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Once diplomacy and other efforts of the international community fail to avert conflict or negotiations with the leadership of a state, states may pursue a path of Foreign Imposed Regime Change (FIRC) to further their own political goals. Considering the current international security environment with an eye on history, one can deduce that the future holds additional attempts at FIRC between states. The thesis examines historical examples of FIRC to identify variables that may contribute to success of the process. Specifically, this thesis argues that the defeat of the military of the target state, multilateral support of the policy, and a low degree of diversity within the target state population favorably influence the probability of success of FIRC.

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JOINT ADVANCED WARFIGHTING SCHOOL

Cutting off the Head of the Snake:

Foreign Imposed Regime Change

By

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Special Agent, Diplomatic Security Service

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CUTTING OFF THE HEAD OF THE SNAKE:
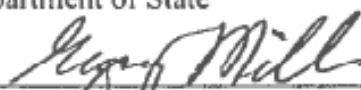## FOREIGN IMPOSED REGIME CHANGE

By

Christopher A. Hardy

Special Agent, Diplomatic Security Service

A paper submitted to the Faculty of the Joint Advanced Warfighting School in partial satisfaction of the requirements of a Master of Science Degree in Joint Campaign Planning and Strategy. The contents of this paper reflect my own personal views and are not necessarily endorsed by the Joint Forces Staff College or the Department of Defense.

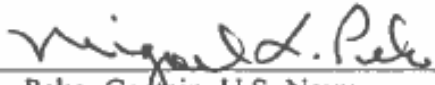This paper is entirely my own work except as documented in footnotes.

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Abstract

Once diplomacy and other efforts of the international community fail to avert conflict or negotiations with the leadership of a state, states may pursue a path of Foreign Imposed Regime Change (FIRC) to further their own political goals. Considering the current international security environment with an eye on history, one can deduce that the future holds additional attempts at FIRC between states. The thesis examines historical examples of FIRC to identify variables that may contribute to success of the process. Specifically, this thesis argues that the defeat of the military of the target state, multilateral support of the policy, and a low degree of diversity within the target state population favorably influence the probability of success of FIRC.

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CHAPTER 1: Introduction

> Politics has no end and permits no rest…The victorious general
> enjoys the honors of his victory for a long while; but a prime
> minister has to face the new situation born of that very victory
> itself. Maurice Druon[1]

Foreign Imposed Regime Change (FIRC) comes in a variety of forms and

methods. There is no agreed upon definition, but FIRC is the change of governmental

structure within a state by another state. The idea of governmental structure could either

entail the leader of the country, or political institutions and type of government.[2] The

degree of change to achieve FIRC varies. It could be the replacement of the leader, as in

Panama in 1989, or involve further commitment, as in post-War World II Germany.

Panama serves as an example that if the leader of the target state is viewed as

illegitimate or corrupt, the populace may greet the situation favorably, and ease the

required transition.[3] Alexander Downes and Jonathan Monten describe FIRC as the

"forcible removal of the effective leader of one state – which remains formally sovereign

afterwards – by the government of another state."[4] Alternatively, FIRC may require

occupation forces from the imposing state to quell resentment within the populace.

Instances of this latter form come at a considerably higher cost and commitment by the

imposing state.

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[1] Maurice Druon, translated by Humphrey Hare, *The Poisoned Crown* (New York:
HarperCollins, 1957), 95-96.
[2] Dan Reiter, "Foreign-Imposed Regime Change." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics* (March 2017),
http://politics.oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228637-e-
335 (accessed September 5, 2017), 2.
[3] Ibid., 12.
[4] Alexander Downes and Jonathan Monten, "Forced to be Free?: Why Foreign-
Imposed Regime Change Rarely Leads to Democratization." *International Security* Vol. 37, No. 4 (2013),
108.

States may justify the use of FIRC for a variety of reasons. All states maintain political goals, and strive to achieve those in various ways by applying their diplomatic, informational, military, and economic (DIME) instruments of national power to influence or pressure other states. Once the non-military instruments of power fail at resolving a dispute or conflict, a state may see FIRC as the only alternative to obtain a desired political goal. The primary factor in determining the need for FIRC is usually the degree to which a state challenges the stability and peace of another state. Military conflict is a result of the breakdown of peace due to some policy, agenda, or militarism, and states instituting FIRC see it as a way to undo the policies, and change the culture within the state that led to conflict.[5]

Multiple variables are potentially correlated to the implementation of FIRC, and affect the probability of success of the effort. Success in this case is characterized as a creating a more stable environment and a better peace. Some possible factors that may influence the success of FIRC include: defeat of the target state's military, war weariness of the population of the target state, attrition, a clear and defined political goal by the imposing state, favorability of the leader of the target state, whether a whole of government approach is used, political system imposed, political system of the target state, resolve of the imposing state, international or coalition commitment to the process, diversity within the target state population, and sense of national identity in the target state.[6] Due to time and space requirements, this thesis tests three independent variables to determine if they contribute to the success of the FIRC process: the defeat of the military

[5] Bruce Bueno De Mesquita and George W. Downs, "Intervention and Democracy." *International Organization* Vol. 60, No. 3 (2006), 631.
[6] Reiter, *Foreign-Imposed Regime Change,* 12.

of the target state; multilateral support of the policy; and a low degree of diversity within the target state population favorably impact the probability of success of FIRC. The first two variables were chosen to determine if the imposing state can influence the process of FIRC through dedicated actions, or as is the case in third variable that the environment is static and effects the success of FIRC.

The reasons for FIRC are tied to some political goal of the state. All states maintain enduring national interests and strategic goals with some connection to the state's security and relative stability. States endeavor to achieve these goals while recognizing sovereignty, but with challenges to stability and security a state may determine that FIRC is required to create a more stable environment and a better peace. In this sense, FIRC is "a state's attempt to impose order and often its political self-image on the world."[7]

Individuals with a liberal international relations opinion argue that FIRC is unnecessary, and that treaties and diplomacy can achieve the same ends. The examples of Brazil and Argentina abandoning their nuclear aspirations through diplomatic negotiation are seen as proof.[8] They argue that the FIRC process contributes to greater instability. In contrast, President Bush's 2002 National Security Strategy addressed a requirement to supplement deterrence with alternatives in relation to rogue states.[9] If the imposing state envisions a threat, FIRC is an approach to mitigate the interstate threat.[10] Research shows

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[7] Ibid., 12.
[8] Arms Control Association. "Looking Back: Lessons from the Denuclearization of Brazil and Argentina." April 1, 2006, https://www.armscontrol.org/print/2023 (accessed June 4, 2018).
[9] The White House. *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, September 2002. https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/63562.pdf (accessed October 4, 2017), 15.
[10] Reiter, *Foreign-Imposed Regime Change,* 8.

that a postwar peace lasts longer with the implementation of FIRC within the losing state than without.[11]

History provides numerous examples of FIRC. The reasons and methods are varied, and states may not choose similar paths in imposing FIRC in different instances. Identification of variables either contributing or hindering success could lead to better implementation and increase the likelihood of success. Yet, this same methodology could also serve to deter a state from the pursuit of FIRC with the realization that the costs and commitment outweigh the political goal. This thesis argues that the defeat of the military of the target state, multilateral support of the policy, and a low degree of diversity within the target state population favorably affect the probability of success of FIRC.

