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Military Review

FEATURED ARTICLES

Cover Photo: U.S. Army Maxxpro Mine Resistance Ambush Protected Vehicles from 2d Battalion, 87th Infantry Regiment, 3d Brigade Combat Team, 10th Mountain Division, are covered with snow while parked in front of the battalion headquarters at Forward Operation Base Airborne, Afghanistan, 25 November 2009.
(U.S. Army, SGT Teddy Wade)

George W. Casey, Jr.
General, United States Army
Chief of Staff

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STRENGTHENING THE BRIDGE:

Building Partnership Capacity

**Admiral James G. Stavridis, U.S. Navy, and
Colonel Bart Howard, U.S. Army**

Admiral James G. Stavridis is the supreme allied commander, Europe and commander of European Command (EUCOM). He holds a B.S. from the U.S. Naval Academy and an M.A. and a Ph.D. from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University. He commanded the Enterprise Carrier Strike Group in support of both Operation Iraqi Freedom and Operation Enduring Freedom.

Colonel Bart Howard is the special assistant to the EUCOM commander. He has served with Combined Forces Command-Afghanistan, and the International Security Assistance Force, and commanded 1st Brigade Combat Team, 1st Infantry Division. He holds a B.A. from Santa Clara University and an MMAS from the Army War College.

ADMIRAL MIKE MULLEN has said, "Developing a relationship on the battlefield in the midst of a crisis with someone I've never met before can be very challenging . . . Trust has to be built up over time. You can't surge trust."

Trust comes from years of cooperative experience, listening, success, and failure, and is held together by a common vision of a secure and prosperous future. Because relationships are so important, it is critical never to take them for granted. That is why *building partnership capacity* is the centerpiece of all that European Command does and is clearly the command's top priority.

What is partnership? By definition, it is *a relationship between individuals or groups that is characterized by mutual respect, cooperation, and responsibility for the achievement of a specified goal*. Notice that it is *not* a one-way exchange, but a two-way relationship, a relationship between partners who both have a stake in the outcome. We chose the word "partnership" carefully. Partnerships are built on unique experiences, imply recognition of both strengths and shortcomings, complement each other to reach mutual goals, and learn from each other. We in the European Command believe no one person, service, agency of government, or nation is as good as a coalition of willing partners working together.

Forward-based, Partner-focused

European Command is a geographic combatant command stationed in the center of a partner region. It is as easy to overlook this fact, as it is hard to quantify the effect this has in all we do. For decades, our members have had the opportunity to live and work in host nations. Many senior leaders often remark that one of their fondest memories of service is their first tour in Europe. Then as now, service members and their families form lasting personal relationships with local nationals, both at work and in the community. Discovering local cuisine, using local public transportation, and learning the language are simple, yet meaningful steps to gaining mutual respect and building alliances. These personal experiences become the foundation for larger organizational relationships. The reverse is also true for our allied friends.

How many times have you heard an allied member recall fond memories of a treasured U.S. exchange assignment? Living with and near our partners gives European Command members a unique perspective and solid credibility with our allies.

We recognize that knowledge is a powerful commodity, and it takes effort to understand the culture in partner nations. Understanding the history of Europe helps us see our allies' world view and why they approach problems and situations in the manner they do. Without a sense of this view, we are like moviegoers arriving late to a film and wondering what is going on and why major characters are reacting so strongly.

As Americans, we often seek quick solutions and comment that "time is short." Our European allies may see things a bit differently. The United States is a young nation. A yearly festival, the *Ducasse de Mons*, is celebrated near Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers, Europe, in the city of Mons, Belgium. Rich in symbolism and tradition, the festival dates back to the year 1349 and has occurred nearly every year for more than 650 years. Clearly, our partners may see things with a different lens given their culture and history.

To gain a better understanding of this tapestry of history and culture, European Command has recently published a reading list of over 80 titles with genres ranging from history to literature. (This can be found at http://useucom.wordpress.com/2009/08/06/what-are-you-reading/) European Command members are encouraged to find an area of interest and learn more about their host country or a specific period in its history. For example, after reading *Where Have All the Soldiers Gone*, by James J. Sheehan, a reader may have a much better insight into the differing approaches of our partners. No single approach is "correct." Partners give each other ideas and learn from one another. It may be hard for Americans to fully comprehend the influence of disastrous 20th century wars, both hot and cold, and their aftermath on the psyche of our partners, but we owe it to ourselves and to our friends to try.

If you understand the European culture, you will understand the United States better. The United States is a country with strong ties to the European continent. The recent 2008 U.S. Census revealed that approximately 60 percent of the U.S. population identifies somewhat with European ancestry. A glance at some of the name tags of European Command members validates this unique connection. As the names Cimicata, Gallagher, Rodriguez, and Stavridis suggest, America is a nation of immigrants; but immigrant offspring quickly assimilate into contemporary culture. One indication of this assimilation is our loss of the native tongue. Only 8 percent of DOD members speak a foreign language, and European Command likely mirrors this statistic. Thus, we almost always conduct business with our partners in English. By comparison, a visitor to Supreme Headquarters, Allied Powers Europe, would hear a variety of languages in the hallway and cafeteria, but as soon as a meeting would start, virtually all the international staff would display an admirable mastery of English.

Europe is a continent of many languages. The European Union has 23 official and more than 60 indigenous languages, so it is a significant challenge to communicate in host-nation languages with our partners. For that reason, European Command has challenged all its members to study a foreign language using the various tools the services offer, such as the award-winning language software, Rosetta Stone. Furthermore, European Command is exploring ways to make it easier for its members to have access to more language resources. European Command recognizes that the study of a language is a tremendous way to gain insight into another culture. The knowledge of basic phrases can help build trust between individuals.

Challenges and Opportunities

Never have the challenges or opportunities been greater for European Command to strengthen the bonds of partnership. Our partners face an array of hazards, ranging from international terrorism,

Our partners face an array of hazards, ranging from international terrorism, extremism, shifting demographics, and economic turbulence to concerns over access to energy.

extremism, shifting demographics, and economic turbulence to concerns over access to energy. We do not want to face these hazards alone. The United States cannot obtain its strategic objectives without a unified approach, and the military is seeking more innovative solutions using proven concepts.

NATO

After 60 years, NATO still stands as the most successful military alliance in history. One legacy of this alliance is the adoption of hundreds of "standardization agreements." These agreements established processes, procedures, terms, and conditions for use of common military and technical procedures and equipment among member countries. They may seem bureaucratic, but in reality, these agreements have vital relevance to our operations today. The fact that the International Security Assistance Force in Kabul produces operations orders using a standardized NATO planning process, in English, and in formats that staff members are familiar with, is a minor miracle. It is easy for those who work with these standard processes regularly to overlook them, but our neighbors do not do so. Indeed, countries seeking to work closer with us often aspire to achieve the "NATO standard." NATO's investment in interoperability decades ago continues to be beneficial in both old and new partnership enterprises.

Although our collective memory of training in Europe during the Cold War is fading a bit, we can and should build upon the positive legacies of that era. Through exercises, unit partnerships, and exchange assignments, the United States and its allies in European Command have built a common framework of principles for conventional warfare. We must be comfortable training for irregular warfare on one day and stabilization, security, transition and reconstruction the next. Our emphasis on training will not only be on how to perform a mission, but also on how to "train the trainer."

The Operational Mentor and Liaison Teams Program (OMLT, pronounced "omelet") is a prime example of this change in focus and the synergy of multiple partnerships. An OMLT is a small team of partner-nation officers and noncommissioned officers whose primary task is to deploy to Afghanistan to coach, teach, and mentor an Afghan National Army unit. They also provide a conduit for command and control and, when required, provide support with operational planning and employment. Operational mentor and liaison teams help Afghans develop collective and individual skills to achieve and maintain peace and stability. In this process we should avoid "Americanizing" our partners and impart the concept of service and professionalism. It is better to allow them the flexibility to fit such concepts into their culture.

European Command plays an important role helping our partners train and deploy for this vital mission. Hungary recently deployed a team that was small in size, but huge in impact—an OMLT aided by European Command training, resources, and mentorship. It would have been difficult years ago to imagine Hungarian forces training and partnering with U.S. forces, then deploying out of Europe to the distant land of Afghanistan with the ultimate mission of mentoring the Afghan National Army. This example demonstrates the power of cooperation and unity of effort when trust is formed based on professional relationships.

However, there is more to this story, much more. Due to the highly successful State Partnership Program, a bilateral training and mentoring association that began in 1993, this particular OMLT included not only members of the Hungarian Armed Forces, but also 30 members of the Ohio Army National Guard.

1LT Nicole Ashcroft, 179th Air Wing public affairs

During the Ohio National Guard's Operational Mentor and Liaison Team homecoming ceremony held in Solnok, Hungary, on 15 August 2009, General Laszlo Tombol, Hungary's chief of defense, recognized CPT Austin W. Dufresne for his work.

The National Guard's State Partnership Program continues to be one of our most effective security cooperation programs. By linking American states with designated partner countries, we promote access, enhance military capabilities, improve interoperability, and reinforce the principles of responsible governance. Currently 20 states have partnerships with 21 countries in the European Command area of operations (see box). Our intent is to build enduring military-to-military, military-to-civilian, and civilian-to-civilian relationships, all of which enhance long-term international security. In the end, personal relationships trump everything, and are the key to our success.

To achieve our common goals, we must partner with many organizations in addition to traditional military allies and coalition members. To succeed, we must work more closely with other departments and agencies of the U.S. government, such as the Department of Treasury, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and the United States Agency for International Development. We seek the same strong relationships and trust with multinational organizations and nongovernmental organizations as we have with uniformed allies.

One of European Command's most important assets is a bastion of knowledge, not a weapon system. The George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies in Garmisch, Germany, has hosted thousands of participants from numerous nations to promote dialogue and understanding. For this command, the Marshall Center demonstrates the primacy that building partnership has in our mission. We cannot surge trust, and we do not want to try to build relationships and seek capabilities after a crisis has started. We want to know each other long before.

A Holistic Approach

Building partnership capacity is not a specialized program or a single event. We approach this key mission with a strategic campaign plan that touches

> **We cannot surge trust, and we do not want to try to build relationships and seek capabilities after a crisis has started.**

U.S. European Command State Partnerships

Alabama / Romania
California / Ukraine
Colorado / Slovenia
Georgia / Georgia
Illinois / Poland
Indiana / Slovakia
Kansas / Armenia
Maine / Montenegro
Maryland / Estonia
Maryland / Bosnia
Michigan / Latvia
Minnesota / Croatia
New Jersey / Albania
North Carolina / Moldova
Ohio / Hungary
Ohio / Serbia
Oklahoma / Azerbaijan
Pennsylvania / Lithuania
Tennessee / Bulgaria
Texas and Nebraska / Czech Rep
Vermont / Macedonia

all staff directorates and components. We challenge ourselves by asking the question, "How does this action contribute to building partnership capacity?" or "What have I done for our partnerships today?" To be successful, we must synchronize not only our efforts, but also our words and deeds.

We know the best partnerships have open communication and seek an exchange of ideas with eyes on a goal. We do not have all the solutions or all the right answers. The goal of European Command is not "Americanization." We share techniques and processes that have worked for us, but recognize that each partner has a unique culture and approach to problem solving. Even so, we may be justifiably proud that many nations actively seek to emulate our professional noncommissioned officer corps and our emphasis on discipline, ethics, and individual initiative.

We often learn innovative solutions from our partners. The term *specific capability* crops up frequently in forums exploring how smaller nations

During a field training exercise in Tata, Hungary, SGT George Taylor (center) reviews squad level assault tactics with his Hungarian and U.S. operational mentor and liaison team combat advisor teammates, August 2009.

contribute to large enterprises. The Irish Army may seem small at 8,500, but it has contributed superb individual augmentees to the International Security Assistance Force headquarters. For example, a dinner conversation in a dining facility in Afghanistan became especially enlightening for an American Army officer when an Irish officer told him that improvised explosive devices were a decades-old issue for the Irish Army, not a recent phenomenon. This prompted a longer discussion, and the American gained greater perspective and useful ideas. We do not always measure knowledge and experience in a specific capability in terms of troop strength.

That American officer benefited immensely from the impromptu laboratory facilitated by his Irish counterpart. Ideally, such tangible and salient lessons can have a broader reach than just one person. A formalized innovative process that reaches out to our military and civilian partners can be a catalyst for similar broad results. We established an

> *…building partner capacity is rarely about materiel solutions.*

"innovation cell" in European Command to build partnership capacity through research and exchange of ideas, techniques, technologies, and procedures.

We recognize that building partner capacity is rarely about materiel solutions. It is easy for some to envision a technological solution to every problem—a "silver bullet." If only our partners had more (fill in the blank), they would be more capable. In European Command, we have found that materiel solutions are not always the best way to build capacity. Each partner nation is different, and materiel solutions can result in new, additional requirements. The need to maintain, train, and operate complex and expensive platforms can be challenging for smaller countries. At European Command, we understand that building capacity is not always about "things." It may also be about the power of ideas and concepts. Our noncommissioned officer corps is an example of an investment in people, not materiel. As we work with our partners, we seek to find the right balance between materiel solutions and ideas.

Communication

We are proud that we are pioneering the use of social networking to reach out to our partners. From a command blog (www.eucom.mil/english/bridge/blog.asp) to Facebook, Twitter, and LinkedIn, we are seeking new ways to tell our story and emphasize the two-way communication central to any successful partnership. We are also working diligently to improve communication with our attachés using collaborative tools such as Defense Connect on Line to hold "town hall meetings" to exchange ideas and improve situational awareness. European Command strives to be a learning organization and to communicate through many means. ***MR***
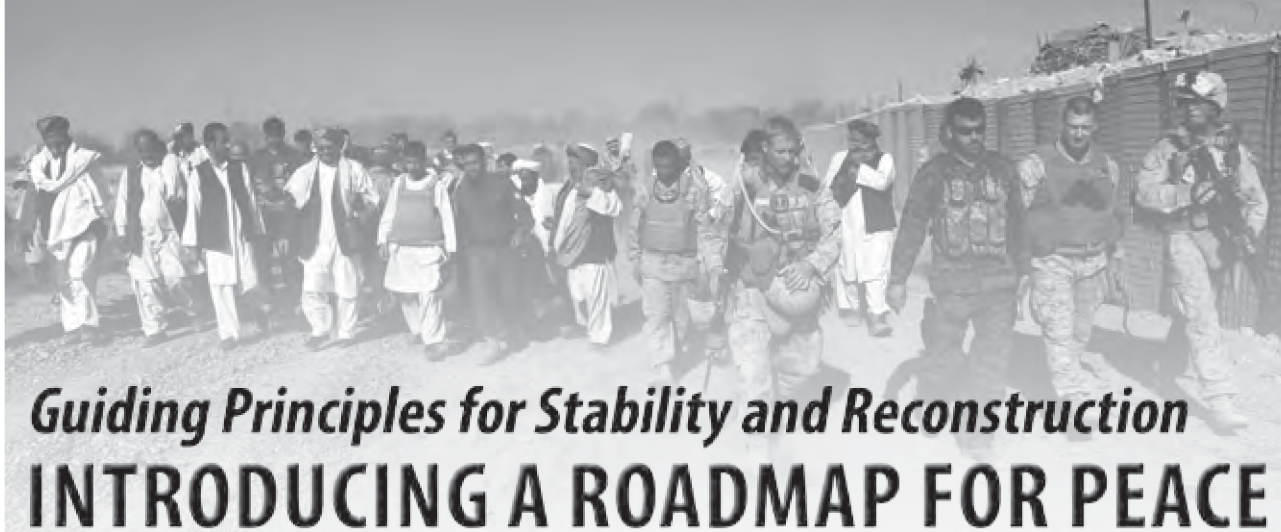
Guiding Principles for Stability and Reconstruction
INTRODUCING A ROADMAP FOR PEACE

Beth Cole and Emily Hsu, U.S. Institute of Peace

Beth Cole is the director of intergovernmental affairs at the U.S. Institute of Peace and the institute's liaison to the U.S. Army Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute. Cole received a B.A. in political science and French from the University of Vermont and completed Kent State University's program on international organizations in Geneva, Switzerland.

Emily Hsu is a program specialist at the U.S. Institute of Peace Post Conflict Peace and Stability Operations Center. She graduated from Northwestern University Medill School of Journalism and received an M.A. in international security from Georgetown University.

PHOTO: U.S. Marine Lt. Col. William F. McCollough, commander of 1st Battalion, 5th Marine Regiment, and his staff walk with the Provincial Nawa District Governor Gul Mangal before a shura in Nawa District, Helmand Province, Afghanistan, 4 November 2009. The men will discuss the benefits of growing wheat over poppies, water irrigation, and security in the area. (U.S. Marine Corps, CPL Artur Shvartsberg)

*I*F HISTORY IS ANY INDICATION, *we can be certain that the decade ahead will bring with it many new challenges in peace and security, not just in Afghanistan, but also in new crises around the world. These challenges will force us, as they have time and again, to revisit the crippling gap in U.S. civilian capacity to respond to and operate effectively in stabilization and reconstruction missions. The U.S. military has long called attention to this gap, which has left it without an effective and badly needed partner in these complex missions. Among the newest efforts to reverse this trend is a landmark strategic doctrinal manual that sets out a roadmap for helping countries move from violent conflict to peace. Developed by the U.S. Institute of Peace and the U.S. Army's Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute,* Guiding Principles for Stabilization and Reconstruction *provides comprehensive, shared knowledge validated by the decades of civilian experience in these missions. It is a companion to the U.S. Army's revolutionary* Field Manual 3-07, Stability Operations. *The following article offers a detailed look into the contributions of the unprecedented civilian doctrine, the unique methodology by which it was developed, and its application in what may very well be the most important fight of this new decade—Afghanistan.*

The Need for Shared Vision

The stakes for success in Afghanistan are higher than ever. At risk are two things: a fragile peace for the Afghan people and the security of America. After having invested our blood and treasures for many long years across the globe, we embark upon a new course in Afghanistan and prepare to deploy tens of thousands of additional U.S. Soldiers. We cannot afford to repeat the mistakes of the recent past, the consequences of which are so severe that they could overwhelm the political will of our nation.

The woes of the Afghan campaign result from many sources. According to a diagnosis last year by the top U.S. commander in Afghanistan, a significant source has been the absence of "unity of effort" in conducting the mission.[1] Seven years of incoherent approaches and competing priorities across the U.S. government, its global partners, and the Afghan government might be the Achilles heel that undermines our success. Achieving unity of effort in these complex environments requires an institutionalized approach that

includes a shared strategic vision for where we are headed, a coherent plan with targeted priorities that cascade from that vision, and implementation of that plan in accordance with shared principles of action.

