

NATIONAL DEFENSE UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE FOR NATIONAL STRATEGIC STUDIES

**Interagency and Political-Military
Dimensions of
Peace Operations:
Haiti - A Case Study**

**Edited by
Margaret Daly Hayes
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Foreword

This report documents the fifth in a series of workshops and roundtables organized by the INSS Center for Advanced Concepts and Technology (ACT). These meetings bring together operators, planners, researchers, and analysts to identify and examine selected aspects of command and control in coalition operations and Operations Other Than War (OOTW) and to advance the process of developing one or more Mission Capability Packages (MCPs) to support combined and coalition operations.

ACT seeks to improve the state of the art and practice of command and control by undertaking selected research and analysis initiatives and by serving as a bridge between the operational, technical, analytical, and educational communities. The Center focuses on emerging requirements and mission areas where new concepts are needed. One of the problem areas identified in ACT discussions of peace operations is that of interagency civilian-military coordination.

Individuals interested in participating in this initiative or other ACT-sponsored activities are invited to contact either myself or ACT Director, Captain W. Oscar Round, U.S. Navy, at (202) 287-9210, ext. 545.



Dr. David S. Alberts
Director, ACTIS

Acknowledgments

This report is the product of a workshop organized for the National Defense University's Center for Advanced Concepts and Technology (ACT) by Dr. Margaret Daly Hayes and RAdm Gary F. Wheatley USN (Ret.) of Evidence Based Research, Inc. (EBR), supporting ACT. Dr. Richard E. Hayes of EBR chaired the meeting. The workshop was prompted by the dramatically different emphases apparent in two separate renditions of the Haiti experience—one by a civilian and one by a senior military officer. These different perspectives suggested that a comparison of interagency and civilian-military planning concerns during the buildup to *Operation Uphold Democracy* might provide useful insights for ACT's ongoing examination of command arrangements in coalition and military Operations Other Than War (OOTW). The workshop was attended by senior officials of both civilian and military agencies. More senior civilians attended than senior military, an indication, perhaps, of the growing recognition that interagency command and control needs to be seriously addressed.

Both the workshop and this report benefitted very importantly from the help and participation of Ambassador James F. Dobbins, Special Haiti Coordinator, Department of State; Mr. Michael G. Kozak, Head, Haiti Working Group, Department of State; Mr. John Christiansen, Director, Haiti Task Group, Office of the Secretary of Defense; BGen George F. Close, Jr. and Major Grant Steffan, 10th Mountain Division, USA; and Colonel Mark

Boyatt USA, Commander, 3d Special Forces Group. Capt. W. Oscar Round USN, Col. John A. Cope USA (Ret.), Ambassador Robert Oakley of NDU/INSS, Mr. John Merrill of OSD/Haiti Task Group, Ambassador Dobbins, and Mr. Richard L. Layton of EBR provided useful comments on the draft manuscript. Dr. Margaret Hayes and RAdm Wheatley prepared this report. Ms. Rosemaria Bell of EBR prepared the manuscript, while Mr. Juan Medrano of NDU's Information Management Directorate, Visual Information Division, designed the cover. The authors gratefully acknowledge the help and contribution of each of these individuals while assuming responsibility for any errors of omission or commission.

Interagency and
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Chapter 1.

ACT Workshops

Background and Purpose

The workshop on Interagency and Political-Military Dimensions of Peace Operations was held at the National Defense University on May 24, 1995, the fifth in a series that explores advanced command relationships and technologies. The workshops are sponsored by the Center for Advanced Concepts and Technology (ACT), which has a charter from The Joint Staff to conceptualize and develop Mission Capability Packages (MCPs) that will support improved joint and combined command and control (C²) for Operations Other Than War (OOTW), including coalition peace operations. MCPs are best described as coherent, comprehensive approaches to a particular set of missions and levels of technology that enable effective integration of the force structure, doctrine, command and control arrangements, and the technologies

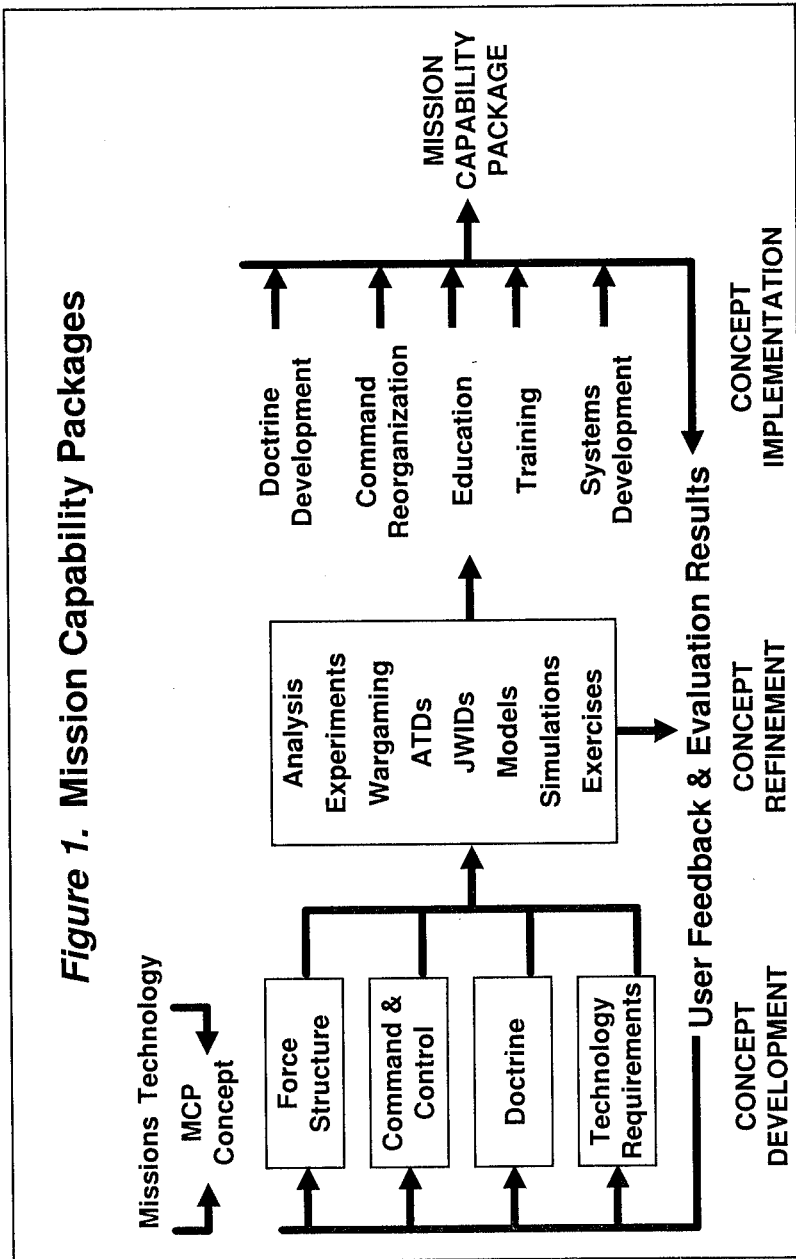
required to accomplish the mission. *Figure 1* illustrates MCP development. Each stage of the development has a feedback loop to continually refine the process.

In addition to developing MCPs, ACT serves as the bridge between the technical and operational communities, creating venues for communication between the two groups.

ACT workshops are designed to focus on command and control issues by bringing together select groups of senior analysts and operators to explore a particular issue, operation, or problem. A primary goal is to analyze and improve the linkages between the military operational and technical communities. Participants include the activity's sponsors (The Joint Staff and the Assistant Secretary of Defense for C³I), the services, representatives of the U.S. CINCs, other selected U.S. Government agencies, academics, and private organizations with relevant expertise. All ACT workshops are conducted on a non-attribution basis and work toward consensus on major issues. Evidence Based Research, Inc. (EBR) acts as rapporteur for the discussions.