These variables and the dependent variable of success are explained in the next chapter along with the methodology of this thesis. The three chapters following the explanation of methodology consist of individual case studies analyzing FIRC in the context of each variable in post-World War II Germany and Japan, and Iraq. Chapter 6 presents a discussion of the findings, and application of the variables applied to a larger set of FIRC cases without the level of detail of the proceeding cases. The conclusion discusses the value of FIRC and suggests areas for potential further research on the topic.

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[11] Nigel Lo, Barry Hashimoto, and Dan Reiter, "Ensuring peace: Foreign-Imposed Regime Change and Postwar Peace Duration, 1914–2001." *International Organization* Vol. 62, No. 4 (2008), 717-718, 729.

CHAPTER 2: Methodology

As a starting point, Peic and Reiter define Foreign Imposed Regime Change

(FIRC) as the imposition of either a change in the leadership or institutions, often both, of

one state by another state.[1]

Multiple variables potentially influence FIRC, but due to the time allotted for this

work and the constraints on length, only three variables are examined. Quantification of

these independent variables is required to test the thesis statement. The measurement for

the defeat of the military uses the mechanism of attrition as defined in Joint Publication

5-0. It involves the destruction of the target state's material capabilities, and ability to

effectively wage war.[2] FIRC often occurs following armed conflict, and a state's military

is often seen as the center of gravity of the state. The Department of Defense Dictionary

defines center of gravity as "the source of power that provides moral or physical strength,

freedom of action, or will to act."[3] If the military is defeated, and it is the true center of

gravity, one would expect a lower chance of resistance to FIRC due to capitulation of the

state.

Multilateral support of the policy is defined as capturing general international

support for the implementation process. Support is characterized as the participation of a

coalition sanctioned as result of an international decree, or generally accepted consensus

by the international community of the action. "Some leaders, such as French President

Jacques Chirac, have argued that military intervention and democracy building is best

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[1] Goran Peic and Dan Reiter, "Foreign-Imposed Regime Change, State Power and Civil War Onset, 1920-2004." *British Journal of Political Science* Vol. 41, No. 3 (2011), 454.
[2] U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, *Joint Operation Planning*, Joint Publication 5-0 (Washington, DC: The U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, 11 August, 2011): III-30.
[3] U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, *Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms,* Joint Publication 1-02 (Washington, DC: The U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, April 2018), 33.

advanced in states such as Kosovo when it is carried out by a broad multilateral coalition of democratic – in this case European – states."[4] At the other end of the spectrum, President George W. Bush advocated that a single state acting alone, or with the support of a small coalition was better suited in the pursuit of FIRC.[5] The hypothesis is that multilateral support as opposed to unilateral action directly correlates to the potential success of FIRC.

The final independent variable is related to the level of diversity within the target state population. Specifically, the diversity related to ethnicity, religion, and any particular tribal or other affiliation providing a distinguishing characteristic. A low degree of diversity should increase the potential success of FIRC. A low degree of diversity will be considered a distinguishing characteristic accounting for 90 percent or more in the particular category, e.g. ethnicity, religion, or tribal. This percentage is chosen based upon research demonstrating that once a minority group reaches a 10 percent threshold that the group has the ability to influence the greater population at large.[6] Each of these characteristics provided in this definition are individual variables representing a specific aspect of diversity, but they are grouped in this thesis to represent a state's diversity as a whole. The diversity within the state is considered as a whole, and not analyzed at a regional level within the state. A low degree of diversity is directly correlated to the successful implementation of FIRC.

These three independent variables should each influence the dependent variable of success of the FIRC process. For the purpose of this thesis, success is defined as a state of

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[4] Mesquita and Downs, *Intervention and Democracy,* 627.
[5] Ibid., 627.
[6] Xie, J., S. Sreenivasan, G. Korniss, W. Zhang, C. Lim, and B.K. Szymanski. "Social Consensus Through the Influence of Committed Minorities." *Physical Review* 84, no. 1 (July 2011), 1-8.

peace characterized by the absence of an intrastate war within fifteen years following FIRC, and the establishment of new sovereign government. The new government may consist of a change of institutions, leadership, or both. The absence of an intrastate war is chosen as studies show that FIRC increases the likelihood of civil war eightfold, and this challenges the premise that FIRC is a successful means to increasing stability or creating a better peace.[7] This thesis selects fifteen years as the period to determine success to accommodate for the inclusion of the most recent example of FIRC by the U.S. government in Iraq. Additionally, fifteen years provides a larger metric of time to determine if FIRC leads to civil war, or a more stable environment and a better peace.

A state or the international community typically turns to FIRC to reduce a perceived threat to the security and stability of the world order. Conversely, individual states may choose FIRC simply to "advance (their) foreign economic interests or spread (their) ideology."[8] History seems to offer strong support for the promise of FIRC as a means of reducing international threat.[9] This thesis examines three cases of FIRC related to the reduction of threat to test all three independent variables. The cases are as follows: World War II (WWII) Germany, WWII Japan, and Iraq (2003). Germany and Japan are widely seen as the greatest examples of success of FIRC. Therefore, this thesis uses these to identify key or unique features contributing to the success. Additionally, two cases are chosen from the pre-Cold War era, and one from the post-Cold War era to determine if the variables that influence success in the past still hold true in the present day.

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[7] Peic and Reiter, *Foreign-Imposed Regime Change, State Power and Civil War Onset, 1920-2004*, 454.
[8] Ibid., 455.
[9] Ibid., 453.

The author acknowledges additional challenges to this thesis. The analysis is primarily from the United States perspective. Examples of FIRC implemented by other states are not used; for example, providing the goals and views of the United Kingdom, France, or the Soviet Union in the case of Germany. Time of research and length of work constraints do not permit this additional analysis. Furthermore, while ideal research would select cases as homogeneous as possible, the cases chosen in this paper are quite different. This feature alone introduces multiple other factors including time period/era, culture, pre-existing government type, imposed government type, and region. Additionally, the specific methods of introducing FIRC are not fully expanded upon.

> The architect of FIRC can change the foreign policy preferences of the target country by executing, imprisoning, or exiling militarist leaders and their supporters, breaking up pro-war or pro-empire industrial cartels, revamping hypernationalist educational curricula, keeping hypernationalist/militarist statements and publications out of the public sphere, and/or empowering or importing leaders with more compliant and/or peaceful foreign policy preferences.[10]

Further research to include all 109 instances of FIRC from 1816-2008, as identified by Downes and Mooten, could alleviate the weaknesses identified by providing a larger dataset.[11]

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[10] Lo, Hashimoto, and Reiter, *Ensuring peace: Foreign-Imposed Regime Change and Postwar Peace Duration, 1914–2001*, 719.

[11] Downes and Monten, *Forced to be Free?: Why Foreign-Imposed Regime Change Rarely Leads to Democratization*, 108.

CHAPTER 3: Case Study Germany

The environment and decisions both leading up to and during the regime change process determine the potential success of the Foreign Imposed Regime Change (FIRC). The Treaty of Versailles signaled the end of World War I (WWI), but established the environment leading to World War II (WWII) approximately twenty years later. Although there was a peace agreement, the German military remained intact in respect to troops, with troops still on the frontline in France and Belgium when the agreement was signed, and returning to Berlin marching through Brandenburg as if victorious.[1] The agreement was a bargain to cease hostilities. An overwhelming sense of defeat did not exist in the German military or the populace. Rather, there was a belief that blame laid at the feet of the "revolutionaries who had overthrown the Kaiser…and due to the treachery by the democratic government that had supplanted the monarchy after the November revolution."[2] The victors did not seek to impose a regime change, but rather to impose harsh reparation requirements upon Germany.