Today the U.S. military is equipped with a sophisticated architecture for that kind of strategic thinking and planning, including—

- Doctrine to guide its actions.
- A "lesson learned" system to refresh the doctrine.
- A planning apparatus that turns doctrine into concrete knowledge.
- An education and training system that imparts this knowledge throughout its ranks.
- A powerful web of support for each Soldier.

This time-tested system is what allows the military to be effective, synchronized, and efficient, even in the most complex of missions—those involving stabilization and reconstruction.[2]

By comparison, the civilian agencies of the U.S. government, who are charged with leading these missions, still operate without any unifying framework or shared set of principles to guide their actions. This forces civilian planners and practitioners to adopt ad hoc methods that impede the cooperation and cohesion so vital in any stability and reconstruction mission. If Soldiers are to focus on what they are trained to do—establishing security—civilians must be able to sustain that security beyond the presence of a foreign military. The U.S. military must also assist the host nation in establishing the rule of law, stable governance, a sustainable economy, and social well-being. The U.S. military has long sought a partner with the capability to shape these critical end states.

Guiding Principles for Stabilization and Reconstruction

While filling this civilian gap is no simple feat, we are making important inroads today. In October 2009, the U.S. Institute of Peace and the U.S. Army's Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute published *Guiding Principles for Stabilization and Reconstruction*—the first strategic doctrine ever written for civilians engaged in stability and reconstruction missions.[3] The *Guiding Principles* is a practical roadmap for peace builders involved in helping countries transition from violent conflict to peace. The manual documents and records the vast experience and lessons learned by civilians

…the civilian agencies of the U.S. government…operate without any unifying framework or shared set of principles to guide their actions.

who have participated in past missions, and it offers comprehensive, shared knowledge that has been validated by dozens of peace-building institutions.

The release of the *Guiding Principles* manual follows closely on the heels of the launch of the U.S. Army's revolutionary Field Manual (FM) 3-07, *Stability Operations,* which was a major milestone for Army doctrine. Both manuals are unprecedented in scope and provide a baseline set of principles for engaging in these missions—FM 3-07 for the U.S. military and the *Guiding Principles* for U.S. civilian agencies. Released just one year prior to the *Guiding Principles*, FM 3-07 described for the first time the important role of military forces in supporting broader U.S. efforts in these missions. The two manuals share a common face because they are companion documents and embrace a common strategic framework founded on five end states for stabilization and reconstruction:

- Safe and secure environment.
- Rule of law.
- Stable governance.
- Sustainable economy.
- Social well-being.

For civilian planners and practitioners in these missions, the *Guiding Principles* offers three important contributions: a shared strategic framework, a comprehensive set of shared principles, and key trade offs, gaps, and challenges. Together, these tools aim to increase civilian capacity in U.S. government agencies and improve prospects for unity of effort in missions like Afghanistan.

Strategic Framework

From a planning perspective, perhaps the most significant contribution of the *Guiding Principles* is the Strategic Framework for Stabilization and Reconstruction (Figure 1). This framework offers a comprehensive look at the complexity of these missions and is built on a validated construct of common end states, crosscutting principles, necessary conditions, and major approaches. The overlapping

Guiding Principles **manual launch event, 7 October 2009. Left to right, Dr. Richard Solomon (President, USIP), LTG William B. Caldwell, IV (Commanding General, Combined Arms Center, U.S. Army), Janine Davidson (Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, Plans, U.S. Department of Defense), Robert Jenkins (Deputy Coordinator, Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization, U.S. Department of State), Beth Cole (Lead Writer of manual and Director of Intergovernmental Affairs, USIP), and Daniel Serwer (Vice President of Centers of Innovation, USIP)**

major military, diplomatic, and development organizations, as well as several host-country plans developed for stability and reconstruction missions. From this investigation, we discovered an important point of agreement. In every war-torn country, we consistently strive for five general end states. Within each of these end states, we identified up to five necessary conditions, or "minimum standards," that we must meet to achieve those end states.[4]

bubbles signify interconnectedness across all five end states; the central bubble suggests that the seven crosscutting principles apply in all five end states.

The framework emerged from an extensive analysis of primary resources, including the strategic outlays of

Each of the five end states corresponds with a dedicated section of the *Guiding Principles* manual. These sections drill further below the conditions level, identifying major approaches used and providing key guidance for those approaches. Each

Figure 1. Strategic framework for stabilization and reconstruction.

end state section also includes relevant trade offs, gaps, and challenges, which subsequent sections of this article will explain. An abridged sample of this construct as applied for a safe and secure environment is presented in Figure 2.

The greatest strength of the framework lies in the inclusive and comprehensive process through which it was developed, making the content and structure truly shared. This trait is what gives the framework tremendous potential in uniting disparate players behind a common starting point from which to assess, prioritize, plan, implement, and measure progress in these missions. The framework does not dictate priorities, but depicts a high-level map for where we want to go. From there, planners and practitioners can begin to identify the many possible roads that lead to that destination and debate the best courses for success—based, of course, on the unique circumstances of every conflict. By visualizing in one place all the critical levers for a sustainable peace, leaders can make informed decisions about priorities and resource allocation. Finally, the framework enables civilian agencies to begin institutionalizing their approaches to these missions, thereby minimizing ad hoc decisions, improving cohesion, and boosting overall chances for success.

Guiding Principles

The manual's second contribution is a shared set of principles that guides both civilian and military actions toward a common goal. Doctrine, as we have learned, sets baseline principles of action that have withstood the test of time. For example, "host-nation ownership" is a fundamental principle that is valid for all end states. In the manual, ownership is the idea that "the affected country must drive its own long-term development needs and priorities."[5] No matter what end state we are working toward, promoting a sense of ownership by the host-nation government and its people is imperative. Such ownership is a prerequisite for sustainable stability and growth.

The manual elevates this and other principles as ones that should shape strategic plans while guiding the actions of peace builders on the ground. We carefully studied and extracted these principles from best practices that came directly from the field. They are not the personal opinions of the writers, nor do they adopt any single school of thought. We will discuss the unique methodology behind the development of the *Guiding Principles* manual a little later in the article.

Trade offs, Gaps, and Challenges

A third unique contribution of the *Guiding Principles* is the elevation of key trade offs, gaps, and challenges. At a cursory glance, the strategic framework's "snapshot" of stability and reconstruction missions may appear neat and orderly, but the reality is that these missions are often precisely the opposite. To underscore their inordinate complexities, we highlighted within each end state the toughest *trade offs* likely to arise in executing day-to-day decisions, the biggest *gaps* in knowledge we have yet to fill as a community of practice, and the many *challenges* we have encountered in trying to implement what we already know. In identifying these elements, we hope to inspire dialogue about possible solutions and present a potential research agenda for future investigations critically needed to continue improving success in these missions.

End State: SAFE AND SECURE ENVIRONMENT

Necessary Condition: Cessation of Large-Scale Violence

- **Approach: Separation of Warring Parties**
  Example Guidance: Separate forces to create time and space for the peace process.
- **Approach: Enduring Ceasefire/Peace Agreement**
  Example Guidance: Understand that stopping armed conflict requires political, not military, solutions.
- **Approach: Management of Spoilers**
  Example Guidance: Anticipate obstructionists and understand their motivations.
- **Approach: Intelligence**
  Example Guidance: Local intelligence is a must, but be very aware of sensitivities.

Trade off: Prioritizing short-term stability vs. confronting impunity.
Gap/Challenge: Civilian oversight of the security forces.

Figure 2

Built on Decades of Experience

The unprecedented two-year process through which this manual came to life is as important as the content itself. The core writing team first received a crash course in doctrine development from the U.S. Army's Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute, along with invaluable guidance from an extraordinary place that produces doctrine regularly: the U.S. Army Combined Arms Center, whose commander, Lieutenant General William B. Caldwell IV, has since been tapped to lead the NATO training mission in Afghanistan. From our military partners, we learned that doctrine is authoritative in its guidance, but not prescriptive. Doctrine offers a baseline set of principles that can help coordinate the efforts of disparate actors and free decision makers, planners, and practitioners from ad hoc approaches.

With this knowledge, we set out to gather hundreds of strategic-level documents produced by the spectrum of peace-building institutions that have experience in these missions: military, diplomatic, and development agencies of individual nations; the many agencies of the United Nations; other intergovernmental organizations; and nongovernmental organizations. These volumes contained lessons documented from a long history of both muddy combat boots and plain old shoes on the ground. The list of these resources, contained in Appendix A of the manual, draws from experiences in El Salvador, Cambodia, the Balkans, Rwanda, Haiti, Liberia, and many more.

In painstakingly reviewing this body of literature over several months, we were able to identify the principles that consistently rose to the top across dozens of organizations and piece together the foundations for the *Guiding Principles*, which reflects the collective reality and experience of those agencies. As mentioned previously, the manual's content draws directly from the contributions of practitioners past and present. Out of the manual's 800-plus citations, more than 200 are attributed to UN agencies, another 100-plus to the U.S. Agency for International Development, 66 to the United Kingdom government, 31 to the World Bank, and 26 to the U.S. military—just to name a few.

We followed this lengthy review process with months of extensive vetting across the U.S. and global communities of practice. The review included a three-week tour across Europe to hold workshops with key international organizations and governmental agencies. The manual underwent additional months of revision, based on specific feedback on the content and structure of the manual.

Applying the Framework to Afghanistan

With any new tool, determining the true measure of its worth requires taking it for a road test. In an October 2009 exercise for the House Armed Services Subcommittee for Oversight and Investigations, lead writer of the manual, Beth Cole, applied the strategic framework to the situation in Afghanistan and assessed the conflict against the framework's seven crosscutting principles and 22 conditions. Cole highlighted eight priorities. We discuss each of them in detail below (Figure 3).

Eight Priorities for Afghanistan

The following sections address the eight priorities, which we have derived in part from the recommendations posed to the House Armed Services subcommittee.

Political primacy. Political settlements are essential starting points for promoting national unity and reconciliation that will enable long-term peace and economic and social growth. In Afghanistan today, the leadership crisis involving the presidential office is one that requires acute attention. When some or all of the population no longer view a governing authority as legitimate, peaceful political processes are more likely to break down, making violent alternatives more likely as well. While the crisis has passed for now, questions about the legitimacy of Hamid Karzai's leadership continue to divide the Afghan populace and could spur further violence.

Political settlements are necessary not just at the highest levels of leadership but down to the level of the foot soldier. We must separate those who refuse to forsake violence from reconcilable fighters who only partake in the insurgency out of fear or because they have no viable alternative. Political settlements at this level may involve reintegrating fighters into standing security forces or helping them become peaceful, productive participants in governance, economic, and social life. We have done this before in equally challenging places and we can succeed

Figure 3. Strategic framework with priority conditions for Afghanistan.

again. Nevertheless, we still lack a strategic approach to fostering and sustaining these negotiations.

Physical security. We cannot succeed anywhere in Afghanistan without first establishing a safe and secure environment for the Afghan people.[6] Physical security primarily involves protecting the population, but it also includes securing key government, cultural, religious, and economic centers whose destruction or harm could incite further violence.

Increasing physical security for the population and gaining their trust will require international forces to work more closely with the Afghanistan National Security Forces. It will also require closing the gap that has grown between the International Security Assistance Force and the population. In these environments, people often fear for their safety and that of their family and friends, and in an insurgency environment they are likely to side with whomever provides them security. Protecting the population from insurgent violence, intimidation, corruption, and coercion is the key to winning the counterinsurgency fight and tipping the balance of support to the International Security Assistance Force and Afghan government. Ultimately, the Afghans themselves must be able to provide for their own security.

Territorial security. We must prioritize territorial security by mitigating the threats over the long, treacherous Afghanistan-Pakistan border from which many of the greatest insurgent challenges emanate. Increasingly, insurgent leaders and other extremist Islamist groups operate from Pakistan, enjoying the support and protection of one another, as well as some elements of the Pakistani government. From its base in Pakistan, Al-Qaeda continues to provide the Afghan insurgency not only with fighters, suicide bombers, and technical assistance, but also with training and financial support for its operations. The presence of these

> *Ultimately, the Afghans themselves must be able to provide for their own security.*

An Afghan National Army soldier provides security during a joint patrol in Zabul Province, Afghanistan, 30 November 2009. The Afghan National Army's mission is to safeguard the independence and territorial integrity of their country.

threats in the border regions also threatens major supply routes used by the International Security Assistance Force. Establishing territorial security over the border will require a higher level of engagement between the governments of Afghanistan and Pakistan. Ultimately, the two governments will have to forge sustainable agreements for security, trade, and routine travel.

Legitimate monopoly over the means of violence. The Afghans must achieve legitimate monopoly over the means of violence. Increasing the size and accelerating the growth of the Afghan National Security Forces is the challenging mission that General Caldwell has assumed and is one that requires the skills of the Departments of Justice, State, and Homeland Security. In addition to training and equipping legions of police and Soldiers, it is critical that we provide the necessary mentoring, infrastructure, and administrative support to those responsible for managing these forces. Supporting the managerial aspects of the security forces is just as important as boosting their operational capacity. Oversight involves managing district, provincial, and national institutions and ministries with responsibilities for budget execution, personnel management, professional development, and accountability for actions taken by security forces.

Control over illicit economy and economic threats to peace. Even with professional Afghan forces and a robust International Security Assistance Force presence protecting the population, violence will continue if we do not disrupt, curtail, and try to extinguish the sources of insurgent economic support. We need to continue to identify and disrupt financial networks of local power brokers, insurgent groups, transnational organized crime, and terrorist organizations supporting violence in Afghanistan. This means shutting down foreign financing and disrupting a growing narcotics trade. Severing this flow of illicit resources also helps limit the culture of impunity that results from the entrenchment of criminal networks throughout the economy and within the government. Corruption in the government is tied to the narcotics trade. Funding comes from the narcotics trade.

Access to justice. The Afghan population needs improved access to justice. This means having security forces that protect the population by removing threats, investigators that apprehend financiers of the insurgents, anti-narcotics police

> *…violence will continue if we do not disrupt, curtail, and try to extinguish the sources of insurgent economic support.*

that destroy opium-processing facilities and interdict drug shipments, and an accessible means to address grievances. Improving access to justice may mean bolstering or rebuilding the informal mechanisms for community-level dispute resolution that the Taliban and other insurgents now provide, while resourcing the fledgling formal justice system that provides a continuum from police to defense attorney, then prosecutor to judge, and finally to corrections.

Provision of essential services. To ensure long-term stability, the Afghan government must have the capability and the will to provide the population with essential services, including security, the rule of law, and basic human needs. Afghans must have a reason to support their government. This will only be a lost cause if their government is engaged in corruption and abuse of power or is too weak or unwilling to punish bad behavior by power brokers. To move the population off the fence or away from the insurgents, we must help build the Afghan government so it can deliver these services and be seen as the deliverers. Although we have improved the government's ability to provide basic health care, education, sanitation, food, security, and other core services, the Taliban and other insurgents are providing shadow governance and avenues for

justice, and in the process, de-legitimizing the central government and, in a return to repressive rule, curtailing services to women and other vulnerable groups. If the Afghan government does not deliver services, the insurgents will. We should also seek to improve regional and local governance through informal and formal mechanisms to replace the traction the Taliban and other insurgents have gained by developing a religious and cultural narrative that connects to Afghans.

Stewardship of state resources. Essential services should take place within a construct of institutions of governance. Many Afghans are on the fence and a national crisis exists over leadership of the Afghan state. It is paramount to prioritize support for subnational institutions of governance—state and non-state—that provide the entry point for services and boost confidence in the idea of an accountable and legitimate government. We should enlarge our view of acceptable forms of governance and turn to traditional, informal, tribal, community, and local structures. We should also provide political, financial, and technical assistance to help Afghans serve their communities.

National ministries that have been the focus of attention still require support and enhanced accountability and transparency to win back the trust of the people. Improved financial management and procurement and concessions practices, controls to mitigate against corruption, increasing capacity within the civil service, and better donor coordination to achieve all of these are pressing requirements that are long overdue. Petty corruption is not the issue, but the corruption that enables a dangerous nexus of officials, drug lords, criminal organizations, and insurgents must be halted immediately.

A member of the Nangarhar Provincial Reconstruction Team, left, distributes items to a woman and her daughters during a humanitarian aid hand out in Dudarek, Afghanistan, 2 November 2009.

U.S. Army, SGT Jennifer Cohen

Other Advances in Civilian Capability

While the *Guiding Principles* manual is an important step forward, it is just one brick in the broader architecture necessary to improve civilian capability. For more than six years, the U.S. Institute of Peace has been helping to build the foundation

A Soldier carries school supplies in Rajankala, Afghanistan, 2 December 2009. International Security Assistance Forces are providing school supplies in Rajankala.

for that architecture by developing tools and assets for U.S. civilians engaged in these missions, in both Washington and in the field. To help replace ad hoc approaches in the U.S. government with deliberative planning and execution, several federal departments (including Treasury, Justice, Commerce, Agriculture, Homeland Security, and the U.S. Agency for International Development) have come together under an interagency coordination cell known as the U.S. State Department's Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization. The 1986 Goldwater-Nichols effort to unify the armed services was a long and rough road. Uniting civilian assets from disparate agencies with varying authorities, appropriation accounts, and missions is also a Herculean task. However, time is not on our side. We need progress in Afghanistan now.

We have cause for optimism in the field in Afghanistan today. U.S. agencies are on the right path. Last year, the U.S. Embassy in Afghanistan conducted a civilian-led process, involving the International Security Assistance Force and U.S. forces, to develop the Integrated Civil-Military Campaign Plan.[7] In producing the plan, the Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization applied the planning expertise it forged over the past four years. Today, the embassy, the International Security Assistance Force, and U.S. forces have organized into teams to execute this plan along with the military campaign plan. In addition, the civil-military structure we have sought for years is taking shape as we speak in Regional Commands East and South—the two regions of greatest insurgent activity. Appointment of senior civilian representatives as counterparts to the regional military commanders also marks a significant step forward.

With incremental advancements like these on several different fronts, the hope is that we are, slowly but surely, building a solid foundation on which we can continue to develop tools to improve civilian capability for future missions. Hundreds of new civilians are now deploying to Afghanistan, allowing us finally to bring "all elements of national power" to the fight. There is no better opportunity to put to work the best practices we have learned over the last seven difficult years—and to shape those efforts with the *Guiding Principles*. **MR**

NOTES

1. International Security Assistance Force, "Commander's Initial Assessment," Kabul, Afghanistan (30 August 2009), 1-3.

2. For the purposes of this article, "stabilization and reconstruction" missions refer to those that involve helping a country recover from violent conflict and build sustainable peace.

3. See <www.usip.org/resources/guiding-principles-stabilization-and-reconstruction>.

4. The term "minimum standards" is derived from "Sphere Project: Humanitarian Charter and Minimum Standards in Disaster Response," which set minimum standards for the provision of humanitarian aid.