Each ACT workshop to date has built upon the lessons learned from previous sessions. The first workshop focused on identifying unique command and control requirements and essential functions of coalition peace operations. The second dealt

Figure 1. Mission Capability Packages



with designing ideal command arrangements for peace operations involving a U.S. combined joint task force (CJTF), and the third expanded this perspective to include the experience of Western Hemisphere peace operators. While the first two workshops looked at the issues from the U.S. perspective only, the third validated concepts and added new insights from an experienced group of senior operators from seven other countries in the Western Hemisphere.

The first three workshops identified two areas that warranted additional study. The first area, the issue of technology in Operations Other Than War, emerged as a qualitatively different problem. A fourth workshop was held to examine OOTW issues and related technologies, including the feasibility and employment of non-lethal weapons (NLW). The second area, interagency and civilian and military organization communication, was identified as a problem area in all of the peace operations studied. Widely regarded as an operation that “went right,” Haiti offered an opportunity to explore interagency relations in an operation close to home that had high visibility and a greater degree of interagency civilian-military coordination and planning than the other operations examined to date. The Haiti workshop reported here was convened to explore those issues.

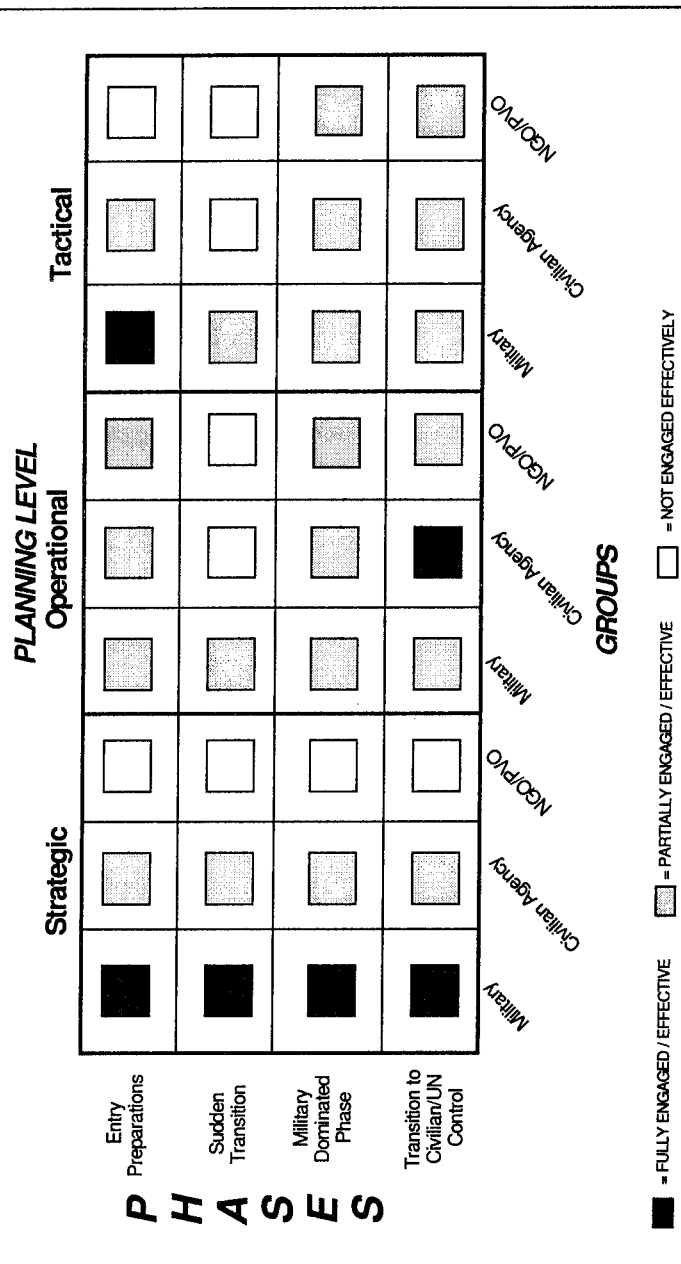
The Haiti workshop was a rich mix of senior civilian and military officials from the Department

of Defense, Department of State, Department of Justice, Agency for International Development, and from the relevant operational commands and the Coast Guard (Participants are listed in Appendix A). Each participant brought first-hand experience in the planning and execution of the Haiti operation. For the first time in the series, an official from a Private Voluntary Organization (PVO) participated. The group achieved a high degree of candor in wide-ranging discussions.

Examination of the Haiti operation was divided into four phases of the evolution of the operation—the planning phase, the military operation itself, the transition to civilian control, and the transfer to UN responsibility. In each phase, the participants assessed decision processes and activities taking place at the strategic, operational, and tactical planning levels and within military, civilian, and nongovernmental organizations. This structural framework is illustrated in *Figure 2*.

By differentiating the discussion of strategic, operational, and tactical areas, comments and observations were directed to key command and control issues. Nevertheless, discussion revealed that many of the key lessons to be learned from this experience were concentrated in specific phases in the evolution of the operation, particularly at the interfaces of civilian-military and strategic-operational planning. The shading in *Figure 2* depicts these differences. One of the

Figure 2 . Analytical Framework



workshop's most significant conclusions was the need to improve communications between these planning levels as well as between civilian and military officials at the same planning levels.

Overview

This report summarizes the workshop discussions and analyzes the issues that arose. It does not pretend to be the definitive statement on *Operation Uphold Democracy*. The rapporteurs have adhered to the discussion and observations of workshop participants. The report seeks to reflect those individuals' insights into the specific problems of civilian-military and interagency planning as they relate to the issues of command and control. Chapter 2 develops the chronology of the overall operation with a time line displaying the relationship between political events and the planning process. Chapter 3 analyzes what went right in the operation and what contributed to success. Chapter 4 is an analysis of the issues that arose between DoD and the other organizations involved, and of the issues that arose between the strategic, operational, and tactical levels within and outside DoD. Policy and organizational issues are examined, as well as issues perceived as unique to the Haiti operation. Lessons learned are summarized in the final chapter.

Chapter 2.

Haiti:

A Chronology

of Events

The evolution of the Haiti crisis was defined by a complex combination of U.S. domestic and international political considerations. Political events impacted the military planning process in many ways and are critical to understanding the evolution and idiosyncrasies of the operation. In particular, the operation developed over a protracted period in which political decision makers pursued a diplomatic course of action that did not admit to possible U.S. military action.

Table 1 at the end of this chapter (page 18) summarizes the chronology of events between October 1993 and January 1995.

Jean-Bertrand Aristide was elected President of Haiti in December 1990 in that country's first open and fair election. A populist priest whose followers came mostly from the poor communities of Haiti, Aristide experienced difficulties in governing from the beginning—in part because he did not control the legislative branch of his government and in part because he was resisted by elements of the status quo. Street violence broke out shortly after Aristide was elected. Because he appeared to sanction his own followers' violence against political opponents, Aristide enjoyed only lukewarm support within the U.S. government.

On September 30, 1991, after only seven months in office, Aristide's government was overthrown by officers of the Haitian army, and Aristide was flown into exile, first to Caracas and then to the United States. Henceforth, U.S. and international policy was focused on restoring elected civilian government in Haiti. The United Nations and the Organization of American States (OAS) took up Aristide's cause and sought to mediate between Aristide and the military. The OAS sought a voluntary trade embargo from its members without good results. On June 16, 1993, the UN Security Council passed a binding resolution imposing an embargo on all petroleum and arms sales to Haiti and ordering a freeze on overseas financial assets of Haitian officials and business elite. Sanctions took effect on June 23.

Shortly thereafter, in July 1993, representatives of the Aristide government and the military met separately with U.S. and UN mediators at Governors Island, New York, where an agreement was reached on a process and a time frame for the transition back to democratic government. Under the accord, the sanctions would be lifted immediately; the military leaders would step aside and Aristide would be restored to power by October 30, 1993, or sanctions would be re-imposed.