Yet since the end of WWII, Germany remains a rather peaceful state devoid of participation in interstate war. German peacekeeping participation in Bosnia-Herzegovina required a constitutional change some fifty-years following WWII. The Allied leaders established a framework that they believed would eliminate the missteps made at the conclusion of WWI. At the Casablanca Conference in January 1943, Allied leaders decided that the goal for the conclusion of the war was unconditional surrender. Germany as a state would remain, but the government in current form would cease to exist.

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[1] Frederick Taylor, *Exorcising Hitler: The Occupation and Denazification of Germany* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2013), xviii-xix.
[2] Ibid., xix.

> Here I may point out that the term "unconditional surrender" does not mean that the German people will be enslaved or destroyed…Unconditional surrender means that the victors have a free hand. It does not mean that they are entitled to behave in a barbarous manner nor that they wish to blot out Germany from among the nations of Europe. If we are bound, we are bound by our own consciences to civilisation. We are not to be bound to the Germans as the result of a bargain struck. That is the meaning of "unconditional surrender".[3]

The establishment of unconditional surrender as a term of cessation of the war provided the framework to proceed with FIRC. The phrase "consciences to civilisation" came to light in the reorganization of Germany and the commitment shown by the victors in promoting an environment that permitted prosperity. This chapter will discuss how defeat of the military, multilateral support of the policy, and a low degree of diversity within Germany contributed to the successful implementation of FIRC.

Defeat of the Military

Seemingly learning a lesson from WWI in leaving the German military intact, Allied leadership made a concerted effort not to repeat the same mistake. In the last year, the German military was on its deathbed, and by the conclusion of the war absolutely defeated. Defeated in the minds of the soldiers, and in the spirit of the population. The will and ability to continue to fight was non-existent.[4] As Allied soldiers made their first incursions into Germany proper in September 1944, they encountered white flags on houses, and a general sense of relief from the population.[5] The outcome of the war was not in question, but rather of merely when the war might end. During the fall of 1944,

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[3] Hansard, House of Commons Debate, *War and International Situation*, Prime Minister Churchill's Address, 22 February 1944, Vol. 397, cc663-795, http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1944/feb/22/war-and-internationa-situation (accessed November 17, 2017).
[4] Taylor, *Exorcising Hitler: The Occupation and Denazification of Germany*, 7-15.
[5] Ibid., 2-3.

Eisenhower put out a statement to the German nation that left no doubt of the coming defeat and the environment to follow:

> The Allied Forces serving under my Command have now entered Germany. We come as conquerors, but not as oppressors. In the area of Germany occupied by the forces under my command, we shall obliterate Nazism and German Militarism. We shall overthrow the Nazi rule, dissolve the Nazi Party and abolish the cruel, oppressive and discriminatory laws and institutions which the Party has created. We shall eradicate that German Militarism which has so often disrupted the peace of the world. Military and Party leaders, the Gestapo and others suspected of crimes and atrocities, will be tried, and, if guilty, punished as they deserve.[6]

In December 1944, the German military attempted the Ardennes Offensive, but its tanks and transport vehicles were running out of fuel, and were left abandoned on the side of roads or in fields.[7] The march to the end of the war provided further examples of the complete defeat of the military. The population was jaded and fatigued from the years of fighting, the loss of a generation of males, the absence of basic necessities of life, and the thorough destruction of the environment around them. The setting was one of the German "male population between sixteen and sixty-five sucked into the armed forces, and by 1945 for the most part either dead, seriously wounded or captured. German civil society looked overwhelmingly female and/or elderly."[8] The population and common soldier became prey to a constant stream of bombing on a scale never previously seen; eliminating any uncertainty in their minds. This sentiment was captured in the words of one soldier, "It was all definitely over for us. Now, at last and far too late, I had really come to understand this. The much-vaunted miracle weapons and the 'military genius' of the Fuhrer were nothing against this casual, relaxed stream of a thousand four-engined

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[6] Ibid., 116-117.
[7] Ibid., 19-20.
[8] Ibid., 82.

bombers passing over our heads. There was no more hope, Germany was finished, it was all over."[9]

The will and ability to wage war were nonexistent at this stage, and the coming decisions by the Allied leaders ensured that this ability to wage a war of aggression remained nonexistent. During the Potsdam Conference in July 1945, the heads of the United States, the United Kingdom, and Soviet Union established terms for the surrender, occupation, and rebuilding of Germany. They instituted demilitarization as a priority. This idea of demilitarization continued throughout the implementation of FIRC in Germany with the introduction of the Morgenthau Plan in Joint Chiefs of Staff Directive 1067.[10] A disillusionment permeated the population and evaporated any will to resist, leaving the basic desire to survive, and a hope for a better future dependent on the conscience of the occupiers. This lack of resistance allowed the states' imposing FIRC on Germany to proceed unimpeded by any hostile action, objection, or obstruction that could inhibit the potential success of the implementation of FIRC.

Multilateral Support of the Policy

A coalition of states agreeing on a goal for the resolution of the war, and sharing a committed resolve shaped the environment contributing to the eventual success of FIRC in Germany. The coalition established unconditional surrender as the sole term for the cessation of hostilities, and later instituted a framework of policies to ensure the stability and subsequent prosperity of a new Germany. This section will focus on the creation of

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[9] Ibid., 80, from Ulrich Frodien, *Bleib ubrig. Eine Kriegsjugend in Deutschland*, p. 175.
[10] German History in Documents and Images, Directive to the Commander in Chief of the U.S. Occupation Forces (JCS 1067), April 1945, p. 2, http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=2297 (accessed November 20, 2017).

the Federal Republic of Germany, or West Germany. The opposition to Germany during WWII enjoyed wide support. The Allied side was composed of three major combatants: the United States, United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union. Seventeen other nations also contributed to the Allied efforts. Formalization of the alliance occurred on January 1, 1942 with the Declaration by United Nations signed by 26 states at the Arcadia Conference, and continued to support the war efforts with the establishment of regime change as the end state in the ensuing conferences.

Throughout the war the Big Four met to review progress, and to establish goals and a plan for the eventual fate of Germany. This included conferences in Potsdam, Casablanca, and Tehran. A theme maintained in the course of these meeting consisted of what was later characterized as the "Four D's" calling for the demilitarization, denazification, democratization, and decentralization of Germany.[11]

These policy objectives shaped the environment that permitted FIRC. Demilitarization focused on the goal of stripping Germany of an aggressive war capability.[12] The Allies achieved this by mandating language in the constitution limiting military capacity. The denazification process was committed to remove a cancerous ideology within the German state through the creation of the Nuremburg Tribunal, and Denazification Teams following a classification system to determine if individuals would be barred from public or offices of responsibility.[13] By the end of 1945, 42% of public officials were dismissed by the American Military Government for Nazi affiliation.[14] The establishment of the new government and constitution based upon liberal democratic

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[11] Taylor, *Exorcising Hitler: The Occupation and Denazification of Germany,* 68-69.
[12] Ibid., 69.
[13] Ibid., 96, 221-247, 261, 277.
[14] Ibid., 278.

