continuity of operation (e.g., at the tactical level maneuver, CA and PSYOP forces are building trust relationship with the local population that is earned over time) while at the same time provide the flexibility and agility to make rapid and appropriate force mix changes (e.g., heavy to light maneuver force, expand MP and engineer capacity).

*Lesson 10: Information Operations requires a comprehensive and integrated strategy from the inception of the operation through post conflict and return to normalcy. It needs to shape and influence the information environment.*

Information Operations (IO) is more than leaflet drops and Commando Solo broadcasts, especially in the new world of global information and the 24x7 international media cycle. Information Operations, therefore, requires a comprehensive and integrated strategy from the inception of the operation through post-conflict and return to normalcy. In order to shape the landscape, Information Operations needs to be employed before an operation begins and then continue throughout the conflict phase and then into the post conflict phases. IO typically starts after the military operation is well underway but in Iraq, IO actually started before combat operations—a significant step forward. The commander and staff need a clear understanding of the end state and it is essential that they know and understand the target audience and its sensitivities, habits and behavior. Knowing and understanding the media consumption habits and social, religious, cultural, political and economic issues of the target audience are extremely important and continue to be a challenge for the information operations staff at all levels. Target audiences can range from the unsophisticated to very sophisticated.

Real-world experience suggests that we have not done that well in understanding our target audience and winning the information war, e.g., in Iraq, in the early stages of the stability and reconstruction operations, the military IO activities of the Joint Task Force and the civilian strategic communications activities of the Coalition Provisional Authority were not adequately integrated with the overall political-military effort, IO was slow to respond to threats and needs to manage perceptions and expectations, and IO failed to utilize the most common venue accessible to Iraqis—the printed word. The Information Operations techniques used need to take into consideration all means of national power available in order to help establish legitimacy for the operation, properly shape, influence and win the hearts and minds of the local population and leadership, to gain regional and world support, and influence the adversary's decisions. We need to be able to view things through the belief, understanding and value system of those we are trying to influence, not through ours alone.

IO during the transition from combat to post conflict stability and reconstruction operations is a missing link in IO planning and execution. It is necessary to shape the environment during this phase of operations by preparing the target country and its people, the regional nations around it, and the world for post conflict reconstruction, i.e., winning the peace. For a number of reasons, IO plans and operations overly focus on winning the war without giving appropriate and adequate attention to preparing for winning the peace. Figure 5 illustrates this point—emphasis has been on the combat phase of operations. In the post-

combat phase there is a need to win hearts and minds and manage expectations and this has both a military component and a civilian component. As noted earlier, in Iraq the JTF-7 conducted military-led IO but with the establishment of the civilian-led Coalition Provisional Authority there was a need for a civilian-led IO effort (referred to as Strategic Communications) as well and these efforts needed to be carefully coordinated. Joint civil-military coordination groups were established to collaborate and coordinate these activities. This was not necessarily the case for peace operations in the Balkans where it is was difficult enough to coordinate the coalition military IO activities little lone deal with civilian organizations such as the UN, OSCE and EU as well.