Early in the fall of 1993, in preparation for implementing the Governors Island accord, the U.S. sent a contingent of 193 U.S. and 25 Canadian troops—engineers and trainers—to Haiti aboard the *USS Harlan County*. The group was an advance of a 1267-man UN police and military mission to train Haitian police and army and rebuild the Haitian infrastructure, as agreed under the accord. Arriving in Port-au-Prince a week after 18 U.S. soldiers had been killed by tribal guerrilla forces in Somalia, the *Harlan County* was greeted by angry, chanting crowds and denied entry to the dock. After a day of stand-off, on October 12, 1993, the *Harlan County* was ordered to depart Haiti. Inside Haiti, the pullback was taken as a sign of weakened U.S. resolve to implement the Governors Island agreement. Violence increased sharply. On October 13, the UN Security Council voted unanimously to re-impose the oil and arms embargo. Although DoD

continued to insist that it was unwise to use U.S. troops in Haiti, a 20-member planning cell was established at the U.S. Atlantic Command (USACOM) to prepare for such a contingency.

On December 22, 1993, the U.S. issued an ultimatum to the Haitian military that unless they stepped down by January 15, 1994, the fuel and arms embargo would be expanded. Again, the deadline passed. In ensuing weeks, the U.S. government wavered, uncertain about Aristide's ability to govern or his commitment to reconciliation. Policy focused on building support for a broad moderate coalition within Haiti. The U.S. briefly considered whether Aristide should step aside in favor of a figure more acceptable to Haiti's business elite and military.

By early spring, the Defense Department, which continued to be opposed to using military force in Haiti¹, began to assess possible scenarios. Papers were prepared comparing and contrasting recent operations in Grenada, Panama, and Somalia. The after-action reports of lessons learned from *Operation Just Cause* in Panama and *Operation Provide Hope* in Somalia were circulated within the Pentagon. This caused

¹ *Opposition to the Haiti action was based on a number of factors, including reluctance to commit the military to yet another nation-building exercise and a belief that military action could not solve the underlying problems that contributed to Haiti's political fragility.*

Secretary of Defense Perry to become concerned that failure to be actively involved in the early decision stages might impact negatively on his department as events progressed. He instructed the department to begin interagency planning. In April, USACOM briefed Secretary Perry on military planning accomplished to date.

In March, responding to the Haitian military leaders' continuing intransigence, President Clinton pledged a "more aggressive effort" to restore Aristide. In mid-April the UN mediator, Dante Caputo, was rebuffed by the Haitian military, who rejected the latest terms for transition.

Beginning in March and continuing through April, domestic U.S. political forces began aggressive lobbying against the Administration's policy of returning refugees to Haiti and delaying the restoration of Aristide. The Congressional Black Caucus criticized the Administration on both counts, and in April Randall Robinson of TransAfrica began a highly-visible hunger strike protesting the refugee return policy. Aristide criticized U.S. policy and publicly disagreed with Special Advisor Lawrence Pezullo's negotiating strategy. On April 22, 1994, the Administration announced its intention to seek a total economic embargo of Haiti and stated that the "use of force is not ruled out." Pezullo resigned in protest over this change of policy direction. Two weeks later, former

Congressman and Congressional Black Caucus head William Gray was named Special Advisor in his place. His focus was to be on resolving the refugee question.

On May 5, the UN Security Council passed a resolution demanding the resignation of the Haitian military leaders, instituting a global trade embargo, and implementing other financial and travel restrictions. With the strong possibility that hostile military action would take place, USACOM tasked the U.S. Army Special Operations Command (SOCOM) at Ft. Bragg, North Carolina, to develop a plan (Plan 2370) for a military operation to forcibly remove the Haitian military and establish a secure environment so that Aristide could be restored. The Agency for International Development (AID) began developing its own plans for assisting democratic forces and for training a new police force.

By July, policymakers still entertained the hope that the Haitian military would step aside. USACOM instructed the Army's 10th Infantry Division (Mountain) at Ft. Drum, New York, to develop an alternative plan (Plan 2380) for permissive entry into Haiti. The Coast Guard became actively involved in the planning for the military operation for the first time in August.

Meanwhile, the 24th Marine Expeditionary Unit (24 MEU) deployed aboard *USS Inchon* to the

waters off Haiti to send a signal of imminent threat of force. Several other Army and Navy units conducted military operations off the coast of Haiti and in South Florida. Elements of a multinational force began training in Puerto Rico for support to the transition. U.S. Navy and Coast Guard ships began to stop boats attempting to violate the embargo.

On July 30, the last commercial aircraft left Haiti—essentially closing the country to the outside world. Haiti's military leaders launched a trial balloon proposing General Cedras' resignation by the end of the year. This was strongly rejected.

On July 31, the UN Security Council authorized use of "all necessary means" to restore Aristide to his elected position and authorized the creation of a multinational force for that purpose. Within the U.S. Government, a series of inter-agency working groups was established with JTF-level coordination. Preparations for military action moved forward on the parallel tracks of Plans 2370 and 2380 during August. The Administration refused to set a deadline by which time Cedras and his cronies had to leave and continued to express publicly their hope that military force would not be necessary. Planning for the Haiti operation was interrupted in late August by a Cuba crisis, when hundreds of Cubans began leaving that island in rickety rafts and boats.

On September 12, USACOM chaired an inter-agency planning rehearsal intended to inform interagency principals of military plan details, to coordinate the activities of various agencies, and to broker any differences among the elements focusing on Haiti. The meeting marked the first time that all of the senior civilian and military players met to discuss the pending Haiti operation. The meeting was widely regarded as too large and unfocussed, but it highlighted the coordination that remained to be done. A subsequent smaller meeting, chaired by the NSC staff, brought key players together again and resolved much of the confusion. Press reports continued to suggest that the U.S. might find a diplomatic solution, but, beginning September 13, U.S. forces began to deploy to Haiti from Norfolk aboard the aircraft carriers *America* and *Dwight D. Eisenhower*. On September 15, President Clinton spoke to the press saying "there is no point in going any further with the present policy."

The next day, former President Jimmy Carter, accompanied by Senator Sam Nunn (D-GA) and former Chairman of The Joint Staff, General Colin Powell, departed for Haiti for one last effort to persuade General Cedras and his allies to step aside peacefully. The Carter mission was ultimately successful in negotiating the resignation and departure from Haiti of top military leaders, though only at the last minute and after U.S. 18th ABN Corps units

had already embarked from Ft. Bragg for the invasion.

On September 19, U.S. forces disembarked in Port-au-Prince and entered the city without resistance. The 10th Mountain Division forces were substituted for the 18th ABN Corps as permissive entry was ensured. In the following week, violence occurred on several occasions. A series of police beatings took place in Port-au-Prince while U.S. soldiers looked on, apparently constrained by rules of engagement (ROE) that precluded interference with the Haitian police. On September 24, a USMC patrol engaged Haitian forces in a firefight in Cap-Haitien, and ten Haitians were killed. In the aftermath, the local military and police disengaged and simply disappeared. Finally, a group of Aristide supporters marched on September 30 and were attacked by hostile opposition elements. After these incidents, U.S. forces slowly acquired responsibility for island security, and no further significant violence occurred.

On October 15, President Aristide arrived back in Haiti. The reduction in U.S. forces in Haiti started almost immediately with the Marines departing Cap-Haitien beginning in early October.

In January 1995, the U.S. turned command of the Haiti operation over to the UN.

**Table 1:
Chronology of Operation Uphold Democracy¹**

DATE	EVENT	PLANNING ACTIVITY
26 Dec 90	Jean-Bertrand Aristide elected president of Haiti by a landslide.	
7 Feb 91	Aristide sworn in; announces reorganization of Haiti army.	
1991		ICITAP (International Criminal Investigative Training Assistance Program) initiated.
30 Sep 91	Aristide government overthrown.	
	OAS invokes Resolution 1080 (Santiago Resolution) and calls for economic sanctions against Haiti to be observed by all members.	
24 May 92	Faced with surge of Haiti refugees, President Bush orders interception and repatriation of Haitian "boat people."	
16 Jun 93	UNSC binding resolution imposing fuel and arms embargo and freeze of Haiti assets abroad.	
23 Jun 93	UN embargo commences; U.S. freezes Haiti assets.	
3 Jul 3 93	At Governors Island, military agree to UN plan for Aristide's return to Haiti on 30 Oct. Limited embargo lifted pending compliance with agreement.	