policies inaugurated the regime change, but challenges remained due to the devastation of the war, and the dissolution of the government that required the Allies to impose order and stability. The victors were "faced with the duty of ruling, feeding and keeping order among seventy million or more Germans in a country whose infrastructure was largely wrecked, its industry and agriculture severely damaged, and whose towns and villages were flooded with homeless refugees and non-German 'displaced persons'."[15]

In this sense, the international community came together to promote a sense of stability, and eventual prosperity in Germany. Initially seen as a punitive measure, the denazification process evolved by the summer of 1946 as it was handed over to the control of the Germans with Allied oversight, and transitioned to a program focusing on rehabilitation.[16] Two weeks after the conclusion of the war "women, under-age soldiers, and representatives of various professional groups deemed crucial to the post-war survival of Germany were, proclaimed eligible for release (these groups included farmers, miners, railway workers and officials and telephone engineers)."[17] States, international organizations, and private citizens came to the aid of Germany in the form of medical supplies, clothing, and food. The establishment of Save Europe Now (UK), and the American Council of Voluntary Agencies, along with the Committee of Relief Agencies Licensed to Operate in Germany (CRALOG) in the United States, provided relief and assistance.[18] This marked the creation of CARE packages and by the end of 1946, CRALOG delivered 17-million pounds of food and clothing to Germany each

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[15] Ibid., 100.
[16] Ibid., 281-282.
[17] Ibid., 183.
[18] Ibid., 215, 216-217.

month.[19] The military government could not manage the situation alone, and in allowing

the external assistance the leaders fostered a more rapid return to stability and normalcy

for the German population. But, providing support and aid alone is not enough.

"Dawning realisation that unless Germany was allowed to work, and produce, to an

extent resembling her pre-war capacity, the country would forever be a basket case, a

mendicant nation dependent on the victors for its physical survival. A nation that might

then, as it had after 1918, turn viciously against its tormentors."[20] This overwhelming

multilateral support of the policy contributed to stabilizing the environment.

A turn occurred on the diplomatic front transitioning the environment from one of

maintenance to one of optimism and eventual prosperity. George Kennan's "The Long

Telegram" initiated the thought process of this change of thinking:

> It is not enough to urge people to develop political processes similar to our
> own. Many foreign peoples, in Europe at least, are tired and frightened by
> experiences of the past, and are less interested in abstract freedom than in
> security. They are seeking guidance rather than responsibilities. We should
> be better able than the Russians to give them this. And unless we do, the
> Russians certainly will.[21]

This pattern continued in a speech given by Secretary of State James F. Byrnes on

September 6, 1946 in Stuttgart, Germany following the decision to combine the British

and American zones in Germany. France later followed suit, allowing for the formation

of the Federal Republic of Germany. Byrnes stated that the people of Germany would not

be "denied" an opportunity to "improving" their condition, and that the United States was

committed to ensuring a peaceful, prosperous, secure, and stable Germany.[22] The

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[19] Ibid., 219.
[20] Ibid., 220.
[21] The National Security Archive, The George Washington University, *The Long Telegram*, 26 January 1945 by George Kennan, https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu//coldwar/documents/episode-1/kennan.htm (accessed November 12, 2017).
[22] German History in Documents and Images, *Stuttgart Speech ("Speech of Hope")*, by James F. Byrnes,

participation of multiple states, and non-governmental organizations contributed to the stabilization of Germany.

Degree of Demographic Diversity

At the time of the onset of hostilities in Germany, Germany maintained a relatively low level of demographic diversity. On the basis of religion, 99% of the population was Christian, while the remaining 1% of the population was Jewish.[23] A census data from 1900 provided that 92% of the population was German, while more recent data from July 2017 has German ethnicity at 91.5%, and in the period since WWII until 2017 Germany ethnicity has always been over 90%.[24] Data was not found on ethnicity for the period covering WWII, but given the similarity of data between these two time periods, one may infer a percentage in the same range. Germany maintained an extremely low level of diversity based upon religion and ethnicity during the war and the FIRC period following the war.

The population was homogenous, and due to this and the shared culture, could be expected to exhibit similar behavior and reactions to the implementation of FIRC. This idea could also be derived from the first section of this chapter in categorizing the shared sense of defeat and weariness within the population. The homogeneity is also what allowed the population to come back together, and what Secretary Byrnes recognized in

September 6, 1946, p. 3, http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=2300 (accessed November 20, 2017).

[23] United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Holocaust Encyclopedia, *The German Churches and the Nazi State,* https://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005206 (accessed February 2, 2018).

[24] Deutsche Verwaltungsgeschichte, *Statiski des Deutschen Reichs. Band 150: Die Volkszählung am,* 1 December 1990, http://www.verwaltungsgeschichte.de/fremdspr_krei.html (accessed February 15, 2018), and Central Intelligence Agency, *The World Factbook 2017*¸ https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/download/index.html (accessed December 9, 2017).

the approach of implementing FIRC by targeting of the population, and its right to improve its future with the acceptance of FIRC. A lower level of diversity lessens the potential complexity added by diverse population groups, and the requirement of additional courses of action to address every additional population segment individually.

Summary

The analysis of Germany provides insight into the successful implementation of FIRC. In the years following WWII, Germany emerged as a stable, self-sustaining, and peaceful state. A civil war did not arise in the aftermath, nor has Germany engaged in interstate war. An amendment to the constitution was even required for the state to support United Nations peacekeeping functions. In this case, the defeat of the military of the target state, multilateral support of the policy, and a low degree of diversity within the target state population favorably influenced the success of FIRC as hypothesized.

There is no doubt that the process in Germany was successful, but the analysis of this case does not unequivocally provide that these features dictated that success. The military was defeated, but so was the population as war weariness settled in. The war and the ensuing FIRC enjoyed a large degree of multilateral support. Finally, Germany was a largely homogeneous state based upon ethnicity and religion. These aspects contributed to the ease of implementation of FIRC, but they were not the only factors. Overall analysis of this case, along with finding of the other two cases, will be discussed in Chapter 6.

CHAPTER 4: Case Study Japan

Japan remained a relative closed nation-state until the arrival of Commodore

Perry on March 31, 1854. The sailing in of Perry's Black Ships forever changed the fate

of Japan. From this point on, the Japanese became aware of the power, influence,

technology, and wealth of the outside world, and they sought to become a leader in these

areas. "From the moment Commodore Perry had forced Japan open, its leaders had been

obsessed with becoming *ittō koku*, a country of the first rank."[1]

Japan developed a new manner of thinking similar to the Athenians as represented

by Thucydides, "while the strong do what they can and the weak suffer what they must,"

striking out on a course of Imperial expansion.[2] A fear of being left behind motivated the

Imperial interest throughout this period. "Japan would be relegated to "second-rate" or

"third-rate" status, claimed Prime Minister Tōjō Hideki among others, if it failed to strike

out and establish a secure imperium in Asia"[3] Under the Empire of Japan, the population

held these beliefs as inherent and the sentiment was even present in a Japanese song from

the 1880's noting "There is a Law of Nations, it is true, but when the moment comes,

remember, the Strong eat up the Weak."[4] This notion carried forward in Japan into

WWII.