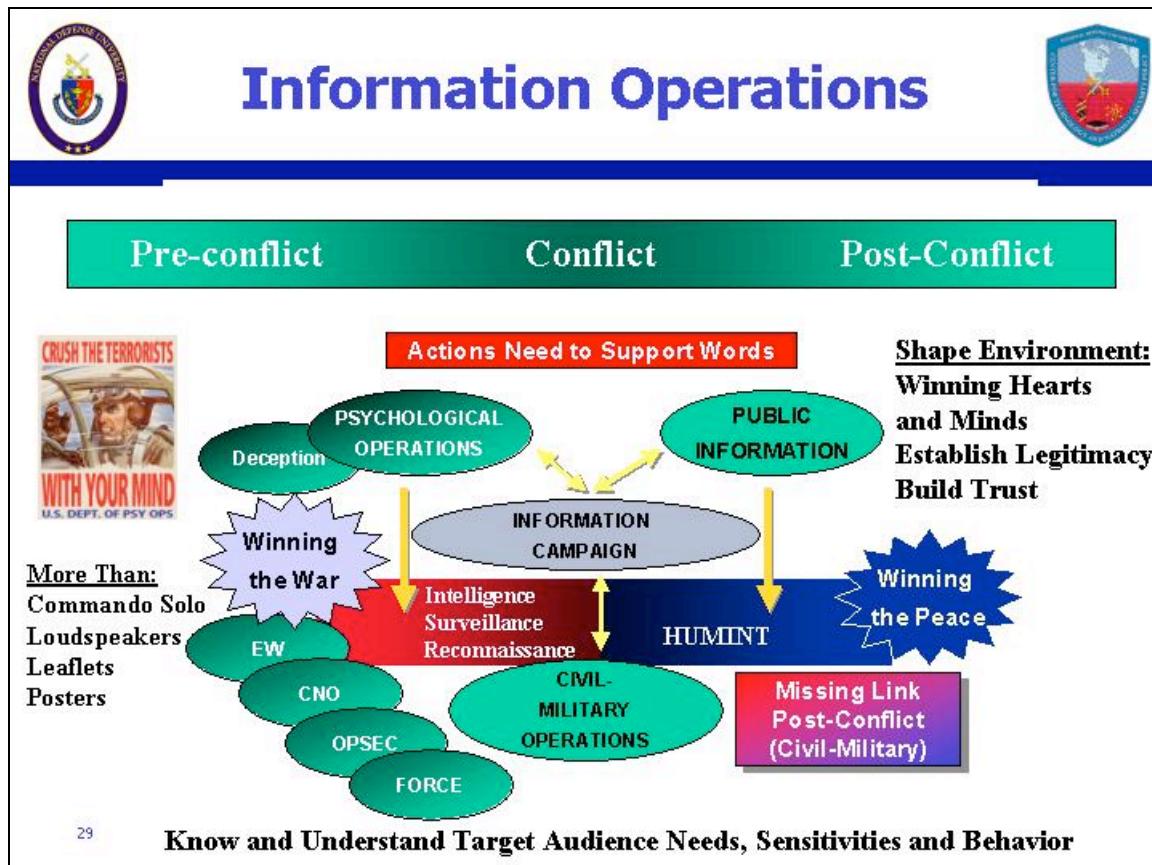


Figure 5: The Nature of Information Operations.

In Iraq there were IO successes such as the information campaign that supported the replacement of Iraqi money with Saddam's picture with new currency. When the change in currency took place, there were no massive withdrawals of money from the Iraqi banks and the currency replacement went reasonable smoothly. The information campaign was viewed as one of the major reasons why there were no serious problems. The pre-conflict leaflet drops and Commando Solo radio broadcasts were also felt to be instrumental in convincing the Iraqi's not to create an oil field disaster and the Iraqi soldiers not to fight the Americans. In the latter case, large numbers of Iraqi military put down their arms and went home. There were also missed opportunities. For example, everyone in Iraq knew who President George Bush was – he had a hero status for at least the first couple of months after liberation. Very few knew who CENTCOM Commander General Tommy Franks was. Strategic level IO failed to capitalize on the celebrity or hero status with, for example, broadcasting a direct address by the President of the United States to the Iraqi people immediately following

liberation. It would have been an effective way to get out a unified message that could have served to help manage Iraqi perceptions about post-Saddam Iraq and expectations regarding reconstruction of services such as power, water and health care. IO failed to influence Iraqi expectations that the most powerful nation in the world would quickly restore essential services and put people back to work. A direct message from the President would also have promoted coalition IO unity of effort. And it would have profoundly helped legitimize the efforts to win hearts and minds on the ground.

Other Information Operations challenges include the information campaign product development, testing, and approval cycle that tends to be cumbersome and lacks timeliness. In the past, approvals were elevated to the highest levels but in Iraq, the approval was delegated to the Joint Task Force and to subordinate tactical elements as appropriate and need justified. There are no agreed measures of performance and measures of effectiveness to support Information Operations planning and assessments. In the Balkans, Afghanistan and Iraq, it proved difficult to measure the effectiveness of the information campaign and to make definitive judgments.