¹ *This Chronology is constructed from press reports from The Washington Post; "A Haitian Chronology," Congressional Quarterly, September 21, 1994, page 2579; and from the workshop discussion.*

DATE	EVENT	PLANNING ACTIVITY
12 Oct 93	USS Harlan County, with U.S. and Canadian trainers, part of Governors Island plan, departs Port-au-Prince.	20-member Planning Cell established at USACOM.
30 Oct 93	Governors Island deadline passes and Aristide remains in exile in U.S.	USN and Coast Guard vessels deploy with elements of French, British, Argentine, and Canadian navies to enforce embargo on Haiti.
Dec 93 - Jan 94	U.S. declares it will broaden sanctions unless Gen. Cedras steps down by 15 Jan 94. Prime Minister Malval resigns; prospects for broadening Parliamentary alliance fail.	
15 Jan 95	U.S. deadline passes; U.S. pursues diplomatic efforts; proposes broadened coalition government to Aristide.	
Jan 94 - Mar 94		Panama, Somalia after-action reports circulated in DoD; SecDef instructs to start interagency planning.
15 Feb 94	U.S. urges Aristide to accept Haiti Parliament peace plan in which Aristide would name Prime Minister to form broad coalition; Cedras would resign; Parliament would grant amnesty to military. Aristide rejects plan for centrist coalition government and insists on departure of military.	
Mar 94	Public opinion campaign opposing Administration begins; Congressional Black Caucus exhorts Administration.	

DATE	EVENT	PLANNING ACTIVITY
12 Apr 94	Randall Robinson begins hunger strike against U.S. Haitian refugee policy.	SecDef briefed by ADM Miller re USACOM planning.
21 Apr 94	Aristide criticizes U.S. policy and Special Advisor Pezullo.	
22 Apr 94	Administration announces it will seek total economic embargo; date uncertain.	Internal meeting held; use of force in Haiti considered.
26 Apr 94	Ambassador Pezullo resigns.	
28 Apr 94	U.S. introduces resolution to UNSC demanding resignation of military and seeking global trade embargo.	
2-3 May 94	President states he "won't rule out force." Administration spokesmen discuss "robust" military option in play.	
6 May 94	UN Security Council approves full economic embargo and bans travel by Haiti military and their families; embargo to take effect May 27.	
8 May 94	<p>President halts forced repatriation of boat people; will hold hearings aboard U.S. ships or in third country.</p> <p>Former Congressman William Gray named Special Advisor re Haiti refugees; Randall Robinson ends fast.</p>	<p>USACOM establishes interagency working groups; JTF-level coordination; U.S. Army Special Operations Command tasked to develop Plan 2380.</p> <p>AID begins planning for democratic transition.</p> <p>U.S. begins building international peacekeeping coalition force to aid orderly transition.</p>

DATE	EVENT	PLANNING ACTIVITY
12 May 94	Haiti military installs provisional president with responsibility to name prime minister and organize Feb 95 presidential elections.	
21 May 94	UN trade embargo takes effect.	
25 May 94	USN ship fires at ship running embargo.	
8 Jun 94	OAS adopts resolution to reinforce embargo.	
10 Jun 94	U.S. halts commercial flights to Haiti beginning 25 June; tightens sanctions.	
6 Jul 94	Faced with thousands of refugees, U.S. announces application for asylum must be from Haiti; boat people will be taken to third country "safe havens."	
July 94	Haiti military leaders order remaining international human rights monitor to leave.	24 MEU departs LeJeune to show force in Haiti OpArea; 10 MTN DIV designated to develop permissive entry plan.
12 Jul 94	104 UN observers depart Haiti.	USMC exercise in Haiti OpArea.
16 Jul 94	SecState Christopher states U.S. "not decided whether U.S. interests warrant invasion." UN SecGen states UN cannot afford to operate peace-keeping force; Further discussion of holding new elections in Haiti.	Administration spokesman states that "detailed OpPlans are in place."
19-21 Jul 94	U.S. discusses/requests resolution authorizing "all necessary means" to restore Aristide to power and disarmament of Haitian military.	

DATE	EVENT	PLANNING ACTIVITY
19-21 Jul 94	Special Negotiator Gray states in press interview that "by October we expect them to be gone," later clarifies this is not a formal deadline.	
27 Jul 94	Haiti military leaders float "trial balloon" proposing Cedras resignation, local elections, in hopes of softening embargo. U.S. rejects ploy.	
30 July 94	Last commercial flight out of Haiti under expanded UN embargo.	
31 Jul 94	UNSC Resolution authorizes U.S. to use "all necessary means" to restore democracy; establishes authority for U.S. peacekeeping force to enter following U.S. disarmament of military and paramilitary.	
Aug 94	Military option assumes greater probability.	
31 Aug 94	Deputy SecState Talbott and Dep SecDef Deutch state, "the multinational force is going to Haiti ... under permissive or contested circumstances." Arrest and trial of military leaders implied.	
12 Sep 94		USACOM chairs inter-agency meeting to brief military plan and coordinate interagency efforts.
13-14 Sep 94		<i>USS Dwight D. Eisenhower</i> departs Norfolk 14 Sep carrying elements of 10 MTN DIV; <i>USS America</i> departs Norfolk 13 Sep carrying troops of 18 ABN Corps and Special Forces. Reserve cargo carriers (14) called up.

A Chronology of Events 23

DATE	EVENT	PLANNING ACTIVITY
15 Sep 94	<p>President Clinton speaks to press of need for use of force. (I have) "exhausted every available alternative... There is no point in going any further with the present policy. The time has come for them to go, one way or another." Aides speak of contingency plan to send emissary "in final hours."</p> <p>President Carter departs for Haiti.</p>	
19-20 Sep 94	<p>U.S. forces disembark at Port-au-Prince.</p>	<p>10 MTN DIV leads invasion force; 18th ABN Corps left at Ft. Bragg or aboard <i>America</i>.</p>
20 Sep 94	<p>Haiti security forces beat pro-democracy demonstrators in Port-au-Prince.</p>	<p>Guidelines issued to clarify ROE.</p>
22 Sep 94	<p>Firefight between USMC and Haitian forces in Cap-Haitien leaves 10 Haitians dead.</p>	
25-28 Sep 94	<p>Looting in Cap-Haitien, Port-au-Prince and Gonaives.</p>	
30 Sep 94	<p>Aristide supporters clash with anti-Aristide elements in Port-au-Prince; Haitian police fail to maintain order.</p>	
3 Oct 94		<p>USMC begins withdrawal from Cap-Haitien; replaced by 10 MTN DIV; Intl Police Monitors arrive in Port-au-Prince.</p>
15 Oct 94	<p>President Aristide arrives in Haiti.</p>	

Chapter 3.

Haiti:

A Successful Operation

By most measures, the Haitian intervention was a success. *Operation Uphold Democracy* had finite, limited goals which included: 1) decapitate the military dictatorship, 2) restore the elected President of Haiti, and 3) turn the operation over to UN control in six months. All these were accomplished in good order and with very few casualties among either the U.S. forces or the Haitian population. *Table 2* lists some of the things that workshop participants believed went right in the operation.

There were several notable successes in the Haiti process. First, while not perfect, there was ***good planning by individual agencies***. Plans were

Table 2. What Went Right

- ♦ Good planning by individual agencies
- ♦ Genuine exit strategy
- ♦ Adequate resources for the job
- ♦ Commanders had latitude to do the job
- ♦ Haitian Army effectively controlled

made for both forceful and permissive entries, and the permissive plan involved some interagency coordination. There was a good transition plan for turnover to the UN, and at the strategic level, there was a ***genuine exit strategy*** which was followed. This planning provided a reasonable framework for the operation.

Second, U.S. military forces were given adequate resources and the sector commanders had the latitude to make timely and appropriate decisions.

Third, a potentially disastrous situation with the deposed and leaderless ***Force Armée d'Haiti (FAd'H) was controlled***. Through a combination of factors, including U.S. military action, transition strategy, and the presence of International Police Monitors (IPM), the FAd'H was prevented from re-emerging as a creditable force. While several of the workshop members commented that the process was flawed, it nevertheless worked, and, given the

circumstances, the FAd'H was taken down effectively. Security was provided by a combination of newly-formed Haitian police and several hundred international police monitors with support from U.S. and other multinational force military elements.