Following the surrender of Japan, and during the early stages of occupation,

General Douglas MacArthur held a press conference and characterized Japan as "a

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[1] John W. Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999), 44.
[2] Thucydides. *The Landmark Thucydides. A Comprehensive Guide to the Peloponnesian* War. ed. Strassler, Robert (New York: Free Press; 1996), 352.
[3] Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II,* 44.
[4] George B. Sansom, *The Western World and Japan* (New York: Knopf, 1965), 407.

fourth-rate nation."[5] Such a description struck at the core of the Japanese population, and it was recognized that work was needed on both sides to improve the situation in Japan, and bring it back to prosperity by way of Foreign Imposed Regime Change (FIRC). This chapter discusses the role that the variables of defeat of the military of the target state, multilateral support of the policy, and a low degree of diversity within the target state population favorably influence the probability of success of FIRC.

<center>Defeat of the Military</center>

The Japanese military suffered absolute defeat by the end of World War II (WWII). The defeat was in the form of the loss of personnel, equipment, and with the surrender by the Emperor, the will to fight. The losses were not isolated to only the military, but involved the civilian population, and society as a whole. The Potsdam Declaration, agreed upon by the United States, United Kingdom, and China, established the disarmament and unconditional surrender as terms of peace. In total nine other states, and multiple colonies and commonwealths provided support in the war effort against Japan.

In terms of military losses, Japan's losses severely affected its ability to wage war. The Japanese military experienced losses estimated to be 1.74 million individuals by wars end, with approximately 4.5 million others wounded or ill.[6] General Walter Krueger noted the sense of defeat so overwhelming during the surrender ceremony, "their demeanor was so extremely somber as to indicate that they fully realized that their once-proud empire had been humbled into dust and that their national hopes and aspirations

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[5] Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II,* 44.
[6] John W. Dower, *Japan in War & Peace: Selected Essays* (New York: New Press, 1995), 121-122.

<center>19</center>

were at an end."[7] A once proud nation indoctrinated to believe resistance to the end was

better than accepting defeat did not possess the ability to resist.

> As it turned out, they also devoured themselves. Japanese died in hopeless
> suicide charges, starved to death in the field, killed their own wounded
> rather than let them fall into enemy hands, and murdered their civilian
> compatriots in places such as Saipan and Okinawa. They watched helplessly
> as fire bombs destroyed their cities – all the while listening to their leaders
> matter on about how it might be necessary for the "hundred million" all to
> die "like shattered jewels."[8]

The sheer level of defeat caused a shock to the psyche of the Japanese that

required a reevaluation of thought and philosophy in Japan. "Because the defeat was so

shattering, the surrender so unconditional, the disgrace of the militarists so complete, the

misery of the "holy war" had brought home so personal, starting over involved not

merely reconstructing buildings but also rethinking what it meant to speak of a good life

and good society."[9]

On August 15, 1945, Emperor Hirohito announced he would speak to the entire

population of Japan. The announcement itself highlighted the importance as "in the two

decades since he had ascended the Chrysanthemum Throne, Emperor Hirohito had never

once spoken directly to all his subjects."[10] The people of Japan were accustomed to

receiving his words in printed text, so with this announcement across Japan people

gathered around radios.[11] The resulting announcement ended the war for all in Japan.

There was not any debate concerning the continued efforts to fight and resist. The will

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[7] Walter Krueger, *From Down Under to Nippon: The Story of the Sixth Army in World War II* (Washington D.C.: Combat Forces Press, 1953), 339.
[8] Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II,* 22.
[9] Ibid., 25.
[10] Ibid., 33.
[11] Ibid., 34.

evaporated during the speech, and defeat was accepted. A sense of national and

individual guilt was pervasive within Japan.

> When he contemplated those of his subjects who had died in the war, the bereaved kin they left behind, and the extraordinary difficulties all Japanese now faced, he exclaimed, "my vital organs are torn asunder." For many of his listeners, this was the most moving part of the broadcast. Some confessed to being overcome by a sense of shame and guilt, in failing to live up to their sovereign's expectations, they had caused him guilt.[12]

In Tokyo, groups of people gathered outside the palace not to protest, but rather to "bow

in sorrow."[13] The Emperor noted that the surrender was necessary to prevent the

"extermination" of the Japanese race, and the "destruction of human civilization."[14]

Although the outcome of the war was already determined due to the level of loss

Japan suffered, up until this moment a cultural belief of resistance to the end remained.

This speech alone eliminated the will to fight within the Japanese, signaled acceptance of

unconditional surrender, and opened "the way for a great peace for thousands of

generations to come."[15] The Emperor's statement brought the realization of defeat into

the minds of the Japanese people.

Multilateral Support of the Policy

The war with Japan enjoyed international support and a level of commitment, of

the United States, that proceeded the implementation of FIRC. Twenty-six nations signed

the Declaration by United Nations on January 1st, 1942 authorizing hostilities against

Japan. Eight nations, and five colonial territories provided support during the war effort,

and demonstrated a commitment to policy.

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[12] Ibid., 36-37.
[13] Ibid., 38.
[14] Ibid., 36.
[15] Ibid.

Planning for the termination of the war, and future of Japan, consisted of a policy

of inclusion. The Cairo Declaration was a result of the Cairo Conference, held in

November 1943, with agreement by the United States, United Kingdom, and China,

which detailed the return of occupied territories at the conclusion of the war.[16] The

United States, United Kingdom, and China reached agreement with the Potsdam

Declaration on July 26, 1945. The declaration outlined the terms for ending the war with

Japan based upon unconditional surrender, disarmament and demilitarization, punishment

of war criminals, and occupation.[17]

While the planning and hostilities involved other nations, the operation primarily

consisted of the United States. General Douglas MacArthur served as the Supreme

Commander for the Allied Powers in Japan. At the height of occupation, the United

States maintained over a quarter-million military personnel in Japan.[18] The operation was

not solely unilateral, as the United Kingdom and Australia also provided troops for the

occupation, though MacArthur let them know he was in control by positioning the allied

forces in Hiroshima.[19]

The commitment that followed was evident in the coming years. The official

occupation of Japan lasted from August 1945 to April 1952, a period almost twice as long

as the hostilities of the war.[20] The introduction of the Marshall Plan and the aid provided

to stabilizing and reconstructing Japan further exhibited commitment to the people of

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[16] National Diet Library, Birth of the Constitution of Japan, *Cairo Communique*, December 1, 1943.
http://www.ndl.go.jp/constitution/e/shiryo/01/002_46shoshi.html (accessed December 20, 2017).
[17] National Diet Library, Birth of the Constitution of Japan, *Potsdam Declaration*, July 26, 1945.
http://www.ndl.go.jp/constitution/e/etc/c06.html (accessed December 20, 2017).
[18] Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II,* 43.
[19] Ibid., 73.
[20] Ibid., 23.

Japan, and the policy of FIRC. The commitment to the stabilization and reconstruction of Japan was a critical factor in determining the success of the FIRC process.

Degree of Demographic Diversity

Japan had an extremely low level of diversity based upon ethnicity and religion during this period. On mainland Japan, approximately 98% of the population was ethnically identified as Japanese in 1908.[21] State Shinto was instituted during this period requiring the entire Japanese population to ascribe to the beliefs of Shinto, and that the Emperor was divine. This characteristic displayed significant overlap in the capitulation of the Japanese Empire in the first section of this chapter. When the Emperor declared an end to the war, he represented their leader and everything the population believed, in one single figure. This extremely low level of diversity, and declaration by the Emperor, simultaneously ended all hostilities and embraced the coming changes associated with the FIRC process.

Japan was a homogeneous society. The population as a whole followed the Emperor as subjects, and heeded his decrees. When the Emperor conceded the national will to resist ended, and when the Emperor accepted MacArthur's rule, the population likewise did. This homogeneity within the society contributed to the success of FIRC implementation due to a lack of resistance and dissent.