5. U.S. Institute of Peace and U.S. Army Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute, *Guiding Principles for Stabilization and Reconstruction* (October 2009), 3-13.

6. International Security Assistance Force, 1-1.

7. United States Government Integrated Civilian-Military Campaign Plan for Support to Afghanistan, 10 August 2009.

FORWARD IN AFRICA: USAFRICOM and the U.S. Army in Africa

Major General William B. Garrett III, Colonel Stephen J. Mariano, and Major Adam Sanderson, U.S. Army

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PHOTO: Ratik Ole Kuyana, a local guide hired during Exercise Natural Fire, awaits troops to transport at Kitgum, Uganda, 15 October 2009. (U.S. Army)

ON 1 OCTOBER 2009, U.S. Army Africa, formerly the U.S. Army Southern European Task Force (SETAF) became the Army Service Component Command (ASCC) for U.S. Africa Command (USAFRICOM). That designation reflects some modest, but significant, good news; a year earlier, USAFRICOM had no dedicated Army Service Component Command. Today, U.S. Army Africa embodies the U.S. Army's commitment to the full spectrum of military operations. The command is well on its way to transforming from a tactical contingency headquarters to a regionally focused theater army headquarters capable of synchronizing all U.S. Army activity in Africa, conducting sustained security engagement with African land forces, and responding promptly and effectively to a variety of crises in Africa.

With the 2008 change to the Unified Command Plan (Figure 1), USAFRICOM assumed Department of Defense (DOD) responsibility for relationships with 53 distinct countries that maintain predominately land-centric security forces. Consequently, U.S. Army Africa forms a critical part of America's overall engagement strategy on the African continent. As USAFRICOM matures its approach to security cooperation with a persistent, sustained level of engagement, the Army's role in building partner security capacity to prevent or mitigate conflict will increase. As the U.S. strategy focuses more on preventing conflict through engagement, U.S. Army Africa will be the primary instrument to facilitate the development of African land forces and institutions in a region of growing strategic importance.

Africa is the second largest, second most populous, and one of the most diverse continents on Earth. The billionth African will be born in 2010, and by 2050, there may be two Africans for every European.[1] More than 22 large ethnic groups and thousands of tribes or clans speak over 2,000 languages, and Africans ascribe to an array of traditional and tribal religions.[2] Africa has a variety of natural resources, but despite recent economic growth, most African countries have the lowest gross domestic products

Figure 1. A changed world—Unified Command Plan 2008.

in the world.[3] Violent competition for natural resources, low levels of economic development, and inconsistent governance have unfortunately made Africa a world leader in humanitarian crises, failed states, and deadly conflict.[4] The conflicts in Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo, for example, are currently the world's two deadliest, disrupting stability and impeding development in neighboring countries.

Africa hosts more United Nations (UN) peace-keeping missions than any other continent and employs the majority of UN field personnel. Eight of 19 current UN peace support missions employ 69,951 of the 95,419 UN troops, police, and observers in Africa.[5] One hundred and sixteen countries contribute military, police, and civilian observers to UN peacekeeping operations in Africa, underscoring a high level of international interest in security and stability in the continent.[6] The frailty of African security institutions, multifaceted economic partnerships, compelling humanitarian needs, and resource development potential make Africa a vital region for the international community and a complex environment for U.S. operations.

Historically, the U.S. tendency has been to put Africa at "the periphery of American strategy,

to accord it our second-best efforts, or to ignore it entirely."[7] Under the Bush administrations, however, the U. S. Government significantly raised the profile of its African programs through well-resourced initiatives, such as the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief, the Millennium Challenge Corporation, and the creation of USAFRICOM.

President Barack Obama quickly reinforced the role of USAFRICOM when addressing Africans in the first months of his administration, "Let me be clear. Our Africa Command is focused not on establishing a foothold on the continent, but on confronting common challenges to advance the security of America, Africa, and the world . . . I can promise you this: America will be with you every step of the way."[8] Successfully confronting these

> *President Barack Obama quickly reinforced the role of USAFRICOM when addressing Africans in the first months of his administration…*

common challenges in Africa will require agreement on a comprehensive approach in the U.S., one that acknowledges that sustainable security depends on commitment from the whole of government.

Diplomacy, Development, and Defense

Secretary of State Hillary Clinton stated that *smart power* uses "the full range of tools at our disposal."[9] She described diplomacy, development, and defense as the "three pillars of American foreign policy."[10] The "three D's" have alternatively been called pillars, approaches, and concepts.[11] The phrase arose as a way to describe synchronized diplomatic, development, and defense efforts to achieve U.S. foreign policy objectives in Iraq and Afghanistan, where military personnel, Department of State (DOS) employees, and U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) officers cooperate in the field at unprecedented levels. The lessons learned from this integrated approach are being applied by USAFRICOM, its components, and U.S. Embassy Country Teams across Africa, resulting in significantly improved coordination.

Military power alone cannot deter conflict, restore good governance, or ensure a lasting peace.[12] But neglecting the security sector perpetuates instability, slows political progress and inhibits long term development.[13] Without a balanced effort, the U.S. government's disparate programs risks contributing to African states' failure to provide for the welfare of their people, which can lead to increases in authoritarianism, extremism, crime, and violence.[14] Preventing these security challenges from reaching America's shores is a major tenet of U.S. defense strategy.

The DOD is responsible for countering threats to U.S. security, on its own, with the interagency and by cooperating with foreign governments. In fact, Secretary of Defense Robert Gates wrote, "Where possible, U.S. strategy is to employ indirect approaches—primarily through building the capacity of partner governments and their security forces—to prevent festering problems from turning into crises that require costly and controversial direct military intervention."[15] An essential part of that strategy is providing military support to political leadership through security cooperation activities.

Four years ago, DOD issued Directive 3000.05, *Military Support to Stability, Security, Transition and Reconstruction (SSTR) Operations*, and the current administration reissued the policy as *Stability Operations*.[16] The directive defines stability operations, provides guidance, and assigns responsibilities within DOD for planning, training, and preparing for the conduct of such operations as "rehabilitating former belligerents and units into legitimate security forces" and "strengthening governance and the rule of law."[17]

The policy puts stability operations "on par" with major combat operations and establishes the military's role as a supporting effort to overall U.S. Government stability, security, transition, and reconstruction operations. Successful stability operations require integrated civil-military efforts, and DOD Directive 3000.05 orders the services to develop the requisite means to rapidly aid in security capacity development, not just in Central and Southwest Asia, but globally and including Africa.

President Bush's decision to establish USAFRICOM was the culmination of a 10-year thought process within the U.S. government. It acknowledges the growing strategic importance of Africa, and recognizes that peace and stability on the continent affects not only Africans, but also the U.S. and international community. The creation of USAFRICOM provides increased opportunities for DOD to harmonize its efforts internally within the U.S. Government and externally with international partners.

Critiques of USAFRICOM and its mission have circulated over the last two years.[18] Consequently, the command's original intent bears repeating: "In support of U.S. foreign policy and as part of a total U.S. government effort, U.S. Africa Command's intent is to assist Africans in providing their own security and stability and helping prevent the conditions that could lead to future conflicts."[19] Hundreds of U.S. engagements with African political and military leaders indicate that many share USAFRICOM's emphasis on conflict prevention and African ownership. USAFRICOM's current strategy emphasizes focusing resources in "phase 0" to prevent crises from becoming catastrophes. (Figure 2 depicts conflict prevention in Joint Publication 3.0 during Phase 0 activities.)
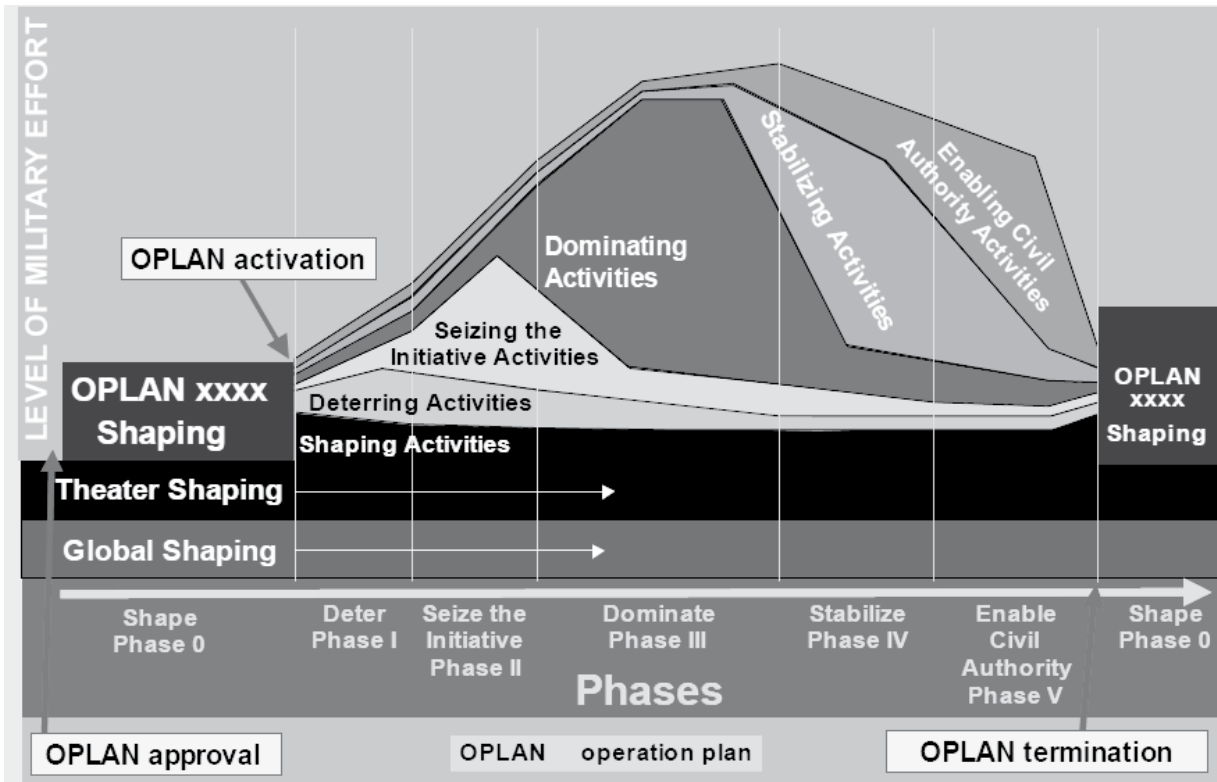
Figure 2. Notional operation plan phases versus level of military effort.

USAFRICOM came into being without assigned forces and started with non-traditional component command arrangements, but as USAFRICOM evolves, it is working to leverage the strengths of each service. According to Title 10 of the *U.S. Code*, each geographic combatant command must have assigned service components to provide administrative and logistic support and to prepare forces and establish reserves of manpower, equipment, and supplies for the effective prosecution of military operations in theater.[20] USAFRICOM has a sub-unified command: U.S. Special Operations Command Africa, a Combined Joint Task Force in the Horn of Africa, and four service component commands. The service component commands are 17th Air Force (U.S. Air Forces Africa); U.S. Naval Forces Africa (the commander is dual-hatted as the Commander of Naval Forces Europe); U.S. Marine Forces Africa (the commander is dual-hatted as the Commander of Marine Forces Europe); and the U.S. Army Southern European Task Force (U.S. Army Africa).[21]

U.S. Army Africa

As the Army Component, U.S. Army Africa now serves as the operational embodiment of a three D

approach and demonstrates DOD and Army commitment to putting stability missions on par with major combat operations. This change of mission represents a dramatic change from Cold War days and a familiar NATO construct. Based in Vicenza, Italy, SETAF was formerly assigned to U.S. European Command via U.S. Army Europe and was a tactical headquarters focused on crisis response. Currently, SETAF is assigned to USAFRICOM as U.S. Army Africa. As an Army Service Component Command, U.S. Army Africa conducts sustained security engagement, supports ongoing operations, and simultaneously carries out congressionally mandated "Title 10" responsibilities for Army personnel in Africa. The command performs these three functions while concurrently deploying, as directed, a combined joint task force headquarters in support of a national, multinational, or international crisis response effort.[22]

This change of mission presents significant challenges. The headquarters doubled its size in 2009 but is still only one-half the size of the standard ASCC.[23] Based on the worldwide demand for forces and enablers, the Department of the Army is unable to permanently assign units to U.S. Army Africa,

requiring the command to reach back to U.S. Army Europe and U.S.-based units to accomplish its mission. Without forces and enablers, or consistent access to both, U.S. Army Africa must refine its procedures and develop creative concepts to support its interagency partners. This unique situation is why former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for African Affairs, Theresa Whelan, described U.S. Army Africa as "interdependent from birth."

Despite these challenges, U.S. Army Africa provides effective support to USAFRICOM by synchronizing all Army activity in Africa, and leveraging joint, interagency, intergovernmental, and multinational relationships. The command seeks to be the U.S. Army's premier organization achieving positive change in Africa and has four main objectives:

● Laying the foundation now for future success as a theater army.

● Helping African partner nations strengthen their land force capacity and encouraging the development of standards of professionalism that promote respect for legitimate civilian authorities and international humanitarian law.

● Becoming a trusted and reliable partner for African land forces, other U.S. government agencies, the security institutions of U.S. Allies, and international organizations working in Africa.

● Integrating and employing military capabilities to prevent or mitigate the effects of conflict or respond to crises in Africa.

These operational objectives support USAFRICOM's Strategy and Theater Campaign Plan; they are pursued in concert with U.S. country teams in Africa, the Department of the Army, the Combined Joint Task Force Horn of Africa, Special Operations Command-Africa, and the other components.

Because U.S. Army Africa focuses on sustained security engagement to build partner capacity, it executes all tasks by, with, and through other government agencies and international partners. U.S. Army Africa recognizes that working with military, civilian, international, and African partners to build the capacity of African security institutions is not business as usual. The command must develop new, principled partnerships that respond to changing requirements whether they originate in Washington or Addis Ababa.

CW2 Terry Throm shares load planning techniques with Uganda Peoples' Defence Forces in support of future AU and UN peacekeeping missions, November 2009.

Army components traditionally execute capacity-building efforts through senior leader visits, military-to-military engagements, and combined exercises. These efforts remain central to U.S. Army Africa's engagement strategy even as it adds value to existing DOS activities like the African Contingency Operations Training and Assistance program. In fact, promoting professional military training and education within African land forces is a functional priority in all U.S. Army Africa activities. The Army will continue to draw on its experience and look for new ways to support the DOS, USAID, and America's international partners.

How U.S. Army Africa is Moving Forward

The DOD had previously divided its efforts in Africa across three separate combatant commands, and subsequently, the Army divided its efforts among three separate Army components. Because of the Unified Command Plan change, the U.S. Army and its many organizations can now speak with one voice to the joint, interagency, intergovernmental, and multinational community operating in Africa.

The U.S. Army Medical Command has research activities in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Kenya, Nigeria, Tanzania, and Uganda; the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers participates in humanitarian civic assistance activities throughout the continent that are coordinated by the USAID representative at the U.S. Embassy.[24] Army Material Command, through the U.S. Army Security Assistance Command, supports multi-million dollar DOS Foreign Military Sales Programs in 22 African countries.[25] U.S. Army Africa is better postured to achieve unity of effort and to support a long-term, coherent defense sector reform or capacity-building strategy by harmonizing these and other Army activities on the continent.

In order to develop holistic Army proposals for security cooperation events in Africa, Army security cooperation stakeholders gathered in September 2009, at U.S. Army Africa Headquarters to hash out requirements, match capabilities, and create a unified position on Army priorities in Africa. Representatives from Medical Command, the Corps of Engineers, the Training and Doctrine Command, and Civil Affairs and Psychological Operations Command joined Army representatives from within U.S. Embassies and members of the U.S. Army Africa team. This meeting allowed U.S. Army Africa to translate country-team requests into Army program requirements.

Similarly, U.S. Army Africa is reviewing the ways in which a theater army supports its respective combatant command. As U.S. Army Africa inventoried U.S. Army-to-USAFRICOM activity, it discovered a web of agreements between USAFRICOM and various Army organizations, all initiated prior to U.S. Army Africa's existence. Redefining arrangements at the Army-to-Army level between U.S. Army Africa and Army organizations will improve the Army Component Commander's ability to advise the Combatant Commander, encourage efficiencies, and synchronize the full range of Army activities in Africa. Redefining the way the U.S. Army supports USAFRICOM is but one example of U.S. Army Africa moving forward—as an emerging theater army.

Relationships. Developing relationships with Department of the Army staff and African land forces is central to the U.S. Army Africa mission; both sets of relationships are critical to achieving positive change in Africa. However, relationships with key interagency partners—for example, the State Department's Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization and USAID's Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance (OFDA)—are equally important. These offices participate in post-conflict and post-disaster operations, respectively, and provide instruction on the interagency approach. Twice in the last year, OFDA taught the Joint Humanitarian Operations Course at U.S. Army Africa Headquarters. This instruction provided participants with a better understanding of other government agency humanitarian assistance programs and facilitated relationships that will be helpful during crises. Members of the U.S. Army Africa staff also attend the Joint Enabling Capabilities Command Planners Course and the Foreign Service Institute's Foundations for Interagency Planning Course as a way of preparing for increased interagency activity in times of crisis.

U.S. Army Africa is already exercising its deployable command post, which can provide command and control of small-scale contingency

operations. Exercise *Natural Fire*, the largest joint and multinational exercise in Africa in 2009, tested this capability, and was a prime example of how U.S. Army Africa is moving forward. Planned to support DOS and USAID objectives in Uganda and executed in concert with non-governmental organizations, the globally resourced, U.S. Army Africa-led exercise took place in Uganda in October 2009. It focused on regional security and humanitarian and civic assistance using a disaster relief scenario. Major exercise objectives included increasing interoperability and strengthening the capability of approximately 650 troops from the East African partner states of Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania, and Uganda.

An important lesson from *Natural Fire* was that persistent, habitual engagements allow U.S. Army and partner forces to develop trustworthy relationships over time. The inaugural African Land Force Summit scheduled for mid-2010 is another example of the Army building relationships in Africa. U.S. Army Africa will bring together the Army chiefs of 54 African countries, the U.S. Army Chief of Staff, the Commanding General of U.S. Army Africa, and Army representatives from several global partners.[26] As U.S. Army Africa moves forward, it will reassure its African, U.S. interagency, and international counterparts that it seeks persistent engagement with only a small presence and will not be an instrument of creeping militarism in U.S. foreign policy.

Natural Fire also confirmed the necessity of working closely with U.S. Embassy country teams and validated the need for country coordination elements. These elements give additional coordination capability to the senior defense official in the Embassy and provide a direct link to the country team. In times of crisis, country coordination elements provide a military planning capability that could enhance integrated planning at the country level.