Table 3 lists some of the factors that the workshop believed contributed to the success.

Table 3. Reasons for Success

- ◆ Planning incorporated lessons learned
- ◆ Carter mission assured a permissive entry
- ◆ Flexibility of U.S. military forces
- ◆ Tactical level military/interagency cooperation
- ◆ U.S. lead allowed UN to stand up an appropriate force
- ◆ International police monitors filled the gap

While DoD balked at involvement in Haiti, military commanders knew that they needed to begin planning on the chance that they might be called. They ***took the initiative to start the planning process early on.*** The ***lessons learned*** in both Panama and Somalia were still fresh and were reviewed and incorporated as appropriate. Although

the situation in Haiti was not exactly like the earlier operations, the planning process was better.

Second, the ***Carter mission*** succeeded in convincing General Cedras to step aside. This eliminated armed resistance and saved lives on both sides. Faced with this last-minute shift in Haiti, the U.S. military showed superb ***flexibility*** both in shifting from the forceful entry to the unopposed entry, and in later operations on the ground. One workshop participant who was on the ground in Haiti at the time stated that: "From the bottom-up point of view, the shift was transparent. USACOM did a superb job of handling the shift including reconfiguring the aircraft carrier from a strike asset to a support platform." Initial confusion with airlift and supply was quickly sorted out and corrected. At the ***tactical level*** the military and available civilian counterparts found each other and ***cooperated well***.

The fact that the U.S. ran the entire operation for the first six months made the transition to the UN much easier and smoother. The ***U.S. lead*** made it possible for the UN to stand up its own force with sufficient time and knowledge of the environment. UN planners worked side by side with U.S. elements to accomplish the smooth transition. The ***International Police Monitors*** were an effective surrogate police force deftly managed by former New York City Police Commissioner, Ray Kelly, who supervised the recruitment, training, and management of the force.

Chapter 4. Problems in Interagency Political-Military Planning

While the execution of the Haiti operation was generally successful, interagency planning was described by participants as slow and disjointed, and, until May 1994, lacked clear political guidance. While civilian agencies were developing a “comprehensive political-military plan,” major players continued to disagree on the goals until the final weeks prior to launching the mission. Without appropriated resources, agencies could only contemplate what they would do. This process and security restrictions resulted in considerable frustration at the operational level where

military planners found themselves preparing for civil-military operations without being able to talk with their civilian counterparts. It further contributed to initial confusion on the ground in Haiti when the military units expected to find civilian agencies ready to begin operations from the outset, and civilian agencies found their familiar Washington-based military counterparts deployed without leaving clear points of contact for further coordination. *Table 4* summarizes the interagency planning problems identified in the workshop.

Policy debate delayed planning

Workshop participants recognized that the dramatic changes in U.S. Haiti policy over nearly eleven months were the primary cause for the confusion. The U.S. approach to Haiti changed from July to October 1993 when a small peace-keeping force was thought to be sufficient, to the decision, in May 1994, to prepare for the use of force, and, finally, to the decision to actually use force, which emerged between July and August 1994. Between October 1993 and May 1994, however, there was no agreement on whether military force would be used at all, although, according to one workshop participant, "in retrospect, we were probably committed to use force in January [1994, when General Cedras rejected the

Table 4.
Interagency Planning Problems

- ◆ Policy debate delayed planning
- ◆ Operational coordination incomplete
- ◆ Interagency logistics support initially confused
- ◆ Civilian-military coordination of nation-assistance efforts incomplete
- ◆ Military-nongovernmental organization coordination incomplete
- ◆ Civilian-military command arrangements ad hoc
- ◆ Plans for Haitian security forces overly ambitious and complex
- ◆ Rules of Engagement ambiguous

U.S. ultimatum to depart before sanctions were toughened].” Nevertheless, security required to keep the military planning secret constrained operators who needed to deal with each other.

Workshop participants also felt that interagency differences in approaching the Haiti question contributed to planning confusion. Publicly, U.S. policy was to use diplomatic means to accomplish the departure of the Haitian military

and the return of Aristide. Within the Administration, the NSC favored use of force, while DoD remained negative. USACOM began planning for a military contingency while DoD's civilian leadership remained in denial.

Interagency planning was frustrated until May 1994, when President Clinton announced the Administration's policy change to consider the use of force. USACOM's planning until that time had been tightly compartmentalized and confined to the military operation. USACOM planners knew that they needed to coordinate with civilian agencies, but they were precluded from doing so by security concerns. The 18th ABN Corps' planning for an opposed entry (Plan 2370) began in May, while the permissive entry plan (Plan 2380) began development in July at 10th Mountain Division at Ft. Drum, New York. Compartmentalization of these two planning processes was, according to one senior workshop participant, "carried on far too long—until the final weeks. This led to pointless delays," and contributed to incomplete interagency coordination. Players in different agencies knew that they should be coordinating. "Toward the end of the summer, when it looked like a go for the military option, planning to integrate the military and civilian factions started." One senior player noted: "We tried to do the interagency coordination on September 12, but it was a disaster." There were too many people for real

candor. "People just recited what they were doing." A senior military officer expressed alarm, reportedly observing, "This is the kind of planning that gets people killed."

Operational coordination incomplete

Several other factors besides the evolving policy definition contributed to planning confusion. The workshop identified a serious failure of communication between strategic, operational, and tactical levels of the operations. Strategic planning took place in the Executive Committee (Ex-Com) which began operation in May under NSC leadership and included the Departments of State, Defense, Justice, and Treasury, the CIA, and AID. USACOM, which was doing the operational planning, was usually represented by the Joint Staff in these meetings, despite the fact that USACOM and The Joint Staff were perceived by some to be engaged in a tug of war over who would lead the process. USACOM usually got its reports of what happened at Ex-Com meetings from the Joint Staff. Other participants on occasion had different understandings of what had happened and who was to do what.

Serious operational level planning by different agencies began in June when interagency working groups and JTF-level coordination among the

military units were established under USACOM. OSD SOLIC (Special Operations/Low Intensity Conflict) had taken initial steps to establish a CMOC (Civil-Military Operations Center) earlier in the spring of 1994, responding to Secretary Perry's instruction to begin interagency planning, but had been frustrated by DoD's continuing reluctance to become involved in Haiti. AID's Office of Disaster Assistance (OFDA), the key link to NGOs and PVOs, began working with SOLIC during the summer and worked out plans for a major surge of delivery of food, fuel, medicines, and other relief supplies after the U.S. assumed control. AID's Office of Transition Initiatives began serious planning for its participation in May, after the President's policy announcement. While these different agencies were all planning their own participation in the Haiti operation, there was little operational level coordination between agencies. Until the 10th Mountain Division began developing the permissive entry plan in July, there was little coordination between military and civilian agencies. In particular, there was little interaction between Washington-based agencies and ongoing planning by the military outside Washington, although the OFDA team was at Ft. Drum for ten days before deployment. Interagency coordination at the tactical level did not take place until troops were on the ground in Haiti.

In sum, interagency dialogue was adequate at the strategic planning level, particularly once all relevant players were in attendance, but interagency discussions were not carried through to the operational level and linkages between the strategic and operational levels were deficient. While strategic planning took place under NSC leadership, concrete decisions were postponed to the last minute, so policy guidance could not be communicated effectively to the operational level commanders. The latter felt that they lacked the go-ahead to develop an integrated OpPlan with clear, attainable objectives, and adequate lead time to complete the planning coordination process. Moreover, there had never been an integrated civilian-military operational plan, and the civilian agencies were unfamiliar with the concept and with the idea of establishing precise lines of command and control and timelines for execution of projects. The first-ever attempt at a political-military operational plan undertaken by State, AID, Justice, Treasury, etc. during the late summer improved comprehension substantially but was a far cry from the clarity and rigor of military planning.