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[21] National Diet Library Digital Collections, *Imperial Japan Static Population Statistics,* December 31, 1908, http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/805975/220 (accessed February 15, 2018).

Summary

Similar to the case study of Germany, Japan emerged out of WWII and FIRC as a secure and peaceful state. The imperialistic tendencies vanished from the psyche of the population with the acceptance of defeat by the Emperor. Japan has not engaged in conflict in the aftermath of FIRC, and maintains only a self-defense force militarily. The defeat of the Japanese military, multilateral support of the policy, and a low degree of diversity within Japan favorably influenced the probability of success of FIRC, once again as hypothesized.

The implementation of FIRC in Japan was successful, but there is an interrelation of variables that requires further discussion. The military was defeated, but the population equally accepted defeat with the Emperor announcing surrender across the radio. The difficulty lies is in determining whether the key was the defeat of the military or the will of the population. MacArthur took the lead, but the war effort and the FIRC process following enjoyed wide multilateral support in the sense of commitment to the stability and reconstruction of Japan. Lastly, Japan was a homogeneous state based upon ethnicity and religion which contributed to an acceptance of the defeat, and the FIRC implementation that followed. Overall analysis of this case along with finding of the other two cases will be discussed in Chapter 6.

CHAPTER 6: Case Study Iraq

Based upon the dependent variable of success described in Chapter 2, the Foreign Imposed Regime Change (FIRC) process in Iraq can be considered a failure. This case exhibits distinct differences in the analyzed variables of this thesis from the previous two cases. The Iraqi military was not defeated by the definition of attrition defined by Joint Publication 5-0. The policy chosen by the United States was not the result of an international decree or internationally recognized sanctioned coalition, and Iraq has a relatively high degree of diversity. Following the defeat, an armed insurgency developed, and years later the Iraqi government, along with support of other nations, fought against establishment of the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant in Northern Iraq.

The Bush Administration mistakenly believed that FIRC in Iraq would be a simple and quick process, but it has been anything but. Challenges to the success of the FIRC process occurred, and remain today due to ethnic divides and tensions. This chapter explores the environment that immediately proceeded the war, and the initial decisions within the first few months that shaped the environment for the FIRC process. Many of the decisions neglected to observe lessons learned in previous successful examples of FIRC.

Defeat of the Military

The Iraqi military was not defeated at the conclusion of the Iraq War by the definition of attrition, but rather disrupted.[1] President Bush stated "Mission Accomplished" on the deck of the USS Abraham Lincoln on May 1, 2003. The military

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[1] U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, *Joint Operation Planning*, Joint Publication 5-0 (Washington, DC: The U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, 11 August, 2011): III-30.

remained largely intact in respect to manpower and capable of impeding the FIRC process. The Iraqi military did not suffer the losses as exhibited in the cases of Germany and Japan. Rather, large numbers simply laid down their arms, and stopped fighting a conventional war that they knew was lost. The Iraqi military was disrupted in its ability to fight, but the personnel survived. It was not a defeat by attrition, and the same personnel later returned to lead an insurgency that impeded the FIRC process. A pattern of missed opportunities, and careless planning and decisions magnified the problem.

General Tommy Franks maintained a goal of capturing Baghdad, and seemingly neglected to notice the larger picture. Franks established a mantra that "speed kills", and rushed military forces forward, believing the capture of Baghdad eliminated the Saddam regime.[2] The tactics misidentified as a strategy largely "bypassed" the Iraqi military on its way to Baghdad.[3] There was a sense of futility to oppose the forces of the coalition in a conventional war, but the short duration of the war did not allow the same degree of attrition and weariness to permeate the ranks. A captured general of the Iraqi Army noted that he was not even aware that U.S. Forces where in Baghdad at the time of his capture.[4] Everyone might remember the toppling of the statue of Saddam in Baghdad by US Forces, but as retired Army Colonel Robert Killebrew noted, "We should not lose sight of the fact that, from the opposing view, the war isn't over."[5] The Iraqi military suffered a degree of fatalities from bombing resulting in a loss of the will to fight, but did not suffer large scale losses.[6] Rather, they decided to stop fighting in a conventional sense, noting

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[2] Thomas E. Ricks, *Fiasco: The American Military Adventure in Iraq* (New York: Penguin Press, 2006), 127-128, 135.
[3] Ibid., 135.
[4] Ibid., 134.
[5] Ibid., 135.
[6] Ibid., 125.

the futility of the effort against a technically superior foe. They gave up, but still maintained the manpower, will, and resources to resist and mount an insurgency. The Iraqi military was disrupted in its ability to wage war, but had not suffered attrition as the material capabilities remained.

The seeds of resistance were set with the survival of the Iraqi military. The Bush Administration's failure to plan for a Phase IV provided the equipment and the motivation. The military equipment and material remained available to fuel an insurgency, and was largely unsecured due to a lack of available troops. "In bunkers across Iraq there were tens of thousands of conventional weaponry – mortar shells, RPGs, rifle ammunition, explosives, and so on….Yet, U.S. commanders rolling into Iraq refrained from detonating those bunkers for fear that they also contained stockpiles of poison gas or other weaponry that might be blown into the air and kill U.S. soldiers or Iraqi civilians."[7] The personnel and equipment remained to impede the intentions of the United States in Iraq. The military defeat by attrition and war weariness eroded the ability of any potential insurgency in Germany and Japan, but this was not the same situation in Iraq.

The Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) further exacerbated the problem. Initial plans detailed the maintenance of some degree of the Iraqi military, and putting it to work at rebuilding the country.[8] The Iraqis were told that many of those in municipal positions, the military, and police forces would be allowed to remain. At the start of the transition, a degree of stability remained as general services continued to be provided for the population. Everything changed on May 23, 2003, when CPA released CPA Order

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[7] Ibid., 145-146.
[8] Ibid., 103, 161.

Number 2 – Dissolution of the Iraqi Entities.[9] Immediately, over 700,000 individuals that were members of the military, police, domestic security, and Presidential Security were out on the streets. The order ""abruptly terminated the livelihoods of these men and created a vast pool of humiliated, antagonized, and politicized men", noted Faleh Jabar, an expert on the Baathist Party who was a senior fellow at the U.S. Institute for Peace. Many of these men were armed.""[10] The process here immediately beckons for similarities with denazification, but the process was not the same. The CPA barred any individual with Baath affiliation, while in Germany individuals were not summarily banned for Nazi affiliation. Decisions in Germany were made in consideration with the level of participation, and recognizing that civil authorities needed to remain in order to contribute to stabilization of the country.

Multilateral Support of the Policy

The Iraq War of 2003 did not enjoy levels of international support similar to that of Germany and Japan. The United States seemed determined to set out alone, if necessary. President George W. Bush "implicitly dismissed the necessity of a broad-based coalition and stressed the importance of the unity of command that can often be most effectively achieved by a single democratic state acting alone or in concert with a small coalition."[11] Secretary of State Colin Powell delivered a speech on February 5, 2003, before the United Nations (UN) noting the position that UN Resolutions were not working. He told the audience, "The issue before us is not how much time we are willing

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[9] Ibid., 162-165
[10] Ibid., 162.
[11] Mesquita and Downs, *Intervention and Democracy,* 627.

to give the inspectors to be frustrated by Iraqi obstruction. But how much longer are we willing to put up with Iraq's noncompliance before we, as a council, we, as the United Nations, say: 'Enough. Enough.'"[12] The lack of wide international support did not prevent the United States (US) from pursing a course of action without the support of the international community in the form of United Nations sanction.