Indicators need to be developed to guide Intelligence, Surveillance, and Reconnaissance (ISR) tasking activities and to guide the development of new collection capabilities that are focused on the needs of stability and reconstruction operations. Improved ISR tools and capabilities are needed to recognize the effects of Information Operations actions and to facilitate tasking ISR collection of the effects of Information Operations actions, including more effective use of HUMINT assets. Improved ISR systems tailored to targeting and collecting the effects of Information Operations actions in support of stability and reconstruction operations are needed as well. Better tools, including modeling and simulation (M&S) capabilities, need to be provided to facilitate Information Operations courses of action planning and assessments. M&S tools are also needed to help understand and predict the behavior of social networks and influence networks. Tools are also needed to assess the likely success or failure of courses of action and to help identify and clarify intended and unintended consequences of Information Operations actions.

The public diplomacy and information campaigns also need to inform and advertise the successes of the stability and reconstruction efforts in order to better inform the public and maintain their support as well as international support for the operation. Communication with the local population is key as well to allay fears and suspicions and to inform and education as a means of establishing legitimacy and support of the operation and to minimize public unrest and possible interference with the military operations.

The Iraq operation attracted an unprecedented level of media interest both at home and around the world. There were both embedded and independently deployed journalists. The latter raised serious safety issues and several journalists found themselves caught up in battle, sometimes with tragic consequences. Military-media relationships are important in engaging the international information domain. The primary aim in Iraq was to provide accurate and timely information. Public Affairs operations have improved but military relationships with the media can still be overly restrictive. The use of embedded media in Iraq seems to have had an improvement in the media coverage and has built new trust relationships but trust is earned and can be easily broken so this may be a short-lived relationship. The 24X7 global network news cycle has been a challenge for the military and continues to be problematic—Incomplete and unsubstantiated media reporting from the field. Advances in technology

allowed real-time reporting from the battlefield and this challenged both the media and the military judgments on what to show and what not to show.

*Lesson 11: Intelligence operations in stability and reconstruction operations are HUMINT intensive and need collection and assessment capabilities that focus on military, law enforcement, and reconstruction needs.*

Traditional and non-traditional intelligence sources, assumptions and predication about threats and likely situation on the ground can be unrealistic, underestimated or faulty. Intelligence operations have met with mixed success. The ability to predict post-conflict situations has been problematic. For example, there was a major underestimation of the likely post-conflict situation in Iraq. By far the most important oversight in Iraq was the U.S. failure to develop contingency plans against the possibility that the Iraqi state would almost completely collapse. The administration apparently hoped to decapitate the country's Baathist leadership and allow new leaders to take over quickly. Instead, the humanitarian assistance needs were less than originally expected and planned for. There was a severe breakdown of order, as the army melted away, the police stopped patrolling the streets, and government ministries stopped functioning. The Iraqi regime collapsed much faster than anticipated, senior Iraqi leadership and elite military elements disappeared, civil administration and policing functions ceased, the civil infrastructure was in poorer condition than expected, civil unrest and looting was higher than expected, and organized crime that is strongly rooted in Iraqi society added to the security challenge. The consequences of this disorder were significant: the government's physical infrastructure disappeared, as ministries were stripped of doors, toilets, and wiring and then torched; the search for weapons of mass destruction was compromised by the looting of weapons sites; and many Iraqis' first impression of their "liberation" was one of crime and chaos.

HUMINT is key in stability and reconstruction operations but problematic—availability of trained and experienced staff and de-confliction of competing activities on the operational landscape. Intelligence, Surveillance, Reconnaissance and analysis also lack stability and reconstruction related capabilities to adequately focus on urban operation needs, organized crime activities, social, religious, and political activities, and humanitarian assistance, refugee and displaced persons needs. Stability and reconstruction is a mixed military and law enforcement environment in which criminal intelligence as well as military intelligence operations need to coexist. Criminal analysis and forensic capabilities tend to be lacking as well. Operational security, need to know and evidence protection restrictions makes sharing information among coalition military, civilian, IO and NGO participants and with civil law enforcement elements difficult.

Cultural intelligence is also an important area needing more attention—understanding the behavior of leadership and the population, their beliefs and taboos, and social, religious and political influence networks.