The operational planning disconnects caused follow-on problems. The military operation itself went smoothly, and the shift from opposed to permissive entry was accomplished with relative ease. Nevertheless, a number of complications occurred on the ground, largely because of the

incomplete interagency coordination and other factors that included military and civilian organizations' mutual ignorance of counterpart culture and capabilities. Finally, the civilian agencies, for the most part, were unable to surge in capacity to meet the additional effort needed to plan and conduct the operation. Each of these issues is discussed in greater detail below.

***Interagency logistics support
initially confused***

Because there were two OpPlans, the logistic support to the operation was initially chaotic, and the integration of civilian agency support was delayed and cumbersome. For example, aircraft flow to Haiti required merging the TPFDD (Time Phased Force and Deployment Data) of the two operational plans. The merging was problematic and sometimes confused, according to workshop participants. Deploying the 10th Mountain Division aboard the carrier solved some of the problems, because its organic equipment accompanied the force. For others, it was more confusing. The Coast Guard was only included in Plan 2380. "We expected the 10th Mountain Division to take over early, but it didn't for about 30-45 days. We went in after only five days, and the 18th ABN Corps didn't know what we were doing. Our equipment

seemed to have been thrown onto whatever ship happened by.” The problems were sorted out after about ten days with the Coast Guard setting up its own logistics base in Guantanamo and using its own cutters to bring in supplies.

In another example, AID officials found that they could not get transport to Haiti. Their DoD points of contact deployed with the operation and left them with no ready Washington-based, working-level access to the DoD mobilization. Military transportation to Haiti for the civilian agency personnel was not available initially both because it was not planned and because the civilians did not know how to access the system. One workshop participant also noted that “with the current TPFDD and the way it flows, there are no slots to add interagency logistics.”

Coordination of civilian and military nation-assistance efforts incomplete

A third set of problems resulted from failures of communication and coordination between civilian and military organizations responsible for rebuilding the Haiti infrastructure. Organizational and “cultural” differences between civilian and military organizations explained a lot of the problems, but the bottom line was that interagency operational-level coordination was incomplete in

the preparation phase. For example, in Cap-Haitien, the land and water force commanders (10th Mountain Division and Coast Guard) coordinated responsibilities closely. "We had our tents pitched next to each other, but the third tent was missing—the civilian USAID tent." "There was no one to answer our questions about civilian assistance capabilities for 30 days into the operation." As commanders, we knew "we were going into a 'fourth world' nation, but we didn't know the limits of our civilian agencies." "We were ignorant about what the other agencies were doing." Workshop members thought that a civilian agency capabilities presentation would have been helpful in the preparatory phase.

U.S. military planners were surprised that their civilian counterparts were not immediately ready with nation-building programs. Development planners were upset that the military refused to accept responsibility for civic action and nation-building efforts at the outset, although that policy had been determined at the strategic level. One workshop member noted that three assumptions underlined military planning for the Haiti operation, and none of them was correct. The first assumption was that lifting the embargo would result in an immediate inflow of money; the second was that NGOs and PVOs would immediately undertake a massive nation-building activity, and finally, that money would flow once the U.S. was on the ground.

While these assumptions were clearly too optimistic, they reflect a view of the unfolding of the post-entry interagency process in which the military expected civilian agencies to respond to the operation as if they operated like the military itself did—with a fully-planned implementation.

A senior workshop participant noted that a central problem of peace operations is that the U.S. government does not presently have a doctrine to integrate the military segment of an operation with the civilian assistance side. "Economic assistance operations are not real time because USAID contracts everything out." To begin the contracting process, AID requires both a final policy decision and budget authority, neither of which is often available until the last minute, or, often, until after the operation has begun. Moreover, although they had operational staff on the ground in Haiti before the military operation, civilian agencies did not augment their in-country staffs adequately once the operation commenced. Unlike the military, civilian agencies do not have a reserve of personnel that can be sent into a crisis situation. In Haiti, they did not have enough personnel on the ground to coordinate effectively with the military command centers or with military units in the field.

Military-nongovernmental organization coordination incomplete

In addition to failure to understand the development agencies' lack of surge capabilities, the workshop recognized that the military and civilian private voluntary organizations (PVOs) have not learned to work together, particularly in developmental programs. Doing so is constrained, inter alia, by a real suspicion of one another. One military participant observed, "we were viewed with complete suspicion by the PVOs because they were concerned about compromising their neutrality. That point of view took us a while to understand. We finally made some progress at the grass roots level. We assisted them when they asked for something or told us what they needed." Military participants recognized that many more civil affairs personnel had been needed in Haiti, but in the post-Somalia environment, "this was hampered by DoD fears about doing nation-building." An exchange between an AID representative and a Special Forces representative highlighted the confused expectations that military and civilians had of each other. The AID representative clearly had expected Special Forces to fulfill civic action missions, but was corrected: "We didn't have a civic action mission." At the outset, Special Forces personnel were in Haiti "to keep order" was the feeling on the military side. AID did not recognize, until they arrived in country,

that they would not be working with military counterparts on developmental activities.

However, there was much better cooperation on the relief side, with the military observing, coordinating, and, on occasion, assisting with the delivery of relief supplies in coordination with AID/OFDA. Moreover, U.S. Army Reserve civil affairs officers took over key roles in almost every Haitian ministry, cataloguing what assets were available, trying to get activities underway, and to some degree informally directing activities. There were conflicting expectations on both sides because of incomplete coordination at the operational and tactical levels. Once the effective collapse of Haitian government institutions was apparent, Special Operations units acquired additional responsibilities of a civil affairs nature throughout the countryside, and for many months constituted almost the only civil administration. After elections, mayors gradually assumed some responsibility, and AID/OTI contractors and NGO/PVO personnel became active. Special Forces personnel remained until early 1996.

As many of the above examples indicate, the absence of detailed prior operational planning and coordination was offset in many respects by the initiative of the tactical level people on the ground, both military and civilian, who sought out and found their counterparts and conducted effective ad hoc coordination.

Civil-military command arrangements ad hoc

The workshop participants concluded that several other organizational and operational factors affected coordination across agencies. First, the military were actually the last players to arrive on scene, not the first, as they are accustomed to being. Civilian agencies, including UN advance teams, had been in-country for some time. Some of the PVOs had been established in Haiti for years.

The question of “who is in charge” emerged with the military looking for a clear chain of command. Because the military and civilians were not adept at working with one another, there was confusion about roles and responsibilities. Unity of command is a military axiom. When no one seems to be in charge the military will naturally take command. Throughout the planning process, the military, clearly a dependent variable in the broad political game, was frustrated by the absence of a clear decision-making hierarchy and by the delays in decision-making. This carried over into the field implementation.

In Haiti, the U.S. military operation was only one leg of a triad that included restoring democratic institutions and rebuilding the ravaged economy. While the military was essential in providing internal stability, it was largely irrelevant to the other activities, especially since forces were

directed not to conduct nation-building activities. Military participants at the workshop lamented that "there was no one in charge of the over-all operation." They perceived a need for an operational level commander who would coordinate and direct all the agencies and forces involved. Some believed that this should be the Force Commander, others felt that it should be the Ambassador. Still others disagreed, citing the fact that the Ambassador is usually not staffed to handle such an operation, and in many cases there wouldn't be an Ambassador in-country (Haiti was considered an exception rather than the rule).

In Haiti, the Ambassador was in charge of all civilian operations while the Force Commander was in charge of all military operations. They coordinated closely, but did not establish a combined "war room" to provide follow up. This was in part due to the fact that State and AID missions were not augmented to handle the operation.

Plans for Haitian security forces overly ambitious and complex

U.S. policy was to preserve the illusion of a Haitian government, and U.S. forces operated under the concept that they should support indigenous institutions, not supplant them. The U.S. did not enter Haiti as an occupation force.

Some of the most serious challenges to this operational concept came in the area of providing local security. One set of problems occurred because of confusion over how to deal with the Haiti security forces during the 45-day transition period that resulted from the Carter negotiations. Pre-operation planning recognized that a police force would be needed—the details were coordinated in August—but the planning did not provide adequate follow-up for the security force. Neither Plan 2370 nor 2380 envisioned a period during which General Cedras and his cronies would remain in office after U.S. forces entered Haiti. Plan 2370 was intended to oust them and Plan 2380 assumed that they had left. The situation on the ground differed from both plans. In particular, the complete collapse of local security and police forces was not anticipated. A power vacuum ensued which led to a series of problems with the FAd'H, and the assumption of security responsibility by the U.S. One participant observed: "We need the capacity to provide policing. We don't have the doctrine for this. This issue was debated before the operation was launched and left to be resolved as the operation unfolded."