Along with regionally focused special operations forces, U.S. Army attachés and security assis-

tance officers working in U.S. Embassies have traditionally provided the requisite knowledge that allows ambassadors and commanders to make well-informed, culturally attuned decisions. U.S. Army Africa's six foreign area officers, seven language-trained civil affairs and four regionally oriented psychological operations officers and noncommissioned officers (NCOs) now join 36 U.S. Army foreign area officers living and working in Africa. Soon, U.S. Army Africa will be the U.S. Army's central repository of African expertise and a natural assignment for U.S. Army Africanists. As officers and NCOs rotate from the continent to U.S. Army Africa, the positive, local relationships they build with African land forces will add instant value at the theater army level, and vice versa.

Security Force Assistance. In addition to long-term personal relationships developed between commanders and staffs, teams of skilled Army leaders that advise-and-assist African land forces are essential to the U.S. Army Africa mission. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates emphasized the importance of the advisory mission to West Point cadets by telling them, "From the standpoint of America's national security, the most important assignment in your military career may not necessarily be commanding U.S. soldiers, but advising or

U.S. Army

MAJ Eric Lee, a U.S. Army medical researcher, and Kenyan lab technician, Elizabeth Odundo, examine specimens at U.S. Army Medical Research Unit-Kenya's research station in Kericho, Kenya.

mentoring the troops of other nations as they battle the forces of terror and instability within their own borders."[27] Advisors and mentors will undoubtedly adapt themselves to the complex African security environment. Doing so will allow them to train security forces in a culturally relevant way and avoid the "mirror imaging" pitfall of trying to create forces in the U.S. Army's likeness.

In support of Army Campaign Plan Major Objective 8-6, "Adapt Army Institutions for Building Partnership Capacity," the Army is developing modular security force assistance brigades. Likely modeled on advise-and-assist brigades created for Iraq and Afghanistan, the brigades will go through the Army Force Generation process, be task organized, augmented, and regionally employed. The current augmentation of 20 to 50 field grade officers provides legal, military police, civil affairs, public affairs, engineers, and human terrain team capabilities.[28]

U.S. Army Africa is heavily engaged in security force assistance and strengthening partner land-force capacity. Its non-commissioned officers are participating in the Liberia Defense Sector Reform, for example, and U.S. Army officers are teaching leadership and decision-making courses at the Ethiopian Staff College. U.S. Army Africa planners have also submitted a request for forces that acknowledged an enduring security force assistance

requirement. By having five sub-regionally-oriented advise-and-assist teams focus on the five African Union Standby Force Brigades (North, South, East, West and Central), U.S. Army Africa is posturing itself to build partner force capacity, leverage short- or no-notice engagement opportunities, and increase U.S. situational awareness of diplomatic, development, and defense activity.

African Standby Force. The U.S. Army can apply its expertise in Africa by helping build the capabilities of the African Standby Force. The African Union has an ambitious goal to have five regionally oriented brigades by 2010 for a range of military operations. Figure 3 shows the regions, brigade names, headquarters locations, and six scenarios against which the units train.[1] As the African Union strives to achieve this goal, the U.S. Army, with its brigade-centric orientation, can work with the Global Peacekeeping Operation Initiative and international partners to help strengthen these regional peacekeeping capabilities. Even though the five brigades are in various stages of development and readiness, the U.S. Army can leverage a "core competency" by providing brigade-level, land force expertise. Partnering with the African Standby Force will demonstrate that U.S. Army Africa is focused on defense matters, and not encroaching on diplomatic or development space in Africa.

	North African Standby Brigade (NASBRIG)*
	West African Standby Brigade (WASBRIG)
	Central African Standby Brigade (CASBRIG)
	East African Standby Brigade (EASBRIG)
	South African Development Community Brigade (SADCBRIG)

ASF Potential Missions

Scenario 1. AU/Regional military advice
Scenario 2. AU/Regional observers to UN
Scenario 3. Stand alone AU/Regional observers
Scenario 4. AU/Regional peacekeeping force (PKF)
Scenario 5. AU PKF for complex multidimensional PK
Scenario 6. AU intervention–e.g. genocide situations

*NOTES:
• Morocco is not part of the African Union.
• Tunisia does not yet contribute to the NASBRIG.
• Western Sahara is not universally recognized as an independent state.
• Angola and Democratic Republic of the Congo are members of the Central and Southern Brigades; Madagascar, Mauritius, Seychelles and Tanzania are members of Eastern and Southern Brigades; Burundi is a member of the Central and Eastern Brigades.

NASBRIG HQ
Tripoli, Libya

EASBRIG HQ
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

WASBRIG HQ
Abuja, Nigeria

CASBRIG HQ
Libreville, Gabon

SADCBRIG HQ
Gaborone, Botswana
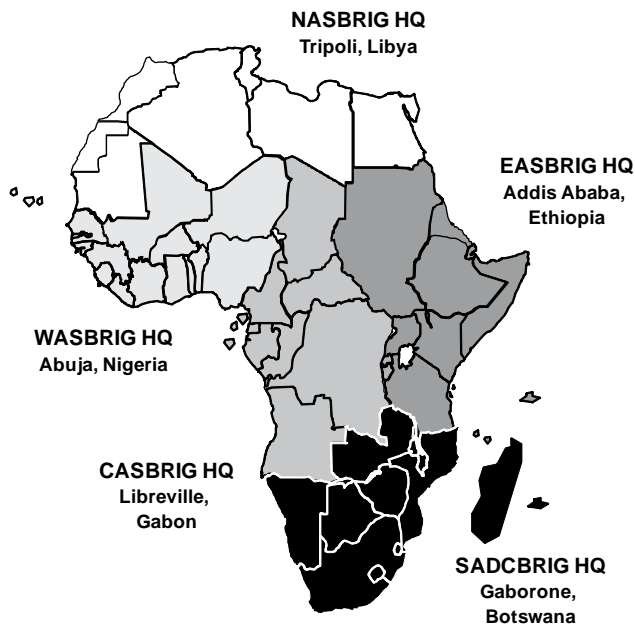
Figure 3. The African Standby Force.

Peace Support Operations. The African Union regional economic organizations and the associated standby force headquarters either provide support to or have relationships with the African Union, UN, NATO, and European Union missions throughout Africa. Traditional U.S. allies, most notably the United Kingdom, France and Canada, participate bilaterally with African nations in various training events and security cooperation activities. The UN currently oversees eight peace support operations in Africa. The European Union and NATO have their own offices for 10 missions. Increasingly, these countries and organizations seek U.S. collaboration in training, exercises, education, or operations.

With this breadth of activities at the international level and a theater campaign plan task to support peace support operations in Africa, it would benefit U.S. Army Africa to better understand the organizations and land forces of countries most active in Africa. The U.S. Army currently has only three people committed in two UN missions in Africa. Increased U.S. Army Africa participation in these international or multinational missions may require policy changes, but providing U.S. Army teams to each peace support operation would provide nearly instant situational awareness with a relatively small commitment. Such an undertaking would be clear evidence of U.S. defense support to inherently diplomatic and development missions. The U.S. would also benefit by steadily building a cadre of personnel with experience in regions where the U.S. military has traditionally lacked expertise.

Challenges

The U.S. Army faces at least four challenges in Africa, all of which could prevent U.S. Army Africa from moving forward with its initiatives.

Resources. The Army may not be able to resource U.S. Army Africa at an appropriate level to reach its objectives, at least until the demand in Iraq and Afghanistan has subsided. Without sufficient and dedicated resources, U.S. Army Africa remains

> *The U.S. Army currently has only three people committed in two UN missions in Africa.*

wholly reliant upon other U.S. Army commands around the world to accomplish its mission in Africa. The Army recently decided to increase U.S. Army Africa's capabilities over a five-year period. This growth will provide USAFRICOM its own theater Army headquarters in the near-term, while mid-term sourcing solutions are developed to add a versatile mix of enabling capabilities needed to respond to crises. As U.S. Army Africa increases its activities to meet USAFRICOM requirements, the long-term need for dedicated forces will grow even further.

Balance. Fulfilling its new role will require U.S. Army Africa to balance its growing security engagement demands with the need to retain a well-trained, deployable contingency headquarters. Previously, SETAF benefited from a singular focus on its joint task force rapid response capability. Today, as U.S. Army Africa, the joint task force requirement is part of a larger mission set, each competing for personnel, equipment, resources, and time. In two exercises last year, *Lion Focus* and *Judicious Response*, the headquarters had to reduce security cooperation activity and delay routine meetings in order to perform its joint task force function. The new theater army structure should mitigate this risk by allowing a main command post to focus on daily operations while a contingency command post would remain prepared to provide command and control over small-scale contingencies, foreign humanitarian assistance and non-combatant evacuation operations.

Rejection. The emphasis on sustained security engagement in the pre-conflict phase risks three types of rejection: African, international, and interagency. If African states and international organizations like the UN, EU, and NATO reject U.S. overtures, capacity-building and crisis-prevention solutions could be viewed as illegitimate. Recognizing that many African militaries organized along European or Soviet system lines, imposing a distinctly American model might complicate the capacity-building effort. Therefore, understanding African perspectives and gaining the support of international partners will be as critical as working effectively with other U.S. government agencies. Within the U.S. government, the DOD will need to clearly explain the value of early engagement and address institutional sensitivities regarding the

militarization of U.S. foreign policy. The positive effects of clear communication and transparent activities like exercise *Natural Fire* have already helped overcome the initial resistance to increased US military cooperation in Africa.

Synchronization. Perhaps the greatest challenge to creating positive conditions in Africa is synchronizing U.S. defense efforts with diplomatic and development efforts. The inadvertent outcome of inadequately coordinated U.S. Army Africa action could be that well-trained African units intended for use in peace support operations, but not properly subordinated to civilian authority, involve themselves inappropriately in domestic policing missions, coups, or conduct controversial cross-border activity. Efforts to improve security force capabilities should thus be multi-level and multi-ministry; current operations demonstrate that capacity building should take an enterprise approach and should include advisory missions at the ministries of Defense, Interior, and Justice to ensure the entire security sector moves forward together.[29] Consequently, as DOD commits to achieving military objectives, U.S. efforts should be comprehensive and "tied to political benchmarks. Consistent failure to achieve those benchmarks can result in the continual drawdown and eventual limitation of U.S. support."[30]

Forward Together

Diplomacy, development, and defense are integrally linked. The creation of USAFRICOM heralds a more comprehensive U.S. approach in Africa, and establishment of U.S. Army Africa enables USAFRICOM to more effectively advance American objectives for self-sustaining African security and stability. Even as the U.S. recognizes the growing importance of Africa, wars in Afghanistan and Iraq continue to require the Army to address its other global commitments. However, with a modest investment of resources, U.S. Army Africa can deliver low-cost, well-coordinated, and sustained security engagement as part of a collective effort to achieve transformational change in Africa. As U.S. Army Africa moves forward, it promises to be a key partner in helping Africans provide for their own security in ways that benefit America, Africa, and the world. **MR**

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The European Union Military Operation in Chad and Central African Republic

**Major General
Bogusław Pacek,
Polish Army, Ph.D.**

Major General Bogusław Pacek, Ph.D., the former commander of the Polish Military Gendarmerie and the deputy operation commander European Union Force Chad/Central African Republic, is an assistant to the chief of general staff of the Polish Armed Forces.

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PHOTO: An overall view of the Sudanese refugee camp of Farchana, eastern Chad, on 14 March 2009 one day before the end of the European force (EUFOR) mandate in the country. (AFP Photo, Philippe Huguen)

THE OPERATIONS HEADQUARTERS of European Union Force Chad/Central African Republic in Mont Valérien, France, near Paris, is located 270 kilometers from the political and strategic decision-making headquarters in Brussels, Belgium, and 4,300 kilometers from the two military theaters of operation in Chad and the Central African Republic. Chad is the fifth largest country in Africa. It is surrounded by Sudan to the east, Libya to the north, Niger and Nigeria to the west, and Cameroon and part of the area of operations in the Central African Republic to the south.

The geographical distances involved are important. The force headquarters is in Abéché, more than 2,000 kilometers from the port of Douala in Cameroon, the main sea point of disembarkation. The area of operations measures some 850 kilometers long and 250 kilometers wide.

Abéché is the regional capital of the Quaddai District and is approximately 800 kilometers from the capital N'Djamena where the rear force headquarters is located. The main function of this headquarters is to provide coordination and liaison with relevant actors (including the Chadian Security Agency) and to coordinate logistical support for the force to enable it to sustain operations in theater.

The area of operations has three distinct geographical features. The northern region of Iriba and northwest Abéché is mostly desert. The eastern Quaddai, Dar Sila region is mostly plateaus and hills. To the south, the Salamat region of Chad and the northeast Vakaga region of the Central African Republic are mostly plains and desert.

The dry and wet seasons are dominant features influencing the climatic conditions in the area of operations. The dry season stretches from the end of October to the end of May, and the wet season is from June to September. There are only two tarred runways in the country, one in the capital city and the second in Abéché. All other runways are dirt strips. There are no rail services. Except for 400 kilometers of tarred roadway, the road network is all dirt tracks. While the country produces oil, there are less than 12 petrol stations in the country. Journeys by convoys are measured in days, not hours. The duration of journeys changes in the wet season when large areas of the low-lying central region are navigable only by boat.

The most important problem for Chad and the Central African Republic is the number of refugees and internally displaced persons fleeing violence

Figure 1. European Union Force Chad/Central African Republic area of operations.

Chadian air assets. Chad president Idriss Deby's forces regained the initiative on 4 February 2008. Many public buildings, including banks, the National Assembly, Justice Palace, and the Chadian national radio station, as well as the city's principal market, were destroyed or badly damaged. There were reports of mass looting during these days. President Deby was successful in driving the rebels out of the capital. This confrontation forced UN personnel and large numbers of Chadians to cross the Chari Bridge into Cameroon. European Union Force contract work was halted and the first elements of a peacekeeping force were scheduled to deploy on 11 February 2008. The rebel attack coincided with the European Union decision to launch the operation. The establishment of European Union Force was a part of an overall response from the international community to the crisis in Darfur, which spilled over into neighbouring Chad and the Central African Republic. On 12 September 2007, the European Union approved a crisis management concept for the deepening humanitarian crisis in Chad and armed attacks by rebel groups against the civilian population.

The United Nations also considered the crisis under UN Security Resolution 1778 on 25 September 2007. The resolution provided for the deployment of a mission in the Central African Republic and Chad and authorized the European Union to deploy forces in these countries for a period of one year from the declaration of initial operational capability. On 15 October 2007, the European Union Council adopted a joint action on the European Union Military Operation in the Republic of Chad and the Central African Republic. This action formally designated Mont Valérien as the operations headquarters and appointed Lieutenant

in the region. In 2003, some 230,000 Sudanese refugees fled across the Chadian border and some 15,000 across the Central African Republic border. In 2008, there were close to 400,000 refugees and 180,000 internally displaced persons. While the refugees are north of Chad, internally displaced persons are mainly concentrated in the central region and the south.

What is noticeable is the layout, which highlights the concept of UN organization and management in contrast to the internally displaced persons camps. The primary focus of the European Union Force Chad/Central African Republic operation is creating a safe and secure environment within the camps.

The core issues facing the Chadian government are—
● The internal power struggle.
● The regional Darfur instability within Sudan and the consequential effects of the Chad (Central African Republic) Sudan rebel conflicts.
● The migration of people seeking food.

There are two significant rebel groups inside Sudan involved in the ongoing conflict inside Chad. After an initial success, in late January 2008 in N'Djamena, the rebels were unable to cope with the

The most important problem of Chad and the Central African Republic is connecting with refugees and internally displaced persons.

General Patrick Nash from Ireland as the Operation Commander and Brigadier General Jean-Phillipe Ganascia from France as the Force Commander. On the 28 January 2008, the European Union Council decided to launch the operation.

On 15 March 2008, the operation commander declared initial operational capability. The operation has 22 nations working at the headquarters in France and 18 troop-contributing nations have deployed troops and assets in theatre in Africa.

The main role of the European Union Force is to contribute to establishing a safe and secure environment in the area of operations by—
- Protecting civilians.
- Improving security to facilitate the transport of supplies and personnel.
- Protecting UN and associated personnel,
- Facilitating the return of internally displaced persons.

The force in Chad is deployed in battalion strength in three sectors. Multinational Battalion North under Polish command (and in the future with a Croatian element) is in the northern sector. Multinational Battalion Center under French command (with a Slovenian element) is in the central sector. In the southern sector there is the Multinational Battalion South under Irish command (with a Dutch company), and also the Multinational Battalion Birao in the Central African Republic under French command. In addition, special operation forces are deployed throughout the theater. France and Italy provide two hospitals.

The following challenges face the European Union Force Chad/Central African Republic:
- Non-existent host-nation logistical support.
- The encroaching regional crisis.
- The attitude of the rebel groups against the European Union Force.
- The climate.

The operation has reached full operational effectiveness. The operational presence is now visible over a wider area and with a far greater regularity. The frequency of incidents is relatively high but most of these relate to local difficulties within tribal framework or tribal disputes that lead to killings. One significant event that received much publicity was the murder of Pascal Marlinge, the head of the United Kingdom Save the Children organization in Chad. Because of the recent rebel attacks, significant ordnance is concentrated in areas where the fighting took place.

The operation's mandate prevents armed troops from entering refugee camps, so civil-military cooperation teams are the eyes in these situations. Having close liaison with other actors in theater is an ongoing part of the operation now. All operational activity seeks to develop greater situational awareness to respond more effectively as situations arise. All headquarters staff members have trained on gender issues (including standards of behavior and UN Security Council Resolution 1325).
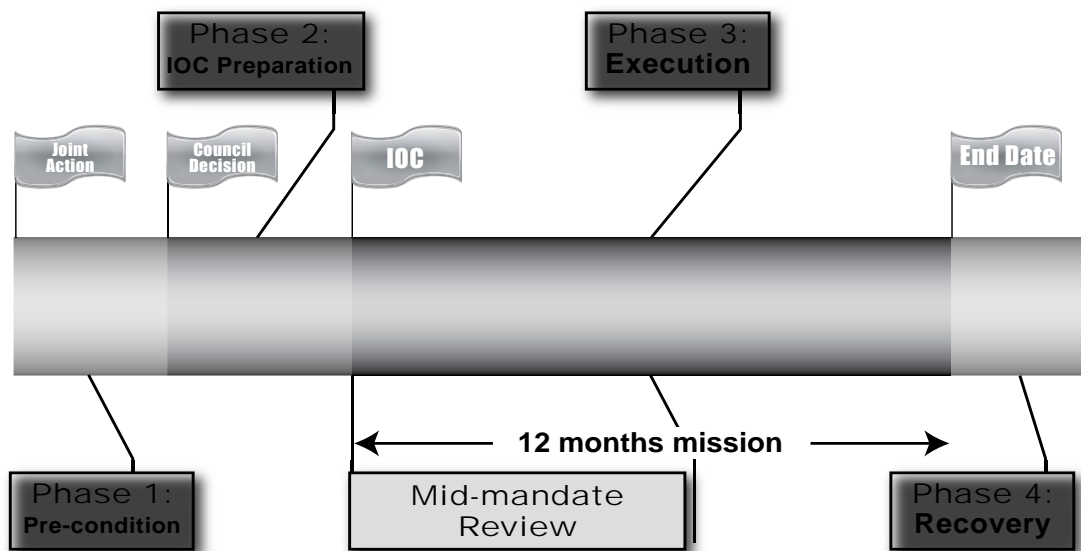
Figure 2. Phases of European Union Force CHAD/Central African Republic operation.