*Lesson 12: Improvements are needed in professional military education to more effectively address stability and reconstruction operations and to influence military culture change—think winning the peace as well as winning the war. Additionally, improvements are needed in civil-military operational training that involves policymakers, planners and practitioners including U.S. and other national military elements, civilian agencies, International Organizations and Non-governmental Organizations.*

The overall national command, political-military and military culture remains very much ambivalent about U.S. military involvement in humanitarian assistance and “nation-building” (i.e., anything other than warfighting). Military commanders at all levels have little if any experience in military Phase IV post-combat planning and execution. As a general rule, the military does not conduct exercise or training events that focus on post conflict stability and reconstruction operations. As a result, they do not develop the required skills needed for this difficult task and operational commanders at all levels struggle with post-combat operations due to lack of previous exposure to war games, simulations, and training. The Army mantra is “Train the way you fight” but if you don’t have the opportunity to train for Phase IV stability and support operations how can one be expected to execute an effective operation. At both the operational and tactical levels, commanders and staff are evaluated on their ability to plan and execute Phase III combat operations in scenarios that typically end prior to Phase IV of the military operational plan.

The simulation models and tools used by the military to drive war games are “force on force” and are used to train war-fighters on their wartime mission skills and are not conducive to training skill development associated with Phase IV operations. SIMCITY-like modeling capabilities are needed to train both the military and civilians in the principles of reconstruction and nation building. Course of action planning and assessment capabilities are also needed to help the decision makers and operational planners decide on the appropriate activities and sequencing of activities related to stability and reconstruction operations and nation building, e.g., if power is needed to operate water pumps then allocation of resources to restore power may be as or more important than fixing other aspects of the water distribution system. The military is good at breaking things but not as good at helping put the pieces back together to meet the expectations of the local population for restoration of essential services and improving quality of life. Simulations are also needed to assess the absorption capacity of a country and its ability to assume nation building and transition of governance responsibilities.

The professional military education program has few courses that address stability and reconstruction operations. Based on experiences in the Balkans, the military has introduced training programs that address guerrilla-style tactics and dealing with civil unrest and crowd control. Civil-military training programs are still lacking, however, in the area of humanitarian assistance and stability and reconstruction operations. Attention also needs to be given to improving civilian agency training for planning and executing these operations and for working with their military counterparts.

In addition to the U.S. civil-military elements, there are a number of other national military elements that support the military coalition and International and Non-Governmental Organizations (IO, NGO) that arrive on the scene with unique capabilities, resources and agendas and good intentions to help and this requires collaboration, coordination and information sharing to achieve unity of effort. There are challenges here as well, such as, a lack of understanding of each other’s roles, relationships and capabilities. A lack of trust also exists among some of the participants, particularly between some NGOs and the military. This became an issue in Afghanistan when Civil Affairs teams dressed in local attire. In this case, NGOs became concerned that militant elements would not be able to differentiate between the military and them and therefore, put them and their operation at risk. There were also concerns related to the military doing the NGOs job and duplication of efforts between civil affairs and NGOs. There is a need for an international training capability that addresses creating a better understanding and shared awareness of the various

civil-military participants roles, capabilities, and needs in support of humanitarian assistance and stability and reconstruction operations.



The slide features the National Defense University logo on the left and right sides. The title "Regional and Linguistics Skills" is centered at the top in a large blue font. Below the title, a section titled "Army Foreign Area Officers available by region are:" lists the following counts:

Latin America – 189	Europe – 195
South Asia – 35	Eurasia – 184
China – 41	North Africa/Middle East – 140
Northeast Asia – 71	Southeast Asia – 64
Sub-Saharan Africa - 83	

Below this, there are three additional statements in blue text:

- Marine Corps. Program is a smaller and far more recent version of the Army program.*
- Navy & Air Force. Programs are developmental.*

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*Figure 6: Regional and linguistic skill availability.*

There are other challenges faced by the deployed military and civilian force. Linguists are in short supply as well as country experts, see Figure 6. Linguists are also a key source of culture awareness, especially for the military elements. The military hits the ground with a force that does not generally speak the language, and does not adequately understand the customs and culture of the nation they are trying to help. The civilian agencies have similar problems. Here too there is a need for improved language and culture awareness training for both the military and civilian participants on the ground.