In Haiti, the FAd'H "owned" the police, so when the army was "taken down," the police disappeared as well. Aristide made it clear from the outset that he didn't want to work with a remnant FAd'H, but wanted a fully revamped

police force. There wasn't time to accomplish this. The initial interim solution was to develop a 3500-man police force from the former FAd'H. This number later was reduced to 1500. The program for building a police force was a long-term (five-year) program which had begun in 1991 under ICITAP (the Department of Justice's International Criminal Investigative Training Assistance Program), but which ceased operation after Aristide's overthrow. ICITAP had to start its police training program over, and it was reluctant to rush the process. The first plan was to build an interim force in 18 months. By February 1996, when the UN mandate ends and a new president is elected, plans are to have in place a 7000-man police force consisting of the 3000-man Interim Police Force drawn from former FAd'H and police (widely regarded as "worthless") and 4000 new trainees. To accomplish the latter will require doubling the number of police academy graduates and additional funding from the U.S. While the remaining U.S. military under UN authority will pull out in February 1996, DFTs (Deployments for Training) and MTTs (Mobile Training Teams) may be able to augment the continuing international effort.

A second set of problems emerged over different concepts for neutralizing the Haitian army itself. The de-mobilized Haitian military were, potentially, a dangerous and disruptive force. Planning how to handle them evolved through several

stages. A review of the sequence of events that led to the dissolution of the FAd'H makes it clear that they received inconsistent and ambiguous messages. Some elements of the U.S. military were perceived to support the idea of retaining a minimal force army, a position that was contrary to that held by civilian agencies and Aristide, but which had not been clearly resolved in the pre-operation interagency discussions. Mixed messages were sent, with approaches complicated by the 45-day transition. The initial plan involved employing some FAd'H as interim police, and later as the source of an interim, 1,500-man force envisioned as the follow-on to the FAd'H. The FAd'H's rapid disintegration made this plan impractical. By January 1995, it was obvious that the Haitians wanted the FAd'H dissolved (as Aristide had insisted all along, although he maintained publicly that it was a "constitutional matter"). In the end, a potentially volatile situation was controlled, and the FAd'H was "slow rolled" out of existence.

The decision to dissolve the FAd'H presented another complication. Without a new military organization, without acceptance as a police force, and without any other occupation, the former soldiers were likely to become bandits. The solution was to provide job training (including computer skills) as a way to break the culture and to give them some useful skills. But, as one

skeptical workshop participant commented: "It remains to be seen if they come out as computer technicians or educated bandits."

Rules of engagement ambiguous

The rapid collapse of the Haitian security forces and confusion among U.S. forces about the Haitian security situation contributed to the first month's confusion over the role of the U.S. forces in maintaining order in Haiti and the rules of engagement (ROE) under which they operated.²

While the ROE for the Haiti operation were consistent among the forces involved, ROE interpretation clearly was not. Some of the differences can be explained by the different operational concepts developed in the two separate plans that evolved prior to entry into Haiti. Perceptions influenced interpretation of the ROE, as well. The 10th Mountain Division, last deployed in Somalia, was focused on protection of its own force from hostile fire. The U.S. Marine Corps forces in the Cap-Haitien region had an aggressive interpretation as evidenced by the firefight with the FAd'H on September 24th.

² *Rules of engagement (ROE) for the military govern how they respond to different situations in an operation, and particularly define the limits on use of force, including deadly force.*

Under the assumption that U.S. forces were supporting the Haitian government, and, following previous experience in which occupation forces had used local police forces to maintain neighborhood security, the U.S. Army forces in Port-au-Prince were initially instructed not to become involved in Haitian law and order, and stood by while the FAd'H beat innocent civilians celebrating the arrival of the U.S. troops. The television coverage of these events likely caused the rapid change in this posture. Workshop participants noted that no change in the ROE itself occurred, but a new interpretation of the original ROE emerged from the September 20 events.

The collapse of Haitian government authority during the 45-day transition period required that the U.S. assume many of the responsibilities of an occupation force, while preserving the surface facade of support to a non-existent Haitian government. In the countryside, the U.S. Special Forces operated with considerable autonomy appointing and supporting local officials like police, judges, and mayors. In the ports, the U.S. Coast Guard took charge, fixed the navigation aides, and ran the harbor operations. In one case, a corrupt official (the Port Director in Port-au-Prince) was summarily removed when he refused to stop his practice of demanding bribes to allow ships to enter the port.

Chapter 5.

Lessons Learned

Given the limited goals and objectives of *Operation Restore Democracy*, the UN-sanctioned, U.S.-led Haitian intervention was a success. The mission was clearly defined. An exit strategy was identified and adhered to. Transfer to UN authority occurred according to schedule. Interagency political-military planning occurred at a higher and more integrated level than in any earlier similar operation. Indeed, Haiti marked the first time in recent memory that the U.S. government had undertaken to develop a formal interagency political-military plan in advance. Military forces demonstrated remarkable flexibility, adjusting plans at the final hour to accommodate changed circumstances brought about by the Carter mission. Civilian and military forces on the

ground cooperated well, after a brief few days of confusion. While the operation did not make Haiti's systemic problems go away, it did break the debilitating control of a military dictatorship, restored the democratically elected leader, and created an opportunity for a new start. Moreover, it did so with surprisingly few casualties or unpleasant incidents.

In part because the Haiti operation was successful, it provides an excellent case study for exploring "what more needs to be done" to make planning for these kinds of operations—which are expected to occur with greater frequency in the coming years—more effective. Table 5 summarizes the lessons learned from the workshop analysis, while solutions offered by workshop participants are discussed below.

Interagency planning doctrine for complex emergencies is needed

Throughout the workshop, senior civilian participants argued that the U.S. government needs to develop both doctrine and procedures for civil-military planning for emergencies like disaster assistance, humanitarian assistance and peace-keeping operations in which civilian and military are likely to be co-equal and coterminous participants. Without a more formal interagency planning process, planning and execution of interagency

Table 5.
**Interagency Political-Military
Lessons Learned**

- ◆ Interagency planning doctrine for complex emergencies is needed
- ◆ Planning must compensate for organizational and operational differences between civilian and military organizations
- ◆ Agreement on interagency command and control arrangements needed
- ◆ Agreement needed on operational concepts for OOTW
- ◆ Interagency C² war games can help to work out interagency differences, expose agencies to each other

missions will continue to be haphazard and incomplete. Political military planning for civilian agencies needs to parallel military planning, but in lesser detail and with flexible adjustments. In Haiti, the ExCom worked well once the decision to go forward with military operation was made in late August, but precious time for interagency coordination had been lost during the previous months. While work-arounds, flexibility, and innovation were successful in Haiti, in future operations, the insufficient interagency planning and coordination

could contribute to dangerous omissions and situations.

Planning must compensate for organizational and operational differences between civilian and military organizations

Both structural and operational differences between civilian and military organizations require greater mutual understanding and demand more systematic coordination. They also have implications for military operations themselves. The workshop identified three areas of structural and operational differences that need to be addressed: planning capabilities, surge capabilities, and security requirements.

Planning Capabilities. One of the key differences between the civilian and military organizations is the approach to planning. Planning is an integral part of military procedure and officers at all levels are exposed to mission planning and complex mobilization exercises throughout their careers. The military plan in detail and expect to meet planning targets. Civilian agencies do not have a similar cadre of experienced crisis response mission planners (Indeed, they often rely on seconded military officers to accomplish this task.), and they do not plan at the level of detail that the military plans. Civilian agencies generally

fund activities that are then contracted out to nongovernment organizations. The contracting out does not begin until a mission is underway, meaning that the anticipated civilian services are delayed in arriving on scene. Military support, in contrast, accompanies the operation, or is phased in, according to the detailed plans developed in advance. While the military—especially Special Operations personnel—are aware of the need for interface with civilian counterparts, civilian agencies may not be as aware of the capabilities of their military counterparts.