AFP Photo, Philippe Huguen

A French Soldier of the 517th regiment of the "Train de Chateauroux" changes his insignia during a hand over ceremony, 15 March 2009 in Abeche.

Countries in the region are poor, underdeveloped, and corrupt. It is a region of complex, mixed ethnic, tribal, religious, and cultural divisions in a very harsh climate and environment not controlled by borders. There are a number of different active rebel movements in the region as well as cross-border disputes between the states where these rebel movements are based.

In central Africa a number of security-related international operations and missions are shaping the situation. The European Union Force has to cooperate with these international organizations, most notably the United Nations. On 14 January 2009, the UN adopted Resolution 1861, which was a milestone for European Union Force's planning with respect to recovery and handover to the UN follow-on force for this mission. The resolution confirmed 15 March 2009 as the date of transfer of authority from European Union Force to the UN follow-on force.

After 15 March 2009, European Union Force confined its operations to three domains:
- Force protection.
- Freedom of movement for recovery operations.
- Retaining limited but reduced capability to intervene *in extremis* situations.

By 30 June 2009, EUFOR withdrew its forces from the area of operations, finishing the largest European Union military operation in its history. *MR*

> *By 30 June 2009, EUFOR withdrew its forces from the area of operations…*

ADAPTING THE GENERATING FORCE

Lieutenant General Michael A. Vane, U.S. Army

HOW DOES AN ARMY AT WAR, in direct daily contact with an adaptive enemy, maintain its own adaptability? How fast can an army set the conditions to force the adversary to do its bidding? More specifically, how does a large organization like the United States Army learn and adapt? The pace of change is one component of this dilemma, and he who outpaces the other side will drive the conditions of action and reaction on the battlefield. However, the theoretical underpinnings of this reality sometimes clash with the traditional resistance, or even occasionally the aversion, by large institutions or organizations to change. The U.S. Army is no exception. Nonetheless, the simple realities of war have induced the Army to become more adaptable as it endeavors to outwit and outperform its adversaries.

Fact- and knowledge-based adaptability, resulting in fact-based solutions for current and future fights, is the accelerated process by which the Army develops systems or responses to maximize the efficiency of change. The Army should not only "learn from the edge" and implement fact- and knowledge-based adaptability, but also take action to streamline or improve current organizational structure. Using our knowledge advantage to make timely decisions represents the overarching concept of "leading from the edge." This concept will be explored throughout this article.

During this era of persistent conflict, several competing demands are being placed on the Army's generating force. These challenges are varied in nature and present different problem sets over both the short-term and long-term. To overcome these challenges, the generating force must—

● Move quickly to fuse theater information into a coherent picture to provide direction.

● Identify and implement needed changes to the Army Force Generation (ARFORGEN) cycle fast enough to have the right organizational designs, the right equipment, and the right people with the right skill sets available for deploying units.

● Modify existing individual training and leader development programs of instruction quickly enough for use by deploying cohorts.

● Reform the acquisition process to reduce costs.

● Design and implement an organizational structure that anticipates and adapts to real-world changes.

From this will come an Army generating force better postured to support ARFORGEN for an Army at war.

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PHOTO: A nighttime view of the Pentagon showing smoke rising from the building after the September 11, 2001 attacks. The dome of the Capital Building is visible in the background. (U.S. Navy, PH2 Robert Houlihan)

Defining "Adapt the Army's Generating Force"

The Merriam-Webster online dictionary defines "adapt" as "to make fit (as for a specific or new use or situation) often by modification."[1] Adapt implies a modification of a particular institution or thing to adjust to changing circumstances. It also implies the need or desire to bring one thing into correspondence with another. In this article, the subject of adaptation is the Army's generating force. The Army is divided into two functionally discrete but organizationally integrated entities.[2] The operational Army consists of numbered armies, corps, divisions, brigades, and battalions that execute full spectrum operations around the world. The generating force is that part of the Army whose primary purpose is to generate and sustain operational Army units. It provides various functions, to include providing the necessary infrastructure to raise, train, equip, deploy, and ensure the readiness of all Army forces. The generating force training base provides military skills and professional education to every Soldier, as well as members of sister services and allied forces. It is dynamic, innovative, and constantly adapting to the changing nature of war by incorporating lessons learned into doctrine and training. It also provides the Army with the capacity to expand rapidly in time of war. The industrial base provides world-class equipment and logistics for the Army. Army installations provide the power projection platforms required to deploy land forces promptly to support combatant commanders. Once those forces are deployed, the generating force provides the logistics needed to support them. In all of this, without the generating force, the operational force cannot function. Without the operational force, the generating force has no purpose.

Understanding the Strategic Context

The events of 11 September 2001 shocked the citizenry of the United States and made apparent the very real domestic vulnerabilities of the U.S. population to the actions of global extremists. Few can describe the psychological impact this defining event has had upon U.S. policymakers and the population at large. Since 2001, the U.S. defense establishment has been engaged in a long-term struggle to cope with the challenges of a global extremist network. Today, hundreds of thousands of service members are serving abroad in locations such as Afghanistan and Iraq to keep the country safe from further attacks. To date, over 4,800 service members have sacrificed their lives defending the interests of the United States.

While the U.S. military has experienced significant success in the fight against a global extremist network, the adversary has also experienced some gains. During this struggle, adversaries from organizations such as Al-Qaeda have improved their fighting tactics. As U.S. service members have made adjustments to the tactics of roadside improvised explosive devices (IEDs), Al Qaeda members have responded by employing IEDs of greater throw weight, penetrating capability, and manner of concealment. For each U.S. measure taken, the adversary has parried with a countermeasure. Even today, dynamic changes in tactics, techniques, and procedures (TTPs) are occurring throughout Iraq and Afghanistan.

A starting point for understanding the strategic context of adaptation is to review U.S. Army combat experiences over the past eight years. Combat in Iraq and Afghanistan continues to provide a wealth of lessons that can be incorporated in the institutional Army knowledge base: the training base, educational institutions, doctrine, and TTPs. Current combat experience informs Army force development and the institutional Army. This process is akin to the depiction of two parallel time lines that interweave (Figure 1). As the current force engages in combat operations, the force development process adapts by creating innovative new tactics, techniques, procedures, and advanced

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As U.S. service members have made adjustments to the tactics of roadside IEDs, Al Qaeda members have responded by employing IEDs of greater throw weight, penetrating capability, and manner of concealment.

Combat experience informs Future Force Development

Current Force   Capability Packages

Future Force   Combat Operations

→ Time

Future Force Development 'spins out' advanced
technology to enhance current capabilities
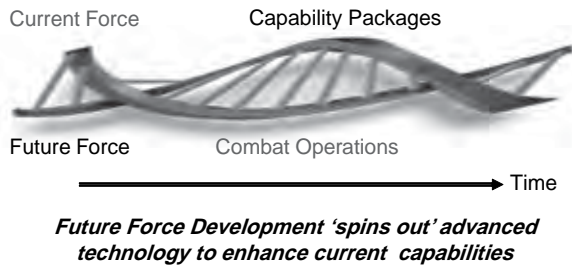
'Leading from the Edge' is taking advantage of the current operational
environment to inform and adjust our force development model

**Figure 1. Current and future force development—
Learning from the force in contact.**

technologies. These adaptations and innovations are incorporated in the current force through rapid fielding or modernization efforts. The force development process "spins out" advanced technology to enhance current capabilities. However, there is another interesting aspect to this notion which exemplifies the term "spin out." This is the accelerated developments environment.

In the past, the process by which operational needs statements were generated from units in the field was highly decentralized (Figure 2). This process relied on multiple entry points that were connected to and from multiple organizations, all with vested interests in the urgent need. Units in theater would directly input to the organization which correlated to the operational needs statements. These multiple entry points were at best "stove pipes" that limited the process of cross fertilization and information sharing among competing organizations. Operational needs generated requirements generally allowed for rapid equipping of the force, but at the expense of limited training and sustainment. Among the organizations involved in the process were the Headquarters, Department of the Army; Asymmetric Warfare Group; Joint Improvised Explosives Device Defeat Organization; and the Army Capabilities Integration Center.

Fostering Adaptability during War

Adaptation during a time of war is complex. While field forces place an extremely high demand on timeliness and providing rapid change in the form of an effective capability solution, there is
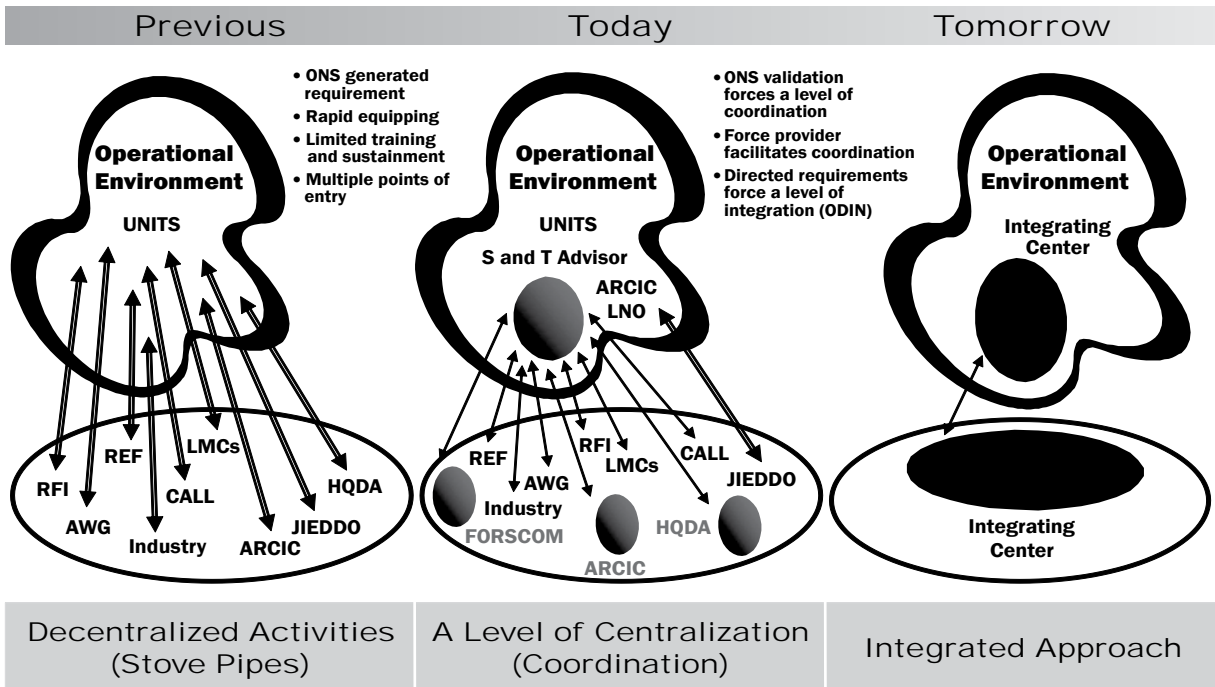
LEGEND: ARCIC, Army Capabilities Integration Center;   AWG, Asymmetric Warfare Group;   CALL, Center for Army Lessons Learned;
HQDA, Headquarters, Department of the Army;   JIEDDO, Joint Improvised Explosives Device Defeat Organization;   LMC, Lifecycle Management Centers;
ONS, Operational Needs Statement;   REF, Rapid Equipping Force

Figure 2. Accelerated developments environment.

an equally compelling and competing demand to ensure that the fielded solution fills the gap, is safe, doesn't complicate the execution of other tasks, and has the complete DOTMLPF package—doctrine, organization, training, materiel, leadership and education, personnel, and facilities. This will ensure proper training, documentation, facilities, maintenance, and supply support to provide prolonged effectiveness in the field. Fielding less than the complete package can easily lead to an unnecessary burden being placed on field units and commanders.

The case of armor-plated vehicles is an example of how adversaries compete in an adaptive fashion and how a multiple-entry-points approach did not quickly address the problem. As HMMWVS's became the soft vehicle target of choice by roadside bombers, U.S. Army units attempted to improve survivability by strapping armor plating to vehicles, commonly referred to in the media as "hillbilly armor." In turn, the adaptable adversary made the roadside bombs deadlier by adding more explosives. Eventually, no more conventional armor could be added, so the U.S. Army developed new armor plating. Unfortunately, the enemy simply continued to make even deadlier bombs. With the additional weight of armor, the chassis, suspension, and engine could no longer sustain the inherent challenges of

> *Fielding less than the complete package can easily lead to an unnecessary burden being placed on field units and commanders.*

being both mobile and force protected. Clearly, a better solution was needed. With innovative ideas and new technology, the Mine Resistant Ambush Protected (MRAP) vehicle was designed and fielded, but the DOTMLPF package was not complete.

For example, the materiel and training packages for the mine-resistant vehicle lagged behind its rapid fielding. As a result, the combat arms institutional training pools did not possess the MRAP vehicles, so Soldiers were not schooled on how to operate them. Because the vehicle was top heavy and weighed between 7 to 22 tons, depending on the series, mine resistant vehicle roll-overs were common in the field. Between November 2007 and March 2009, there were 121 nonhostile-related mine resistant vehicle rollover incidents.[3] In addition, units were not budgeted to maintain and operate the new equipment. It was evident that a more efficient integrating process was needed to sustain the mine resistant vehicles. The vehicles were fielded, but they needed to be managed. The need for holistic solutions to rapid fielding problems continues to be an institutional Army challenge.

Similarly, institutional doctrine, training, and leader development adapted and improved based on the lessons from the current wars. The writing and distribution of Army Field Manual 3-24, *Counterinsurgency*, the development and deployment of human terrain teams to Iraq and Afghanistan, the capturing of critical lessons by the Center for Army Lessons Learned, the collaborative dynamics of warfighter forums, and the establishment of predeployment cultural village leadership development scenarios were all part of continuing programs and initiatives reflecting Army institutional adaptability and innovation. While these were important initiatives, the news media continued to report that the institutional Army delivered "too little, too late" to field units. More needs to be done to

A Department of State Contractor climbs out of a rolled MRAP vehicle simulator during an MRAP egress class on Forward Operating Base Marez near Mosul, Iraq, 7 November 2009. During the class, the contractors experienced 180-degree rollovers and practiced how to safely exit a rolled vehicle.

U.S. Navy, MCS 1st Class Carmichael Yepez

improve the timely delivery of doctrine, training, and leader development products to support the Army's generating force cycle.

Today, the process has moved to an improved level of centralization and coordination (Figure 2). A more versatile operational needs statement process requires a higher level of coordination among organizations, while the force provider facilitates the overall coordination. Additionally, the directed requirements process forces a certain level of integration. The current developments environment simplifies the process for units in theater with the presence of a coordination cell manned by a science and technology advisor and the Army Capabilities Integration Center liaison officer. This cell sends the unit-generated operational needs statement directly to clearing houses consisting of Department of the Army, U.S. Forces Command, and the Army Capabilities Integration Office. They in turn can further send data to more specialized entities such as Center for Army Lessons Learned, Joint Improvised Explosives Device Defeat Organization, or Asymmetric Warfare Group. This current process eliminates much of the previously existing redundancy and facilitates better overall management and coordination.

The current integrating effort must move beyond today's processes to incorporate change and adaptability into the training base. Ideally, leaders and Soldiers should be trained prior to entering the theater and during the reset period. Leader development and Soldier training must also be incorporated into the generating force. All Army schools, including the Captain's Career Course, Command and General Staff College, the Sergeants Major Academy, and the Army War College, are part of this effort. The Centers of Excellence and the Capability Development and Integration Directorates should also be at the forefront. The operational environment has changed and with it new and evolving technologies have emerged. Curriculums should cover subjects like counter IED, battle command networks, power and energy, robotics, joint enablers, and the human dimension. Although not ideal, rapid change and development in an Army at war may compel units and organizations to train in theater, just to keep up with innovations that change or supersede existing tactics, techniques, and procedures.

Capabilities development for rapid transition is still yet another way that the Army moves forward to maximize the process of adaptability. It is the Army's way to identify and expand use of the proven organization or materiel solutions from responses to operational needs statements. It determines which new initiatives should become formal acquisition programs for the entire force, which should be maintained as nonstandard equipment in theater, and which should be terminated. This processes harvests success from rapid acquisition efforts and brings them into the enduring life-cycle management process.

Task Force Odin, whose name is an acronym for Observe, Detect, Identify, and Neutralize, is an example of successful fact- and knowledge-based adaptability producing TTP solutions using existing technology to counter a new threat. Task Force Odin is an Army aviation battalion-size unit established in August 2006 at Fort Hood, Texas, as one of a number of initiatives to fight the increased threat and menace from convoy attacks in Iraq.[4] The task force provides reconnaissance, surveillance, and target acquisition to protect convoy routes. The initial 300 man task force consisted of C-12 aircraft equipped with multi-sensors and Warrior or Shadow Unmanned Aerial Systems loaded with advanced imagery and rangefinders/designators.[5] Since its creation, the unit has been credited with contributing to the killing of thousands of insurgents in Iraq, as well as countering and deterring insurgent attacks. Again, existing technologies, as well as reconnaissance, surveillance, target acquisition systems, were adapted and modified to take on an emerging deadly threat.

On a less complimentary note, and in later rotations of Task Force Odin, the training of new unit leaders did not keep pace with the new technologies or the changing threat. As a result, successive units have been arriving in theater with insufficient understanding of how to employ the advanced systems. In many cases, poor training has hampered the effectiveness and efficiencies of advanced weaponry. Challenges associated with the lack of training continuity continue to plague deploying units. The training base has simply not kept pace with the advent of new weapon systems for the current wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. More must be done to bridge this training gap to ensure

> *The training base has simply not kept pace with the advent of new weapon systems for the current wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. More must be done to bridge this training gap…*

continuing and future successes in the tactical environment.