During the Wehrkunde Security Conference, from February 7-9, 2003, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld insisted that the US was right, and the international community needed to fall in line.[13] German Foreign Minister Joshka Fischer offered an alternative opinion asking, "Why now?...Are we in a situation where we should resort to violence now?", and continued with a warning, "You're going to have to occupy Iraq for years and years. The idea that democracy will suddenly blossom is something that I can't share…Are the Americans ready for this?"[14] Comparisons can be made between this course and Japan, but the occupation in Japan did not encounter a resistant population and armed insurgency opposing the FIRC process.

The failure to listen to outsiders was not only limited to the international community. Numerous sources familiar with the environment pre-invasion note the absence of a concerted planning effort. "Spooked by its own false conclusions about the threat, the Bush administration hurried its diplomacy, short-circuited its war planning, and assembled an agonizingly incompetent occupation."[15] Less than a month prior to the invasion, the only interagency group convened to include representatives from the United

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[12] The White House, Archives of President George W. Bush, *U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell Addresses the U.N. Security Council*, February 5, 2003, Speech by Colin Powell, https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2003/02/20030205-1.html (accessed October 9, 2017).
[13] Ricks, *Fiasco: The American Military Adventure in Iraq,* 94-95.
[14] Ibid., 95.
[15] Ibid., 3-4.

Kingdom and Australia on February 21-22, 2003.[16] The official note taker recorded an

overwhelming consensus that the group should have met before, and due to the ill-

planning not enough troops were being allocated for "securing or policing" worryingly:

> We risk letting much of the country descend into civil unrest, chaos whose
> magnitude may defeat our national strategy of a stable new Iraq, and more
> immediately, we place our own troops, fully engaged in the forward fight,
> in greater jeopardy… (security) is far and away the greatest challenge, and
> the greatest shortfall. If we do not get it right, we may change the regime,
> but our national strategy will likely fall apart.[17]

In the end, the administration proceeded with the plan to go "to war in Iraq with

scant solid international support and on the basis of incorrect information…and then

occupied the country negligently."[18] Three other nations provided troops for the invasion:

the United Kingdom, Australia, and Poland. The coalition was not endorsed by any

decree or approval of sanctioned military action against Iraq by the international

community. The decision did not enjoy recognized multilateral or international

community support. As noted with the case studies of Germany and Japan, recognized or

internationally sanctioned support could have provided the necessary additional

perspective and discussion to identify potential risks involved in the FIRC process in

Iraq, and alleviated and/or mitigated the requirements placed upon the U.S. from a

resource and manpower aspect. In the cases of Germany and Japan, an international

organization did not exist to issue a decree in support of Allied action, but a group of 26

nations came together to sign a Declaration of United Nations against the hostile actions

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[16] Ibid., 101.
[17] Ibid., 101-102.
[18] Ibid., 3.

of Germany and Japan. This declaration served to validate the necessity of regime change as the end state to ensure stability and peace.

Degree of Demographic Diversity

Iraq maintains a much higher degree of demographic diversity based upon ethnicity and religion as compared to the cases of Germany and Japan. According to the 2003 Central Intelligence Agency World Factbook, 75-80% of the country was Arab, while Kurd represented 15-20% of the population, with other minority ethnic groups representing 5%.[19] While the majority of the country was Muslim at 97%, this number is comprised of 60-65% Shi'a and 32-37% Sunni.[20] Although Islamic, the two branches harbor enough historical dissimilarities to be considered separate and distinct for the purpose of diversity. In Germany, statistically there was a divide within the Christian population between Protestant and Catholics, but those differences were not as manifested in the daily way of life, and how society should be governed as related to religion as they are in Iraq. Other religious groups made accounted for 3% of the population.[21] More importantly, Iraq maintains a tribal structure governing everyday life of the individual. There are over 150 individual tribes present in Iraq.[22]

The level of diversity presents a challenge to the potential successful implementation of FIRC. Rather than dealing with a homogenous population with similar views and culture, the imposing state must concern itself with an increasingly varying

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[19] Central Intelligence Agency, *The World Factbook 2003*, https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/download/download-2003/index.html (accessed December 9, 2017).

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid.

[22] University of Nebraska-Lincoln, *Iraqi Ethnic, Tribal, and Religious Groups,* https://www.unl.edu/rhames/courses/ppoint/iraq.pdf (accessed February 2, 2018).

problem set. Every group has different needs, demands, and perspectives. With these increased requirements, the imposing state inherits an environment in which it must deal with more potential actors in an effort to appease and/or win the support of the population. Without the support, stability is not restored as quickly and the population challenges the FIRC process.

Summary

The implementation of FIRC in Iraq cannot be categorized as a success. In the immediate aftermath, and since the regime change, the country remained unstable. The state experienced significant security challenges, to include armed conflict to regain control of a breakaway territory claiming autonomy. While Iraq does not pose an immediate military threat to other states in the form of waging interstate war, the internal stability of the state contributes to greater instability in the region.

While the military surrendered with the toppling of the government, it was not defeated in the sense of attrition. The ability to resist perceived occupation forces remained. The endeavor did not enjoy multilateral support as determined by any international decree or sanctioning of action. Finally, and distinctly different from the previous cases, Iraq crosses the ten-percent threshold based upon ethnic diversity.

CHAPTER 7: Discussion

"War ends when belligerents agree to stop fighting," but peace breaks down when the agreement ends.[1] Foreign Imposed Regime Change (FIRC) is an approach to effect change in other states to bring about stability and a better peace. To increase the chance of success, and ease the transition period and the shock placed upon the population of the target country, it is essential to understand the variables influencing the process. This thesis analyzed and evaluated three independent variables and their relationship to the dependent variable of success as applied to the implementation of FIRC.

Defeat of the Military

Based upon analysis of the cases, there appears to be a direct correlation between the defeat of the military of the target state, and successful implementation of FIRC. In two of the cases, the defeat of the military was characterized by attrition. These were the two greatest examples of successful FIRC: post-World War II Germany and Japan. In the third case, according to the definition of success provided in this thesis, FIRC implementation was unsuccessful. FIRC gave rise to an insurgency, and later to instability and a breakaway ungoverned region of the country requiring further armed conflict.

The analysis provides a correlation between the defeat of the military and successful implementation of FIRC, but also identified another variable potentially overlapping. In the cases examined, the will of the people was similarly affected. In Germany and Japan, the countries were completely devastated, and generations were lost.

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[1] Lo, Hashimoto, and Reiter, *Ensuring peace: Foreign-Imposed Regime Change and Postwar Peace Duration, 1914–2001*, 719.

While the military lost the ability to wage war, the population lost the ability to resist any longer. The longer war and scale of destruction experienced was within eyesight for all to see. It was inescapable, and the population weary. In the case of Japan, the military was an operational center of gravity, but ultimately more was needed to end the war. The loss of life as a result of the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the culmination of fear of extermination of the Japanese people displayed the key strategic center of gravity as the Emperor, and this was the key influencer upon the will of the people. With the Emperor's single announcement the will of the people and all resistance ceased to exist

In Iraq, the military was not defeated by the definition of attrition. The tactics of General Franks "Speed kills," led to the disruption of the military. Yet, the speed of the victory did not allow attrition of the Iraqi military, and the population did not experience the long effects of war or scale of destruction of Germany or Japan. The precision guided weapons of present day did not completely level cities. There was fighting, but it was "Mission Accomplished" in such a short period that there was no sense of war weariness. Insurgency developed within the country as the military, although dismissed, retained capabilities and the population retained a will to resist. The insurgency gave way to further instability, lawlessness, and corruption allowing for the growth of the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant.