Surge Capabilities. A related difference is the civilian agencies' lack of "surge capacity." The military is able to surge effectively both for planning and operations. Regular exercises hone these skills. Deployed forces can be moved where needed, and a large cadre of reserve forces are also available. The lack of civilian surge capacity puts civilian agencies at a disadvantage in contingency planning and, in Haiti, delayed their ability to bring resources to bear in the initial days following the Haiti intervention. The military, in contrast, expected the civilian agencies to come with resources in hand. Without a dedicated planning cadre and some surge capability developed within civilian agencies, or relying on the military, efficient interagency planning and coordination will remain illusive.

Security Requirements. The workshop participants agreed that the security requirements imposed on planners had been a major factor complicating effective interagency coordination, especially at the operational level. One senior workshop member observed:

A major obstacle to effective interagency planning of prospective peacekeeping missions is the necessity of maintaining operational security. Planning, and even more so, interagency planning, calls for inclusion, while security militates exclusion. In peacekeeping missions, where the initial resistance is often minimal (as was the case in both Haiti and Somalia), the withholding from civilian agencies, by the military, of basic information on its operational intentions may actually increase rather than minimize the risk of casualties. In such instances, the most serious challenges may arise well after the initial entry of forces and may result from political or economic developments which in turn may be decisively shaped by the action or inaction of civilian agencies in carrying out their respective parts of the operations. The desirability of achieving, from the start, a maximum synchronization of action by military and civilian elements may militate in favor of a wider sharing of information than is otherwise the norm.³

³ Ambassador James F. Dobbins, Jr., in written comments to the report.

Agreement on interagency command and control arrangements needed

When the U.S. military forces arrived in Haiti, because of the incomplete operational planning, they were unaware that many of the other agencies were already in country or about to enter shortly. The force commander was not in charge of the civilians, other than to insure the safety of those he knew about. The Ambassador, on the other hand, was swept up in a myriad of events not directly related to the military mission. Neither the force commander nor the Ambassador had total command of the situation. The Haitian operation worked because they coordinated and cooperated well enough to get things done, a lesson learned from *Operation Just Cause* in Panama. However, the operation might have been smoother had command arrangements been better defined and communicated beforehand; had the Ambassador and Force Commander set up a combined war room; had the U.S. Embassy staffed up in order to handle the additional load; or had a CONUS-based task force, responsible to the Ambassador, been established to facilitate interagency coordination. This lesson should be carefully considered before another operation, rather than rely on the ad-hoc solutions that are invented each time.

***Agreement needed on
operational concepts for OOTW***

Recent experience suggests that in many “failed states” like Somalia or Haiti, the forces arriving first on the scene, whether in hostile or permissive entry, are likely to have to play significant roles providing for basic government services. With few exceptions, workshop participants felt that neither civilians nor the military were fully prepared for the devastated conditions they found in Haiti. Workshop participants commented: “We expected things to be bad, but we couldn’t believe how bad it really was.” The combination of corruption, lawlessness, and neglect created an economic decline that had been exacerbated by the economic embargo imposed on the military dictatorship. Institutions and infrastructure were for the most part nonexistent. All that was holding the country together was fear of the FAd’H which, once deposed, was impotent and ignored by the Haitian people. Under these and similar circumstances, the operational concept under which military forces provide needed functions and gradually turn them over to civilians (assistance groups or local nationals) needs to be fleshed out.

A logical conclusion of the lack of surge capacity on the civilian side and the inherent delays in mobilizing the contractor community is that the

military **will** be called upon to assume responsibilities for domestic security and nation-assistance for a limited period of time in most complex emergency operations. While policy and preference may dictate that civilian agencies should manage civic assistance activities, in fact, the military often end up taking on the tasks because they arrive first and have the manpower, surge capacity, and flexibility to act. Operations Other Than War are likely to be common in the future, and the U.S. armed forces will be called upon to respond to many non-traditional situations. The acceptable range of military missions must evolve to meet current threats and likely contingencies. Doctrine and training should evolve as well.

Two specific issues related to preparation for OOTW emerged in the workshop discussion.

Local Security Forces. In the case of domestic security, the workshop noted, "in situations where governments are in transition, you need police." "In Haiti we didn't need the military after the first week, we needed police. If we'd had more MPs at the beginning, or more police, we could have established security much more quickly." Because of the standing and reserve structure of the military, it will often be easier to meet short-term demands for police with trained military police than with ad hoc police

forces. The International Police Monitors organized for the Haiti operation provided a successful solution, but a similar force may not be available in all circumstances. These considerations have implications for U.S. reserve and force structure.

Rules of Engagement Training. Related to the above, rules of engagement for complex political-military operations require careful crafting and extensive training. Different interpretations of ROE are not necessarily bad. In Haiti, they contributed to the tactical commanders' flexibility mentioned as a factor for success. The Haitian experience suggests that ROE interpretation also can contain hidden dangers if the troops on the ground have a different understanding of the ROE than their chain of command. ROE training is one way to avoid these potential pitfalls. Future operations may become more involved and complicated. The addition of things like non-lethal weapons may further complicate the issues and problems for the soldier facing a crowd. Careful ROE development, testing and training are essential to prevent putting our own forces into untenable situations.

Interagency C² war games can help to work out interagency differences, expose agencies to each other

To facilitate interagency planning, workshop participants argued for institutionalizing a series of political-military peace operation gaming exercises. These would allow both civilians and military to learn how the other is able to respond to complex emergencies and how each must modify expectations to accommodate the different operating styles. There was near universal agreement that interagency/military/PVO/NGO relationships, from planning to actual operations, could be enhanced by exercises and gaming. Not only would gaming and exercises bring together different agencies to explore typical problems and solutions, but they also would open a dialogue that is presently missing. In the area of nation-assistance, in particular, military specialists and civilian development specialists need exposure to one another and to the different approaches that each brings to the field. For example, Department of State personnel were critical of the military's approach to Haiti, arguing that there was too great an urge to "fix what was broken in Haiti." The political approach is more often to "encourage locals to figure it out themselves." In a similar vein, the military and PVO participants, recognized that they were mutually ignorant about each other and the ways

they do business. They were unanimous about the need for, and potential value of, getting to know one another. Gaming and exercises could create a valuable venue for communication and improved cooperation.

The workshop agreed that gaming of peace operations should cover strategic, operational and tactical levels of planning and implementation. The government should make a high level commitment to these exercises, ensuring participation by appropriate level senior civilians and military officers. In addition, the workshop encouraged inclusion of senior representatives of private voluntary organizations so that they could better understand what to expect during a political-military operation and to begin to bridge the gap of understanding between the military and PVO community.

Appendix A.
Workshop
Participants

***ACT Workshop on Haiti
National Defense University
Washington, D.C.
24 May 1995***

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About the Authors

Rear Admiral Gary Wheatley USN (Ret.) is a former carrier aviator and Navy test pilot. Significant active duty assignments included command of a Carrier Air Wing and the aircraft carrier USS John F. Kennedy. As a Flag Officer, he served as Director of Operations, Command and Control for the Atlantic Command and Atlantic Fleet, and also as Commander Task Force 84, the Atlantic Area Anti-Submarine Warfare Command. Since leaving active duty, he has specialized in advanced technologies and command and control. As a Senior Fellow at the Hudson Institute, he analyzed the operational implications of a distributed surveillance satellite system. Presently, as a Senior Analyst at Evidence Based Research, Inc., he continues his work in command and control related issues.

Dr. Margaret Daly Hayes is a political scientist who specializes in Latin American political-economic and U.S.-Latin American political-military relations. She has conducted studies on the political and business environments in Brazil, Argentina, Central America, and on U.S. security objectives in Latin America in the post-Cold War. She has served as External Relations Advisor to the Inter-American Development Bank, and Director of the Washington Office of the Council of the Americas (the premier private sector organization involved in hemisphere relations). Dr. Hayes has also been the Senior Western Hemisphere staff person on the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee. She is a Senior Scientist and Principal (Owner/Director) at Evidence Based Research, Inc.