The development and fielding of the Counter Rocket, Artillery, and Mortar (C-RAM) system is an example of successful adaptation. The Army used existing counter weapons systems to create an immediate solution for an existing problem— the defense of U.S. bases from insurgent rocket, artillery, and mortar attacks. In June 2004, the commander, Multi-National Force-Iraq, submitted an operational needs statement requesting support to counter the RAM threat. By February 2005, a sense and warn capability was fielded in Iraq. In March 2006, a C-RAM intercept battery—using the Phalanx 1B, the U.S. Navy's 20mm anti-ship mis-

sile defense system—combined with the existing U.S. Army's AN/TPQ-36 Firefinder target acquisition radar and Lightweight Counter Mortar Radar, achieved its first combat intercept of an incoming mortar round. By May 2009, this system had intercepted its 100th incoming insurgent mortar round and provided 1,500 localized warnings, affording troops time to take cover.[6] As an ongoing adaptive process, C-RAM is being expanded and will transition to an advanced system: the Indirect Fire Protection Capability.[7]

The C-RAM's success is shared with other adaptations and solutions, such as the on-going Accelerated Precision Mortar Initiative and the Command Post of the Future. The mortar initiative solicited advanced industry prototype munitions, which were demonstrated at Yuma Proving Ground from March through May 2009. One candidate munitions type consists of GPS guidance kits with steerable canards that screw into the existing 120mm mortar round. A second candidate type is a round which integrates the GPS guidance and steering into the body of the mortar round. Information from this demonstration will help to inform key Army decisions for a potential accelerated development and fielding.[8]

The Command Post of the Future took existing computer software and applied it to command and control functions to improve interaction, networking, situational awareness, and 3-D battlefield visualization.

Despite the numerous successes articulated above, another step can be added to the existing process to build upon the string of timely adaptations by the institutional Army (Figure 2). Adaptation can benefit from integration. In this next step, unit field commanders can provide an improved theater integrating center with their field data input. This integrating center can consolidate and classify field input and then submit its data to an "information integration management center" outside of theater or in CONUS. As a consolidated entity, the CONUS integration center can enhance the capability development by distributing or taking action on each field issue. Timely information is powerful and can improve integration, coordination, and overall efficiency. The fact-driven perspective of accelerated capabilities developments represents yet another important aspect of the term "leading from the edge." The linkage of facts, knowledge,

U.S. Army, SSG Brien Vorhees

U.S. Army PFC Alysha Gleason and SGT Chad Ervin conduct maintenance on a radar station at Forward Operating Base Delta, Iraq, 22 August 2009. Both Soldiers are members of a counter rocket, artillery and mortar team.

and corresponding measures of effectiveness can lead to better visualization and understanding of the operating environment and help commanders create solutions based on a common view of the operating environment. Most importantly, this step does not add to bureaucracy, nor does it create additional force structure. Rather, it leverages existing organizations and processes to build upon and maximize the timely delivery of capability to the field.

Acquisition Reform

Fostering change and adaptation must move beyond internal Army processes. Institutional adaptation needs to broaden into the realm of weapons acquisition reform. There is increasing interest on Capitol Hill to introduce legislation to reform weapons acquisition. On 23 February 2009, Senator John McCain (R-Ariz.) and Senator Carl Levin (D-Mich.) introduced legislation that requires the Department of Defense to reestablish systems engineering organizations and developmental testing capabilities to address unreasonable performance requirements. Senator Levin stated:

"Ninety-five of DOD's largest acquisition programs are, on average, two years behind schedule and have exceeded their original budgets by a combined total of almost $300 billion… When the federal budget is under immense strain as a result of the economic crisis, we simply cannot afford this kind of continued waste and inefficiency."[9]

The new measure requires service acquisition chiefs to submit a report to DOD detailing planning organizations, processes, and trained personnel on hand to support rigorous systems analysis and engineering. Moreover, the measure requires a robust program to improve reliability, availability, and maintainability as an integral part of design and development. Other requirements include the director of Defense Research and Engineering to periodically review and assess the maturity of critical technologies and for DOD to make greater use of weapon system prototypes to prove new technologies work before they are procured.[10]

On 23 April 2009, Representative Ike Skelton (D-Mo.), chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, stated—

"I am very pleased to introduce this legislation that will inject greater efficiency into the weapons acquisition system and truly ensure that we get the most bang for our taxpayer buck…Our bipartisan proposal contributes many good ideas to the defense acquisition reform effort. I look forward to working with our Senate colleagues to work through our differences and generate a final product that enacts the best ideas in both bills."[11]

With the interest of both houses of Congress, the subject of near-term acquisition reform certainly has the potential to become a DOD success story. In this light, the Army can view this debate as a window of opportunity to recommend appropriate changes to the acquisition process that can accelerate the delivery of proven capabilities to Soldiers in accordance with the ARFORGEN cycle.

Acquisition Reform Defined

The Merriam-Webster's dictionary defines acquisition as "something or someone acquired or gained."[12] Reform can be defined as "to put or change into an improved form or condition.[13] In its combined form, acquisition reform can be viewed as a series of actions undertaken to improve the process by which defense-related items are procured.

Acquisition Reform Needed

In its current form, the DOD acquisition process is time-consuming. Department of Defense Instructions 5000.02, the Operation of the Defense Acquisition System, is voluminous and has grown from 37 pages in 2004 to 79 pages in 2009. Overall, the purpose of the DOD acquisition process has been to provide effective, sustainable weapon systems to meet warfighter operational needs quickly. Acquisition professionals have worked diligently within statutory and regulatory constraints, but under the current acquisition system, they were having difficulty achieving this goal. Why is acquisition reform difficult?

A predominant challenge in the acquisition community is time. Time is needed for effective development and fielding. Interestingly, the time needed to develop and field major weapon systems has been growing steadily. Over the past two decades, it has doubled to a current average of 10 years. The complexity of our systems and use of emerging technologies have driven longer development and testing cycles. Also, the warfighter is coping with a rapidly changing threat environment, which drives changes to system requirements throughout the

development cycle, thus delaying delivery. Since a new system must provide a capability that will still be essential 10 years into the future, requirements are complex, reflecting an uncertain mission and threat. Finally, to make matters more difficult, our DOD acquisition workforce has been dramatically downsized, causing the loss of many experienced professionals and decreasing workload capacity.

All the while, technology life cycles are decreasing, with a new generation of microelectronics being produced by the commercial sector every 18 months or less. This creates a significant disparity. With state-of-the-art technology turning over every year and a half, weapon systems in development for 10 years can be 5 or more generations behind. Not only is performance less than it could be, but many components are obsolete, and the original designs may not be reproducible. Once a weapon system is fielded, it can be difficult and expensive to support. Furthermore, because it takes so long to deliver the new weapon system, existing "legacy systems" remain in use for longer periods. Maintenance of these "legacy systems" is very expensive and manpower intensive. Increasing operations and maintenance costs of older systems, coupled with normal budget constraints, have resulted in fewer dollars for new system development. A cyclical effect, or "death spiral," is thus being created and experienced, which will eventually deprive the U.S. Army of the weapon systems needed to counter future threats.

Another significant challenge to acquisition has been cost. Senator Levin recently stated: "We've seen the huge problem of cost overruns. Ninety-five of our largest acquisition systems have a $300 billion cost overrun."[14] Moreover, he added, "extra costs continue to pile up despite the fact that we have reduced the quantities and reduced the performance requirements."[15] As a result of spiraling costs, Senator Levin and McCain require specific measures to

> *With state-of-the-art technology turning over every year and a half, weapon systems in development for 10 years can be 5 or more generations behind.*

reduce costs, such as creating an independent office to provide separate weapon cost estimates, requiring an independent review of the maturity of critical technologies, and rebuilding the acquisition work force. Another measure includes the need to simplify and reduce the number of weapons requirements, since additional requirements lead to an overall increase in time delays and costs. While not all inclusive, the congressional measures specified above attest to the degree of attention being placed on the need for acquisition reform.

To reverse this trend, we must consider Army recommendations to the Department of Defense on how to change our way of doing business. Change could involve revisions to the current acquisition model. A revised model could help transform a sluggish, time-consuming process to one more agile and responsive. Requirements need to be simplified and the requirements determination process needs to become more streamlined. The use of commercial-off-the-shelf technologies needs to be encouraged. Rapid iterative prototyping and fielding of holistic solutions need to be fostered and championed early in the design process. Flexibility should allow for the purchase of fewer numbers of equipment end items to meet immediate and specific ARFORGEN needs. The Army should maintain the option to buy when necessary and to upgrade and keep pace with change two to three years later. Flexibility should also allow for specific purchases for selected units, without having to buy for the entire Army. Soldiers should be placed on new prototype systems during the earliest phases of the acquisition process. Do all operational needs requests become programs of record? Is it not possible to procure new equipment for rapid deployment, and then later, if required, conduct the analysis of alternatives and conduct more complete testing later? Greater flexibility is needed within DOD acquisition policies to reduce cost and time. Partnering with the U.S. Army Research, Development, and Engineering Command at Aberdeen Proving Ground, Maryland, for faster prototyping is essential to meet operational force challenges. We also need to consider the option to terminate legacy programs of record which no longer serve a purpose for the current operational force. For many, a desired outcome is for acquisition to become more flexible and to foster innovation. We need a process that gets current

technology into the field rapidly, then sustains and modernizes systems to reflect changing technologies, missions, and threats.

Organizational Change to Support Adaptation

What organization is best manned, equipped, and resourced to take on these responsibilities on behalf of the Army? Should the Army G3, U.S. Forces Command, or perhaps the Army Capabilities Integration Center take on a more expanded role by assuming the capabilities integration mission? Certainly the Capabilities Integration Center is somewhat suited to handle this mission and could potentially assume greater responsibility on behalf of the Army and TRADOC in this role. It already mans the forward integrating cells in theater through its liaison effort and is a significant player in CONUS in the accelerated developments environment. The Capabilities Integration Center is already in partnership with the Joint Training Counter IED Operations Integration Center, another organization that adds to a more systematic approach to accelerated developments. Through its liaison element, the Army Capabilities Integration Center maintains a direct liaison with the IED center, thereby ensuring a comprehensive and synergistic approach to accelerated developments.

The Joint Training Counter IED Operations Integration Center establishes and maintains operational, intelligence, and training databases. Among its core functions are the development of capabilities and processes that provide support to combat training centers and educational institutions by maintaining a relevant and definitive operating environment to provide a context for training in live, virtual, and constructive environments. It continuously links all of our efforts to a common framework, ensures a consistent view of the current fighting environment, and exploits from a fact-based and knowledge derived set of data. The Army Capabilities Integration Center and Joint Training Counter IED Operations Integration Center partnership, working with Army Materiel Command and Research, Development, and Engineering Command, maximizes or accelerates those lessons coming from the operational theaters back into the institutional training base and, most importantly, allows for thorough integration into the

This cell phone was rigged as a detonator for an improvised explosive device. The detonator was recovered undamaged after having been successfully jammed by electronic warfare personnel using Counter Radio-Controlled IED Electronic Warfare equipment funded by the Joint IED Defeat Organization.

DOTMLPF. It also supports modeling, simulations, and gaming through the infusion and integration of data. A similar relationship already exists among the Army Capabilities Integration Center, the Army Evaluation Task Force at Fort Bliss, Texas, and the Experimentation Force of the Army Expeditionary Warrior Experiment at Fort Benning, Georgia. Acting as conduits, these organizations receive insights and observations obtained from the field to be passed directly into the development of innovative and advanced technologies.

The Army force generation cycle receives a wide variety of inputs to field the appropriate enablers to deploying units. Capability packages are necessary to ensure that brigade combat teams receive the latest equipment and enablers that were requested during previous rotations. The Mission Essential Equipment List items, nonstandard equipment, capability developments for rapid transition equipment, operational needs statements, and rapid equipping force items are a few of the other inputs that are provided to units during the reset phase. FORSCOM and TRADOC warfighters forums also contribute to the Army force generation cycle by providing timely requests for needed capabilities, doctrine, and training. If further research and experimentation is needed, the battle labs and Research, Development, and Engineering Command can be included in requests for assistance. In all of this, the CONUS Capabilities Integration Center has a role to help shape, coordinate, and synchronize the various inputs to ensure that the training and leader development components are incorporated into the rotations. The Army generating force has

a significant role to play in improving the adaptability of the fielded force through the Army force generation cycle process.

Beyond adaptation, the CONUS integration center can also serve as an Army hub for innovation. Innovation is not synonymous with adaptability. While adaptability is focused on adjusting and modifying existing capabilities to fit current circumstances, innovation is about creating a completely new concept, a new approach, or a new way of getting things done. Innovating by inventing a new weapon or capability that has never been fielded or that is revolutionary in nature may take a slightly longer process. Fact-based field data can drive innovation. By providing connectivity through the large information pipes of the Joint Training Counter-IED Operations Integration Center, the Army has the ability to drive long term innovation through its integration center while prosecuting the current fight.

Specific Recommendations

Leading from the edge is needed to further improve the adaptability of the Army's generating force. As of result of this study, the following recommendations are noteworthy.

● Request that the Joint Counter-IED Integration Center continue to synthesize and provide theater information and training products to all TRADOC schools, centers, and war colleges in a timely fashion.

● Designate a CONUS-based Capabilities Integration Center to synchronize and integrate DOT-MLPF inputs into the unit reset phase to ensure that the right equipment and the right people, with the right skills and right training, are available on-time for the Army force generation cycle.

● Establish an organizational structure to analyze, consolidate, and qualitatively refine the "lessons learned" process to precisely remove less valuable recommendations. More is not necessarily better. Quality should drive this process, not quantity.

● Designate a review board or process that not only receives lessons from the field, but also captures threads and enduring themes that have withstood the test of time. Thus, innovative lessons can more effectively develop new, dynamic, and adaptive tactics, techniques, procedures, and doctrine.

● Request the Joint Training Counter-IED Integration Center provide support to the U.S. Army Combined Arms Center to help institute near real-time changes to branch proponents, centers, and war college programs of instruction to incorporate timely lessons learned from Operation Enduring Freedom/ Operation Iraqi Freedom.

● Shift Army acquisition focus from expensive, long-term, time-consuming research and developmental efforts to commercial-off-the-shelf technologies and rapid prototyping of existing technologies to support an Army at war.

● Provide links among research and development labs, equipment suppliers, and the manufacturing base to those that write Army requirements.

● Designate an appropriate Army review board to serve as the forum to recommend terminations to selected acquisition category programs to reduce duplicative programs and to eliminate programs no longer needed to support the Army's operational force.

● Recommend the Army develop a strategic plan with execution policy as to how the Army will continue the agile developments and acquisition process during peace and war to field urgent or high-pay-off capabilities. Ensure that development and equipping authorities and processes are approved as an enduring Army program in this era of persistent conflict.

● The Army lacks an organization with technical oversight of cost-benefit estimation. At DA level, increase DASA(CE) responsibility to provide this technical oversight and ensure the competencies of the cells established in TRADOC and the professional standards they follow in performing benefit cost analysis.

● Establish a dedicated cost-analysis cell at each TRADOC Capabilities Development Integration

…adaptability is focused on adjusting and modifying existing capabilities to fit current circumstances, innovation is about creating a completely new concept…

Directorate. These analysts would conduct independent cost-benefits of each alternative addressed during the DOTLMPF analysis.

● Given the importance of network architecture in future acquisition, recommend the Army designate a single acquisition authority with resource control to be held responsible for the network.

Conclusion and Way Ahead

In summary, "leading from the edge" is a powerful idea. It keeps pace with the current operational environment, drives adaptability, and serves as a foundation for Army innovation. It maximizes the efficiency and coordination of integrating centers in the accelerated developments environment through centralized ownership of the process and through smart and efficient partnerships. It is also about driving fact-based adaptability with fact-based solutions for the current and future fights. Thus, as the current force engages in combat operations, this approach feeds future development, creating future adaptive systems through more advanced technologies or techniques. These adaptations can also be incorporated in the current force through full spectrum spin outs. In a symbiotic fashion, the future force development process spins out advanced technology to enhance current force capabilities. Without doubt, this integrated approach will help ensure that our Soldiers are equipped, trained, and supported with the very best the Army can provide. Leading from the edge will support and enhance two of the Army Chief of Staff's imperatives: preparing Soldiers for success in the current conflict and transforming them into the force we will need well into the 21st Century. *MR*

NOTES

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PARTNER NATION CAPACITY BUILDING
Setting Conditions for Success

Colonel Kenneth J. Crawford, U.S. Army

MANY OF OUR SOLDIERS AND LEADERS are on their second, third, or fourth rotation to either Iraq or Afghanistan. While they are likely to be conducting missions at the next higher level, they capitalize on their *previous* deployment experiences to provide the focus and energy to overcome challenges and adversity.

Our culture as professionals includes identifying the mission, visualizing the end state, developing and implementing solutions to achieve the end state, successfully accomplishing the mission, and starting it all over again as a matter of routine. No one sets out to fail.

We must set the conditions for future success by providing a foundation of skills, knowledge, and resources in our training and educational programs through a comprehensive methodology from the individual Soldier up to the corps staff and leader levels.

Framing the Problem

Capacity building is an "ill-structured problem."[1] We can certainly agree that there is no *common* structure, process, or system to comprehensively prepare Soldiers, leaders, and units for success in the myriad challenges they potentially face during full spectrum operations at the operational and tactical levels. Many will have their own views on how to structure the training regimen to set the condition for future success; capacity building is more of an art than a science, and success is often elusive and based on trial and error. Mapping this structurally complex problem is difficult, as demonstrated in the following figure, yet understanding the applications, resources, and methodologies we apply during humanitarian assistance and stability operations at home and abroad is easy. We must provide better education and training to enable our Soldiers and leaders to achieve success under austere conditions now and in the future.

Directives for Strategic/Joint Solutions

Department of Defense (DOD) Directive 3000.05, *Military Support for Stability, Security, Transition, and Reconstruction Operations,* sets forth the requirement for "planning, training, and preparing to conduct and support stability operations." It states that it "is a core U.S. military mission that the Department of Defense shall be prepared to conduct and support."[2] Beginning in February 2006, DOD established the Training Transformation

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PHOTO: The 2007 grand opening ceremony of Haifa Street following five months of joint renovation efforts by 2d Brigade Combat Team, 1st Cavalry Division; USAID; and the Baghdad Karkh District Belladiyah.