In this manner, it seems that the defeat of the military and the will of the people overlap in the analysis of these cases, and it is impossible to determine from this limited analysis whether the attrition of the military or will to resist within the population contribute to FIRC implementation. In Germany and Japan, both of these situations occurred, while in Iraq both did not occur. It could be a situation in which both states,

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attrition of the military and defeating the will of the population, are required to contribute to the success of FIRC implementation. If this is true, a challenge to present day and future planners will be to reconcile a situation in which the military of the target country could be defeated due to modern day technology and precision guided weapons, but with the population escaping the effects of war. Further research identifying examples of such a phenomena would prove beneficial in attempting to disassociate this overlap, to determine if the effect on the implementation of FIRC is due to the defeat of the military or a pliable and weary population unable to possess the will to resist the change.

<div align="center">Multilateral Support of the Policy</div>

Based upon analysis of the cases, there appears to be a direct correlation between multilateral support of the policy, and successful implementation of FIRC. The efforts in Germany and Japan received wide support, and both were backed by Declation of United Nations that validated the need for regime change as a necessary end state. Although the international community increased support and presence in Iraq since the initial endeavor, the war and FIRC process did not enjoy support in the form of any international decree. By and large, the international community did not envision Iraq as an existential threat to stability and world order as in the case of Japan and Germany, and as a result did not endorse the action.

From the analysis, there does not appear to be any doubt that greater support promotes success of the process, and this may largely be attributable to the ability to pool resources. FIRC frequently involves the disruption of security, and the provision of basic services to a population. The ability to share in restoring these features, and reconstruction of the country is augmented the wider the support for the effort. In WWII,

this involved non-governmental organizations stepping in to provide much needed relief and aid to the populations. The ability to restore such basic needs is essential to head off potential discontent, and opposition to FIRC implementation. In the case of Iraq, the lack of international support of the operation resulted in the initial lack of necessary aid to stabilize the country.

Although this discussion found evidence of this variable having a correlation with the success of FIRC, in examining this variable another unexpected variable became readily apparent. A variable related to planning, and having an appropriate strategic plan before endeavoring to pursue FIRC. The analysis conducted at this time deems it is impossible to deconflict whether it was the wide support effecting FIRC, or the inclusion of a strategy and planning as a result of multilateral inclusion in the process. Both Germany and Japan included formalized and sanctioned support, but they also included well-defined strategic plans for the ending of hostilities, and follow-on actions. Iraq did not include either, and this brings about the question of whether the challenges presented to the FIRC process were due to the lack of support, a lack of planning, or a lack of a proper strategy for the ending of the war, and follow-on operations.

There are cases, such as Panama, in which unilateral action was successful. Again, this could be attributed to the public support within the target state, as the action in Panama was taken to install democratic leader to power. Although multilateral support contributes to successful implementation of FIRC, successful implementation of FIRC is not dependent upon multilateral support. The concept of scale and scope of the target nation in relation to the imposing state comes into play concerning the level of resources

required. Additionally, the commitment or resolve of the imposing state can mitigate the lack of support.

Degree of Demographic Diversity

Based upon analysis of the cases, there appears to be a direct correlation between a low level of demographic diversity and the successful implementation of FIRC. At the time of FIRC implementation, the populations of Germany and Japan were homogeneous. In contrast Iraq had a relatively high level of diversity. Distinct diversity related to tribal affiliation, religion, and ethnicity contributed to internal fractures in Iraq.

In formulating an implementation plan, a homogenous state lessens the potential problem set for the imposing state. In the cases of Germany and Japan following defeat, the populations acted as a single body seeking some semblance of stability, and a return to normalcy. "What they were doing, however, was what all people do in moments of traumatic change; they were finding – inventing, if need be – something familiar to hold on to."[2] The populations could be addressed as a collective, and seemingly reacted as a group. In both countries, when a collective hope or optimism for the future was provided, the occupation and implementation of FIRC appears to have turned a corner. In Germany this occurred with the speech given by Secretary of State Byrnes. In Japan, it occurred with the realization of the importance of the role of the Emperor, and in allowing the Emperor to remain in power. This act allowed the Japanese to maintain a certain degree of dignity.[3]

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[2] Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II,* 30.
[3] Ibid., 27.

In Iraq, the relatively high level of diversity complicated the implementation of FIRC. The diversity represented in tribal leadership, ethnicity, and religion required concerted efforts to appease multiple stakeholder groups rather than to have an ability to apply policies uniformly with an anticipated result. The internal dynamics meant that any benefit provided to one demographic might be met with unexpected results or objection from another.

CHAPTER 8: Conclusion

States will continue to utilize the approach of Foreign Imposed Regime Change (FIRC) as long as they desire to mitigate perceived threats and increase stability. The motivations vary from securing peace and stability to furthering their own economic or political interest.

This thesis analyzed three variables and their potential relation to FIRC. In the process of analyzing and evaluating these variables, this thesis unexpectedly encountered additional variables at play, and an interrelation between multiple variables. The defeat of the military is positively correlated to the success of FIRC, but this work was not able to disassociate how the will of the population affected this outcome. In a similar light, the second variable related to the degree of multilateral support of the policy provided a positive correlation to the success of FIRC, but a variable involving the application of a strategy appeared and overlapped in the cases used in this study. Finally, the third variable that relates a low degree of diversity based upon ethnicity, religious beliefs, or tribal affiliation appears to have a direct correlation to the successful implementation of FIRC. According to new war theorists, this last variable is one that states will increasingly encounter as wars evolve to account for growing global diversity.

Most importantly, this thesis entreats the idea of whether a state should pursue FIRC if these variables are not present. This thesis does not suggest this as an all or nothing proposition, but rather an analysis of the variables at play in an effort to better understand the problem, and potentially effect or shape the environment to increase the chance of success. It is impossible to change the level of diversity within a state targeted for FIRC, but a better information campaign, and understanding of the needs of the

population could increase success. Examples of unilateral implementation of FIRC exist to include actions by the United States in Hawaii, Panama, and Nicaragua without even discussing the actions of the Soviet Union in imposing FIRC within the Warsaw Pact nations. When considering these examples, history shows that a state can successfully implement FIRC unilaterally, but these examples relate to instances in which the target state was greatly inferior to the implementing state. Does the relative size, economic or military strength influence the success of FIRC implementation?

Further study to include additional cases, possibly to include the 109 instances of FIRC from 1816-2008 identified by Downes and Monten would prove useful.[1] Such a study could provide the analysis to determine in each case the extent to which each variables is significant.

FIRC is inherently disruptive to the target state. The long-term strategic goal of the state imposing FIRC might be to increase peace and stability, but in the short-term regional stability is most often similarly disrupted. Further research into the variables influencing FIRC is essential to minimize this destabilization, and ultimately increase peace.

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[1] Downes and Monten, *Forced to be Free?: Why Foreign-Imposed Regime Change Rarely Leads to Democratization*, 108.

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