## CONCLUSION

General Zinni, USMC (Retired), constantly reminds us of several important points regarding winning the peace:

- Need to talk about not how you win the peace as a separate part of the war, but you've got to look at this thing from start to finish

- Military is good at breaking things and killing people but not good at using other elements of national power—the political, the economic, and information—to fix the conflict
- We are great at dealing with the tactical problems...We are lousy at solving the strategic problems
- Involved in culture wars and we don't understand the culture

The goal of making the U.S. military as successful in stability and reconstruction operations as it has been in combat are important, appropriate, and must happen if our forces continue to be employed in such operations. Completing the related tasks more effectively and with relative rapidity would be truly transformational, i.e., accomplishing something we cannot now do. Some key lessons that set conditions for success are:

- *Policy and strategy needs to emphasize, “Winning the Peace as well as the War.”*
- *Plans to win the war and conduct stability and reconstruction operations must be addressed concurrently as interdependent elements of the overall campaign for winning the peace. The military and civilian agencies need to be organized, trained and equipped to conduct stability and reconstruction operations concurrent with combat operations.*
- *Success can be achieved in different cultural settings. Although the level of development of the target nation, the degree of its national cohesion and homogeneity of its relevant population affect prospects for success, the controllable factors for success are the level and duration of effort of the U.S. and its coalition partners as measured in terms of manpower, time, and money invested.*
- *Multilateral operations contribute to legitimacy, burden sharing and staying power. They are more difficult than unilateral operations but cheaper for any one nation and, if successful, more durable in result. Multilateral operations do not, however, guarantee success.*
- *Unity of command and effort depends heavily on a shared vision and ability to shape the response of multilateral participants.*
- *Need a collaborative information environment to facilitate civil-military coordination and information sharing.*
- *There is no quick route to reconstruction and nation building and five years seems to be the minimum time to enforce an enduring transition to democracy. Staying long does not guarantee success but leaving early ensures failure.*
- *A rapid decisive conventional military victory does not guarantee a less difficult post conflict stabilization environment. Higher force levels for longer periods of time and international police presence over time help promote success.*

## RECOMMENDATIONS

Lessons from real world operations suggest the controllable factors for achieving success is the *level of effort of the US and its coalition partners as measured in terms of manpower, time, and money invested*. The following recommendations aim to set the initial conditions for instituting change and improving capabilities:

- Revise U.S. policy and strategy to emphasize, “Winning the Peace as Well as the War.”
- Expand the focus of the U.S. military force transformation initiative and investment strategies to include improving the ability to organize, train and equip U.S. forces to conduct stabilization and reconstruction operations more effectively.
- Initiate improvements in the U.S. interagency process and the enforcement of collaboration and coordination of civil-military organization and agency activities to ensure concurrency of planning and collaboration with multinational partners.
- Consider multilateral participation and use of UN for legitimization and burden sharing.
- Establish a civil-military collaborative information environment to facilitate collaboration, coordination and information sharing among the coalition military multinational civilian support elements, i.e., IOs and NGOs.
- Improve Post-Conflict Intelligence support operations
  - > Understanding the dynamics of social networks and society and culture behaviors to be influenced.
  - > Exploit all sources of HUMINT including Civil Affairs, PSYOP and other passive sources.
- Improve the civil-military training programs to included humanitarian assistance, stability and reconstruction operations, civil-military operations, media relations, civil-military relationships, and improved understanding of the roles, relationships and capabilities of the various international military and civilian participants.
- Establish measures of performance and effectiveness for:
  - > Post-Conflict Information Operations.
  - > Stability and reconstruction operations and nation building
- Improve the modeling and simulation capabilities.
  - > Training both the military and civilians to conduct stability and reconstruction operations and nation building.

- > Planning and assessing courses of action needed to conduct stability and reconstruction operations and nation building.
- > Planning and assessing IO courses of action in support of stability and reconstruction operations and nation building
- Establish a multi-agency civilian rapid response capability to deploy with stability and reconstruction forces to help prepare for the transition from stability and reconstruction operations (military-controlled) to nation building (civilian controlled).