(All photos courtesy of the author)

COMPLEX STRUCTURE
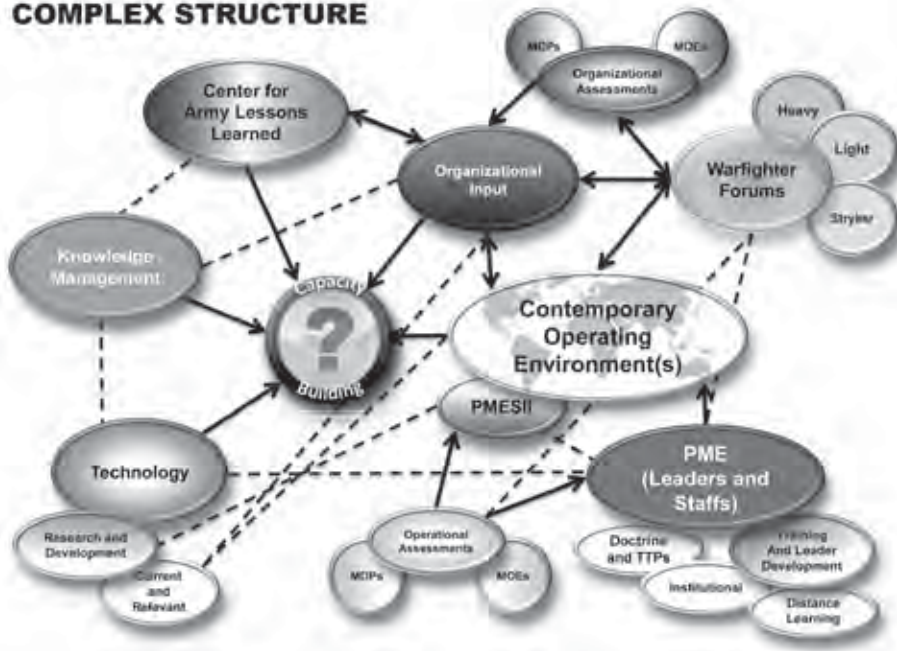
Implementation Plan, which is "outcome-focused in terms of the training needed to support requirements, missions, and capabilities, while preserving the ability of the Services and Combat Support Agencies to train on their core competencies and Individual Mission Essential Tasks."[3] The plan focuses on the Joint level of training, and those fortunate individuals selected to attend this training add value to the Joint and combined level of operations. The plan dictates that "individuals and the units and staffs they comprise must be trained and educated to conduct operations prior to arrival as well as during employment in the combatant command area of responsibility."[4] However, the directive stresses the importance of strategic training at the Joint rather than the tactical and operational levels where most forces partner with host-nation leaders during deployment.

In May 2007, the General Accounting Office published a report stating, "DOD has yet to identify and prioritize the full range of capabilities needed for stability operations because DOD has not provided clear guidance on how and when to accomplish this task. As a result, the services are pursuing initiatives to address capability shortfalls that may not reflect the comprehensive set of capabilities that will be needed by combatant commanders to effectively accomplish stability operations in the future."[5] The DOD response to the Government Accountability Office report said, "DOD has undertaken to improve its ability to conduct these operations."[6] Since the publication of this report, we have seen the development and proliferation of individual training

Capacity Building Defined

FM 3-07 (Oct 2008) Stability Operations: "Capacity building is the process of creating an environment that fosters host-nation institutional development, community participation, human resources development, and strengthening managerial systems."

UNDP Definition (circa 1991): "the creation of an enabling environment with appropriate policy and legal frameworks, institutional development, including community participation, human resources development and strengthening of managerial systems; UNDP recognizes that capacity building is a long-term, continuing process, in which all stakeholders participate (ministries, local authorities, nongovernmental organizations and water user groups, professional associations, academics and others."

Ford Foundation Definition (circa 1996): defines "capacity building" as the "process of developing and strengthening the skills, instincts, abilities, processes and resources that organizations and communities need to survive, adapt, and thrive in the fast-changing world."

Capability Gaps Limit Training for Capacity Building Operations

On 2 December 2008, I attended a training, gaming and simulations conference conducted in Orlando, Florida. During my visit, I openly challenged the forum, both military and our civilian corporate partners, to commit their program, engineering, and product development efforts to the creation of an echeloned capacity-building capability that we can use to train our forces. This is only one aspect of preparing our Soldiers, leaders, and units to successfully conduct stability operations abroad, but history teaches us that this capability is essential, especially at the brigade level and below during counterinsurgency operations. This article articulates "a way" to approach the education, training, and skill set development in a gated training strategy methodology. Additionally, it highlights the need for timely and credible set of tools within the live-virtual-constructive training environment—especially tools that capture the lessons, experiences, and subtleties experienced after over seven years of commitment in the War on Terrorism. Many capabilities exist, but their development is too slow, their focus too broad, unresponsive to the warfighter's needs, and encumbered by significant overhead for implementation and management—three elements we cannot afford as our operations continue to rapidly evolve from one year to the next. We need solutions now!

—Lieutenant General Rick Lynch, Commanding General, U.S. Army Installation Management Command

elements in the Counterinsurgency Academy, the Education Center, and the U.S. Institute of Peace, as well as capacity-building scenarios during combat training center rotations. However, a comprehensive, holistic approach for corps and below remains nonexistent. On 13 January 2009, DOD Directive 1322.18, *Military Training*, codified Joint level training by mandating that "the Secretaries of the Military Departments will establish and conduct individual, collective, and staff training programs and, to the maximum extent possible, align training schedules, curricula, and syllabi to support Joint and integrated operations training."[7] Given these directives, plans, and concepts for training Joint stability operations and combatant commanders lessons learned and direct training for JTF staffs, a void exists for standardizing and synthesizing the training for units at the corps level and below who must interpolate their deployment mission essential tasks and train accordingly.

All too often, corps- and below-units execute missions their predecessors conducted, from which they learned invaluable lessons. In essence, they apply tools gained from what they perceive *through training* for their mission (based on Pre-Deployment Site Surveys, previous deployments, and their combat training center experiences) and focus on specific deployment mission-essential tasks. During deployment, they revisit the experiences and relearn the lessons of their predecessors. Every unit leader strives to get it "about right" in predeployment training and education and applies his training experiences during deployment. However, these "home-grown" solutions are a compilation of valuable experiences that often remain at the unit's home station or move with the leaders to their next assignments. Our combat training centers do a credible job replicating many of the challenges that units and leaders will experience "down range," but we expect units and leaders to arrive with credible skill sets and a high degree of knowledge to enable their success in stability operations.

What Are We Missing?

The U.S. Army and Marine Corps lack the holistic training strategy, knowledge base, and training construct necessary to execute stability operations, specifically capacity building in enabling and

…"home-grown" solutions are…valuable experiences that often remain at [the] unit's home station…

transitioning to civil authority.[8] Two parallel challenges exist—focusing and structuring capacity-building training for deployment and resourcing the training at the right levels to successfully meet mission requirements.

As part of training, we must educate Soldiers, leaders, and staffs to facilitate strong local governance and transition to civil authority. In future foreign endeavors, our Soldiers, leaders, and units at every level will be executing partner-nation capacity building during and following post-conflict operations. To maintain momentum, increase efficiencies, and set the conditions for future transitions to civil authority, we must unify this training in our professional military education, and address and resource its tactical, operational, and strategic requirements.

A Comprehensive Approach to Training

To properly prepare units and Soldiers for full spectrum operations in austere environments, we must nest training methodology and resources within leader development programs through the three cycles of force generation (reset, train/ready, and available). During the reset phase, we must capture and incorporate lessons learned into our training products. As individuals arrive, they can share their previous experiences and learn from the experiences of their new unit. Individuals and units in the train/ready phase can benefit from the products and inputs of units and leaders in the reset phase and previous operational experiences relevant to their objectives. Units in the available phase sustain the knowledge and skills as leaders and staffs change or rotate.

Army personnel and readiness core enterprises must leverage their capabilities and resources to enable the strategy. This concept focuses on specific training audiences and incorporates multiple resources to reach training end states. Simply put, training must begin in institutional centers of excellence and extend for sustainment into the generating force through a gated training strategy. We must focus on individual, collective, leader-specific, and specialized organizational and staff tasks we commonly perform to influence the populace.

Individual through squad level. Individuals, teams, and squads must understand the link or

Nonlethal engagement of local citizens helps Soldiers to understand their challenges and gain an appreciation for problems in critical infrastructure.

bridge of actions "on the ground" as they provide security, conduct patrols or reconnaissance, and assess infrastructure to determine immediate effects on public works as well as second-order effects on the support of the local populace.

Platoon leaders and company and battalion commanders. These leaders must be able to recognize and assess problems and develop solutions in cooperation with host-nation officials to accomplish the mission as we transition to enable civil authority. Building professional and supportive relationships is crucial to gaining the trust and confidence of the people and their support to local government during tactical engagements.

Others. Provincial reconstruction teams, government and nongovernmental organizations, and brigade, division, and corps commanders must be able to acquire or provide the necessary resources to enable the host nation's government (district, province, city, state, or nation) to resolve problems and train economic, governmental, public works, and security agencies. Units may find themselves operating or working closely with other dynamic, capabilities-based organizations. Building lasting relationships at the operational and strategic levels with these organizations is critical. Often, such relationships become formal partnerships to ensure operations are host-nation led rather than U.S. directed.

Staffs. Staffs must understand the complexity of the capacity-building to develop, plan, and synchronize resources to accomplish the mission successfully. The structure, limitations, capabilities, and dynamics of host-nation agencies and reach-back technology are critical to the staff's function in capacity building. In essence, the staff uses nonlethal effects to integrate them across the functional staff.

The proposed training strategy has three parts:
- Education.
- Simulations and gaming.
- Embedding with government.

Education

"Crawl-walk-run" is a continual, "live" training process to increase knowledge and expertise at the individual and collective levels. Each portion builds upon the other. Leaders of individuals and units select the curriculum to include in their training and remain flexible to adapt to meet the requirements of their deployment and the availability of all personnel and staffs. They focus their timeline on validation during their mission readiness exercises. Continual refinement will occur following the unit's block leave period in the form of recommended reading lists, formal classroom instruction, site visits, online and correspondence courses, or audits of university classes. During deployment, units may continue the educational process online and exploit reach-back capabilities as part of a comprehensive DOD information or knowledge management-resourcing network.

Simulations and Gaming

With a "walk-run" focus, the gaming process addresses the outcome of an individual's chosen nonlethal effects decision. Algorithms developed from practical application in operational environments and actual requirements provide a realistic experience to the user. Individuals (leaders and staffs) apply basic principles learned through their coursework. The program can include multiple players working to achieve a common end state. Simulations or games must remain relevant and current to be of any training value. To ensure units tailor the simulation to their training objectives, the simulation allows users to develop their own scenarios. Development and application solutions already exist (Low Overhead Driver, Peace Support Operations Module, "SIM City," and S.E.N.S.E.).[9]

Company and below simulations. Training and Doctrine Command should immediately begin developing a games solution, using pre-existing software. As previously stated, algorithms and situations include realism, decision-making options, second order effects, and ramifications of similar experiences found in persistent conflict. They are a highly motivating and dynamic tool for learning. Off-the-shelf programs (e.g. "SIM City") can be easily modified (through spiral development) into a game and training tool and be hung on the Army's recruiting and retention web site similar to "America's Army."[10] This could help develop Soldiers and leaders even before they enter the service. It could also be a media outlet for recruiting.

Brigade and battalion. We should develop a comprehensive capacity-building training simulation that builds the staff's ability to develop plans, make recommendations, and exercise battle command. The Peace Support Operations Module and Full Spectrum Low Overhead Driver both offer the means to conduct computer-assisted war-gaming for the full range of peace support, stability, and counterinsurgency operations and nonlethal effects. Peace Support Operations Module is currently available with a single scenario structure, and the National Simulations Center is developing Full Spectrum Low Overhead Driver. In varying degrees, both of these programs address the five essential stability tasks of establishing civil security and civil control, restoring essential services, and supporting governance and economic and infrastructure development. If pressed to the field now, spiral development can incorporate lessons learned in a collaborative environment with units and leaders alike.

Division and above level units. Training and Doctrine Command and Joint Forces Command should align staff training aids, tools, and simulations and nest them in their validation exercises. The Strategic Economic Needs and Security Simulations Exercise developed by the Institute for Defense Analysis is a virtual fictitious operating environment that provides opportunities for creative problem-solving, strategic insight development, and decision-making benefit analysis. Using spiral development, the Army could procure this

The author presenting Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Salam al-Zaubai gifts and a "Spartan" Commander's coin.

program immediately and develop it to provide a multi-disciplinary framework for time-sensitive decision making with "expansion packs" that incorporate specific operating environments for focused training.

Embedding with Government

To gain expertise of the crawl-walk-run process, we must focus on three target groups:

Brigade, division, and corps key leaders. Commanding generals, their deputies, and commanders must work closely with city, state, regional, and national leaders with whom they will most likely partner during deployment. Units should explore opportunities to embed organizations and agencies such as provincial reconstruction teams to capitalize on experience and expertise. Embedding must include placing key leaders with a large-city mayor, city manager, or state governor for a specific amount of time to develop relationships and learn effective processes and tactics, techniques, and procedures (TTP). A second, but less effective approach would be to establish and standardize a resident training program at a centralized location and bring "experts" there to provide the education and experience; the drawback to this method is the inability to see how the process occurs first hand. Either method will enable key leaders to gain a better understanding of the complexities of building and sustaining capabilities. This program should be directly linked to the provincial reconstruction team training process. In a counterinsurgency envi-

ronment, training objectives must support national political objectives and nation-building responsibilities. We learned this from our experiences in Vietnam and the Balkans.

Staffs. Functional and integrating staffs must have memoranda of agreement with local, state, or federal government offices and corporations that desire to have a positive impact on Soldier and unit readiness. Individual staff level proponents (action officers) work in government offices as embedded interns learning programs and systems first-hand to acquire a working knowledge of plans and solutions. As part of the unit's leader development program, best practices and procedures are produced and shared across formations, published as articles, and potentially codified as standard operating procedures.

Soldiers. Educating and training Soldiers, leaders, and units in capacity building is an echeloned, multi-faceted, and continuous process that includes government and nongovernmental organizations and agencies. Predeployment culminating training exercises for divisions and corps as well as brigade and below mission readiness exercises at the combat training centers validate capabilities. During deployment operations, the established structure and continuity for reach-back connectivity, best practices, TTP, and trends are maintained in warfighter forums and incorporated into spiral development.

The Next Step

We recommend a holistic Army capacity-building training strategy to build individual and collective knowledge and skills for successful nonlethal engagements during full spectrum operations using a synchronized, structured, and targeted methodology.

The call to develop a gaming and simulations-based training program is an integral component of the live-virtual-constructive integrated training environment. We must do something now. We must implement the program using a spiral development approach that develops and procures, fields and implements, trains and tests, provides feedback, updates and refines, and starts the process over again.

Here's how:

● Identify and articulate training requirements and specifications through an Operational Needs Statement.

● Use warfighter forums in which participating leaders gain insights, identify what is missing, and determine how to leverage expertise for the spiral development of simulations.

● Implement by providing a "test bed" to develop all elements of this strategy and solutions that nest with a unit's force-generation timeline.

● Market the capability by displaying concepts—specifically what we can do now—during key leader and commander conferences.

● Publish articles to increase professional dialogue and share ideas that improve the Army and individual competencies.

● Develop/procure, field/implement, train/test, provide feedback, update/refine . . . and start the spiral development process over again.

Leaders and units succeed in operations abroad because of their training, intellect, and the resources made available to them prior to and during deployment. A resourced and comprehensive capacity-building training strategy flexible enough to remain relevant in today's operating environment can increase efficiencies and provide the unity of effort leaders across the Army seek. This article proposes ways to structure this much-needed strategy. Now, it is up to us to implement it. *MR*

NOTES

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3. Office of the Under Secretary of Defense for Personnel and Readiness Director, Readiness and Training Policy and Programs, *Department of Defense Training Transformation Implementation Plan, FY2006-FY2011* (Washington, DC: GPO, 23 February 2006).

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5. U.S. Government Accountability Office (GAO) Report, GAO-07-549 (Washington, DC: GPO) *Military Operations: Actions Needed to Improve DOD's Stability Operations Approach and Enhance Interagency Planning*, May 2007, 2.

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7. Department of Defense Directive Number 1322.18, *Military Training*, 13 January 2009, 7.

8. The need for this strategy assumes the U.S. military has a formal nation-building role as articulated in U.S. Army Field Manual 3-07, *Stability Operations* (Washington, DC: GPO), para. 2-6 and 2-7.

9. Peace Support Operations Module is a PC-based program developed by the British Defense Support Technologies Laboratory and is currently being used through a Memorandum of Understanding and Agreement by the Naval Postgraduate School, Monterrey, CA.

10. See <www.usarmy.com/americas-army/>.

Integrating Economic and Social Aspects into Military Operations

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PHOTO: A medic provides aid to a village elder in Rajankala, Afghanistan, 2 December 2009. (U.S. Air Force, TSGT Francisco V. Govea II)

ON 25 NOVEMBER 2008, the *Financial Times* reported that "NATO forces, the United Nations, and the Afghan government are to implement a new strategy in the coming months that targets the 30 Afghan districts thought likely to slip into Taliban hands."[1] The strategy, dubbed the "integrated approach," involves military support, economic aid, and a more effective way of working with local communities to help ensure their stability and effect a visible improvement of living standards.

The *Financial Times* went on to note that this "reflects a sea change in the thinking of U.S. commanders, who just last year ruled out plans to tap traditional tribal power structures to boost local security."[2]

In fact, the change of thinking represents a radical change in U.S. military doctrine as we enter an era of "persistent conflict—a period of contracted confrontation among state, nonstate, and individual actors increasingly willing to use violence to achieve their political and ideological ends."[3]

As U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates put it, "It is hard to conceive of any country challenging the United States directly on the ground—at least for some years to come. Indeed, history shows us that smaller, irregular forces—insurgents, guerrillas, terrorists—have for centuries found ways to harass and frustrate larger, regular armies and sow chaos. . . . We can expect that asymmetric warfare will remain the mainstay of the contemporary battlefield for some time."[4]

In this new era, winning a war without winning the hearts, minds, and pocketbooks of the people may provide the occasional battlefield victory. However, achieving sustained success will not follow without them, an important lesson learned from the American military experience in Afghanistan and Iraq. Supporting the Afghan Social Outreach Program, which funnels money to local chiefs in Afghanistan to "revive the traditional relationship between village communities and the government," is certainly a different approach to warfare in the 21st century.

The February 2008 edition of U.S. Army Field Manual (FM) 3-0, *Operations,* "provides the intellectual underpinnings that lie at the core of how our Army will organize, train, equip, and conduct operations in this new environment. It recognizes that we will achieve victory in this changed environment of persistent conflict only by conducting military operations in concert with diplomatic, informational, and economic efforts."[5] It also

reflects the need to integrate counterinsurgency efforts with stability operations, an idea tried successfully by the U.S. Army in Vietnam in the 1960s. "Knowing the population and dealing with their 'real beliefs' and needs are fundamental to managing the security, intelligence and progress factors in successful insurgency and stability" or what the authors of this article have termed "COINSTAB," the nexus between counterinsurgency and stability.[6]

In October 2008, FM 3-07, *Stability Operations*, followed the publication of FM 3-0, attempting to put the intent of the operations manual into an operational framework. While FM 3-0 was in many respects a revolutionary document, FM 3-07 is much more conservative and traditional. In fact, FM 3-07 suffers from a number of challenges that may undermine the implementation of FM 3-0:

● In an era when international efforts appear to be more effective than national ones, even by a country with the resources of the United States, FM 3-07 essentially focuses on the role of U.S. government agencies. Much of the operational advice to military commanders concerns how to navigate through the American bureaucracy.[7]

● Stability operations are now the transition from war to peace rather than an integral part of the conflict.

● The lessons learned about stability come from a limited number of U.S. experiences with situations of conflict and fragile states and the U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

● Many of the operational techniques suggested in FM 3-07, such as the vital intelligence component of economic programs, assessing peoples' behavior and attitudes through the Tactical Conflict Assessment and Planning Framework developed by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), appear uninformed by international good practice, including from the private sector.

The purpose of this article, written from an economic and social point of view by four former managers of the World Bank with experience in fragile states and conflict and post-conflict situations, is to—

● Establish what is new about FM 3-0.

● Assess the key elements of the "economic development dimension" in the new Army doctrine.

● Identify some successes from economic reconstruction that might be appropriate in implementing FM 3-0 and revising FM 3-07 as well as lessons of failure to be avoided.

● Note important Army traditions that need to be maintained as the Army considers the balance between "warfare" and "peacefare" and what role the military might have in the latter.

● Suggest learning and capacity-building activities to facilitate the implementation of FM 3-0.

We have learned much about economic and social development over the years, especially since the end of the World War II, and we must incorporate what we have learned into American national security doctrine.

What is New?

In an era of persistent conflict—often involving periods of protracted confrontation among states, nonstates, and individual actors—battlefield success is not enough in many, although not all, situations. It is not always correct that "You cannot win militarily. You have to win totally, or you are not winning at all." But this statement appears valid in many circumstances around the world. Traditionally, the military has interpreted this to mean that the U.S. military will carry out the warfare part of the mission, leaving the "peacefare" to others. Today, however, maintaining peace is an integral part of military operations, and, in too many instances, the peace part fails. This is often because nonmilitary actors cannot conduct stability operations in a conflict environment, or because stability and reconstruction programs lack the resources, intelligence, determination, focus, and professionalism of a military force.

Field Manual 3-0 asserts, "Army doctrine now equally weighs tasks dealing with the population—stability or civil support—with those related to offensive and defensive operations."[8] Indeed, "stability operations are a core U.S. military mission that the Department of Defense shall be prepared to conduct and support. They shall be given priority comparable to combat operations and be explicitly

> *…FM 3-07 suffers from a number of challenges that may undermine the implementation of FM 3-0…*

addressed and integrated across all DOD activities, including doctrine, organizations, leadership, personnel, facilities, and planning."[9]

While stability operations require a certain measure of physical security, the traditional realm of the military, they can also enhance such security, as the Afghan Social Outreach Program in Afghanistan intends. In addition, stability operations require the military to engage in a different kind of intelligence gathering, mainly social and economic, and to develop systems of improving living conditions, which are as important as military strategy, tactics, and weapons systems.

The innovation of FM 3-0 is the introduction of the concept of "full spectrum operations," which involves conducting *military* operations in concert with *diplomatic, informational,* and *economic* development efforts. While diplomatic and informational programs have long been associated with warfare, economic programs have usually waited until the cessation of hostilities with the military providing very limited "civil support tasks." This is no longer the case. "Full spectrum operations involve continuous interaction between friendly forces and multiple groups in the operational area. In addition to enemy forces and the local populace, Soldiers deal with multinational partners, adversaries, civil authorities, business leaders, and other civil agencies. This interaction is simple in concept but complex in application."[10] The emphasis on different elements of full spectrum operations will change with the specific context, time, and location—requiring commanders to have a very different attitude toward defining and meeting challenges in developing strategy, tactics, and training. Knowing the attitudes and behaviors of the civilian population may be as important as assessing the military capacity of those engaged in armed struggle. Knowing the systems to influence behav-

While stability operations require a certain measure of physical security, the traditional realm of the military, they can also enhance such security…

ior and attitudes may be as important as deciding what military tactic or weapons system to use.

It may be equally important to define what FM 3-0 is not. FM 3-0 does not—

- De-emphasize military skills.
- Relax professional and personal standards of Soldiers and officers.
- Turn the Army into the Peace Corps or the United States Agency for International Development.
- Represent merely an extension of the important role the military often plays during humanitarian disasters.

The Economic/Social Dimensions of Full Spectrum Operations

Economic variables of full spectrum operations encompass individual and group behaviors related to producing, distributing, and consuming resources.[11] Social variables describe society within an operational environment, especially with regard to attitudes and behavior, including economic behavior. Economic and social dimensions are most important to FM 3-0 in stability and civil support activities, although they are not unimportant in offensive and defensive operations and for counterinsurgency.

While FM 3-0 leaves the task of defining how to implement full spectrum operations in the economic and social arenas to other documents, including FM 3-07, the authors believe FM 3-0 should provide more operational guidance and training in five areas:

- Intelligence.
- Planning.
- Resource allocation.
- Implementation.
- Monitoring and evaluation.

In some of these areas, the military, using its traditional approaches, may enhance nonmilitary approaches (in discipline and resource allocation, for example) while in others the Army may benefit from major adjustments (gathering and using intelligence and planning with multiple stakeholders). In addition, over the last 20 years, there have been a number of useful examples of integrating economic and social dimensions into stability and civilian support programs.

During the conflict in East Timor, Australia provided military stability and the UN, Asian Development Bank, and World Bank provided economic

and social support. In the Kosovo and Bosnia crisis, NATO provided military stability and the European Union and World Bank provided economic and social programs.

There are also examples in the recent past in which stability and civilian support operations have failed because they were under-resourced either militarily, economically, or both, as in Darfur in Sudan and in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. No one should underestimate the challenge of implementing the new strategy, especially the burden on implementing agencies and the patience and resources needed to allow the strategy to work.

The Intelligence Dimension

Box 1

Good Intentions/Bad Results

A military unit, living in an outpost in a remote village with a broken well, was tasked with either repairing the existing traditional open-pit well or building a new mechanical well. With the best of intentions, the unit constructed a new well over the open-pit, installed a pump, and celebrated the improvement in water service. Some months after the unit moved on, the mechanical well broke. As there was no provision to repair or replace parts, and the open pit was not accessible, the village had no water. Had the military unit had a better understanding of the local environment and repaired the open-pit well originally, the villagers could have been able to maintain and repair it themselves, and the local residents would have appreciated the unit more.

There are two major sources of intelligence on social and economic dimensions: existing information that is often publicly available and information generated specifically for a stability and civilian support operation.

Often, we underutilize or even ignore substantial existing social and economic information because it is in another language, in another country, in another institution, or because it contains elements that do not correspond to our preconceived ideas. This was certainly the case in Iraq in 2003.

> *…we underutilize or even ignore substantial existing social and economic information…*

On the other hand, many stability- and civilian-support situations require sociocultural information that is not available. We must be able to generate it and regenerate it over time. Development institutions and the private sector produce this information as a matter of course through quantitative and qualitative methods, surveys that range from the individual or household to the national level. The information then establishes baselines and indicators on which to measure progress. The experience of the World Bank in the 1990s in doing social assessments in the former Soviet Union, particularly in Russia, Azerbaijan, and Central Asia, suggests the enormous potential for using this instrument and using local social scientists in difficult environments and for difficult issues such as priorities in post-conflict situations and user fees for services.[12]

Priorities in post-conflict reconstruction. Social and economic assessments of population opinions and behaviors in Azerbaijan[13] and Tajikistan[14] resulted in stability and civilian support programs far different from those originally proposed by "outside experts."

Participation in decision making. Social and economic assessments among a variety of stakeholder groups in Russia's coal sector influenced the design of successful mechanisms for distributing large amounts of money to cushion the impact of sector restructuring.[15]

User fees. No conflict or post-conflict country wants to deal with user fees, particularly for basic services, which are essential for financial sustainability. A social and economic assessment of the water supply in Azerbaijan showed that the poor welcomed fees if it meant better service.[16]

Fact and fiction. Many situations are simply not well understood, but once they are, improvement is possible as the assessment of the urban transport situation in Turkmenistan illustrates.[17]

Technical and institutional issues. As Box 2 illustrates, social and economic assessments can be useful even in solving complex technical and institutional issues.

Intelligence in stability and civilian support situations can reveal the actual behavior and real attitudes of key stakeholders and involve them in participatory decision making, a process that may reduce conflict between external and internal forces and increase the relevance of stability and civilian support activities in conflict situations.

The Planning Dimension

History shows examples of both good and bad planning for stability and civil support operations. The most successful examples have been the most extensively planned—post-World War II Germany and Japan—which also included considerable adaptation during implementation. The least successful example is all-too-recent-Iraq, in which the main agency in charge, the Department of Defense, preferred a more ad hoc approach, ignoring the substantial planning by the Department of State.

The difference between good and bad stability and civilian support planning is often, but not always, the difference between good and bad military planning in—

● Devoting sufficient time and human and financial resources to the planning process.

● Providing a high level of professionalism and expertise among the planners.

● Ensuring the reliability, relevance, and use of information and experience from a wide variety of sources, including the participation of involved stakeholders.

● Being open to a broad range of opinions.

● Establishing a priority-setting mechanism.

However, as Box 3 illustrates, planning for stability and civilian support operations will also be very different.

A Soldier searches people before allowing them to enter the joint district community center in Arghandab, Afghanistan, 1 December 2009.

The major differences in planning for stability and civilian support operations are—

● **Dimensions.** As the Afghan Social Outreach Program in Afghanistan illustrates, even during conflict, stability, and civilian support operations, many infrastructure challenges often require more than the Army's traditional engineering skills.

● **Stakeholders.** Recognizing stakeholders is a central part of stability and civilian support planning that requires extensive intelligence on multiple groups' behaviors, attitudes, and identities.

● **Incentives.** Planning should allow for a variety of incentives, both financial and nonfinancial, to ensure participation and loyalty that goes far beyond the traditional planning for military operations. While development agencies have considerable experience with incentives, including "conditional cash transfer" programs that provide money in exchange for new types of behavior, this is not part of current military planning.

● **Simultaneous use of different kinds of weapons.** Commanders may use lethal and nonlethal weapons simultaneously—a gun in one hand, a "conditional cash transfer" in the other.

● **Longer time frame.** The emphasis on winning a specific battle often implies a shorter time frame than stability and civilian support operations. During the latter, the battle extends over a much longer period, often years rather than days or months.

● **More uncertainty.** Planning for many sectors, multiple stakeholders, a system of incentives, and for a longer period requires a substantial ability to monitor and understand operations and the flexibility and confidence for constant adaptation and learning. A planning team that has established internal cohesion and interpersonal skills that remain intact during implementation can enhance flexibility.

● **External coordination.** Planning stability and civilian support operations, even for those within the command structure of the U.S. Army, may well involve coordinating with other agencies, especially outside the U.S. military and the U.S. government. The involvement of other countries, international organizations, civil society, and the private sector can succeed or fail depending on how they fit into the planning process. Non-U.S. agencies have coordinated with others for stability and civilian support operations extensively and successfully in recent years in Bosnia, East Timor, and Kosovo. The U.S. may benefit from such planning.

The Resource Dimension

"Generating and sustaining combat power is fundamental to …warfare."[18]

This fundamental tenet emphasizes the need to provide and sustain sufficient resources to accomplish the mission. Stability and civil support activities, in contrast, traditionally carried out by governments, civil society, and international organizations involve gathering resources and then initiating and sustaining activities on a "best efforts basis." The insufficient financial and human resources and the lack of a rigorous chain of command and mandatory coordination mechanisms leads to failure.

Stability and civilian support operations can benefit from the military tradition of estimating resource levels and developing the logistical framework for delivering and sustaining these resources. Among civilian agencies, perhaps only the International Monetary Fund hesitates to move forward with a partially funded program. For the rest, it is common to act in a framework of uncertain and often-insufficient resources to try to accomplish the mission. Even partially insufficient resources in stability and civilian support operations will produce the same consequences as insufficient ammunition in battle.

The most common stability and civilian support resource issues are—

● **Lack of flexibility and fungibility.** Resources intended for one purpose, such as the purchase of equipment, cannot be shifted to other purposes, such as spare parts and salaries of key people. Resources for one stakeholder group or investment sector cannot be used for another group or sector. Resources should be used within a larger "results framework" to secure objectives (outcomes and impact) rather than to provide inputs only.

● **Lack of sustainability.** Resources should be available for the duration of the effort rather than for some arbitrary budget cycle.

● **Lack of comprehensiveness.** The tendency of many donors to resource what they consider commercially, politically, or morally appropriate often leads to too much funding in one area and not enough in another, although comprehensive program funding is essential to overall success.

> *…it is common to act in a framework of uncertain and often-insufficient resources to try to accomplish the mission.*

While the experience of international development agencies has many lessons for stability and civilian support operations, two resource allocation instruments stand out:

● **Program funding.** This involves moving from funding individual projects with separate donor rules and regulations to comprehensive program funding, including "pooling" donor funds in one instrument, using one framework of (i) financial management, (ii) procurement of goods and services, and (iii) reporting. Program funding improves if it occurs within an overall national plan, which the Marshall Plan required for European countries after World War II and which the International Monetary Fund and World Bank today encourage.

● **Conditional cash transfers.** Many countries have used this recent but well-established method to provide resources to people and communities upon documented proof of changes in behavior, for example, when community members improve water management in El Salvador, or village families in Turkey send their daughters to school.

The Implementation Dimension

International development programs, similar to stability and civil support operations, have had both their successes and their failures. There are a number of pitfalls the military can avoid as economic and social programs become part of full spectrum operations:

● **Disunity of command.** With the exception of "pooling of funds" at the sector level and unified trust funds for special operations (such as the trust fund for the West Bank and Gaza), stability and civilian support operations rarely achieve the unity

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Box 5

The Lessons of Vietnam

During the period 1965 to 1968, U.S. armed forces took over the war against the Vietcong insurgency and the invading regular forces from North Vietnam. Against all historical wisdom and with a determined enemy state just to the north and west uninvaded, the U.S. set out to engage the enemy armed forces in South Vietnam through clearing operations in disputed territory and to embed its advisors into the local administration and regional and national armed units. At its peak at the end of 1967, the U.S. presence in South Vietnam numbered over 450,000 Americans, including military officers advising Vietnamese authorities at every level of military unit down to companies and at every level of civil government down to districts and villages. There were tens of thousands of such advisors and they were backed up by agents of USAID, the U.S. Information Agency and other elements of the U.S. Government. The U.S. was so confident in the combination of aggressive military clearing operations and "pacification" programs of the parallel advisory structure that the U.S. commander was brought back to Washington to explain to Congress that the war was "essentially over." All of that embedded structure did not alert either the Government of Vietnam or the U.S. military of the massive national uprising of insurgents in January 1968—the "Tet Offensive."

A more successful strategy against the insurgency was then initiated to provide security and effective government services. With village security perceived to be the operational imperative, intelligence about residual Vietcong activities was increasingly provided by the protected population. Economic development, especially in the agricultural sector, improved, and Vietnam began to export rice. The success of the Abrams strategy influenced North Vietnam to increase its external military presence in the South, a situation that in the end wore down the patience of the United States.

One important lesson is that protecting the population and providing a framework for economic progress works, assuming the resources in people, money, and patience are available as long as needed.

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of command prevalent in most military operations.[19] The goal of "coordination" and "harmonization" in the international development community based on the Paris Declaration remains largely a vision.[20]

● **"Best efforts."** Achieving partial success—"we did our best"—is often acceptable performance. Even though making some progress is sometimes better than no progress, this undercuts success in military operations.

● **"Implement the plan. Don't deviate."** Having spent considerable effort planning**, "**stick to the plan" becomes the mantra, using monitoring and evaluation to improve the plan's effectiveness and efficiency during implementation**.**

● **Not integrating information.** Military commanders spend great effort telling each other what is happening and what they have learned from what just happened. Civilian managers in international development often live within "silos," communicating up and down, but not across boundaries. In stability and civilian support operations, few "spotter planes" gather intelligence for more than one unit.

The Monitoring and Evaluation Dimension

Establishing baselines, performance indicators, monitoring systems, data collection, evaluation instruments, and feedback loops to integrate information into future operations are areas in which military and private sector agencies excel while public sector and civil society managers often fail. The fault is not in the design of performance indicators and systems, but in their implementation. We must establish simple, relevant indicators, create simple and sustainable monitoring systems, merge duplicate systems, and actually use information to revise operations and improve performance.

Conclusion

Field Manual 3-0 represents a new way for the U.S. Army to operate in meeting the challenges of the 21st century, but implementation of its doctrinal principles requires substantial changes in how the military operates, how it organizes and trains its current and future Soldiers and officers, and how it reaches out to other agencies, especially outside the United States. Field Manual 3-07 may provide a partial guide for maneuvering within the U.S. bureaucracy, but it needs to take account of international experience. The U.S. Army needs a new approach to designing and implementing full spectrum operations that will capture the lessons of the past and the lessons learned by nonmilitary and non-U.S. actors, inform the design of current operations, and become a more important part of the Army's learning processes. Designing new strategies and weapons systems in the military is not easy, but it can be done. The same is true for the economic development tools of full spectrum operations if we approach the problem with determination, professionalism, and resources. *MR*

NOTES

1. *Financial Times*, 25 November 2008, 7.
2. Ibid.
3. U.S. Army Field Manual (FM) 3-0, *Operations* (Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office [GPO], 27 February 2008), foreword.
4. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates, 10 October 2007. In fact, one could argue, that this new era began in the 20th century when, with the notable exceptions of the two world wars, many of the armed conflicts consisted of underground movements, uprisings, opposition groups, citizen movements, and dissidents.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank are mentioned only four times in the 208-page document. The United Nations Development Program and the High Commission for Refugees, two other agencies involved in conflict situations, are mentioned even less frequently.
8. FM 3-0.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid., para. 3-7.
11. FM 3-0 defines economic and social variables separately. Economic variables may include, for example, industrial organizations, trade, development assistance, finance, monetary policy and conditions, institutional capabilities, geography, legal constraints and the many aspects of the overall "incentive" system. Social variables may include individual, family and group social structures, beliefs, values, customs, behaviors, and demographics, religion, ethnicity, migration, urbanization, standards of living, literacy and the nature of education. In this sense, one might better define this element of full spectrum operations as economic/social to emphasize the attitudinal/behaviorial aspects that may be economic or non-economic but are certainly central to what the FM intends.

12. While all the examples are derived from countries around the world, in the private sector an advanced form of SA is the foundation for Internet tracking of customer preferences. More complete information on the social assessments described here is at <www.socialassessment.com>.
13. At the end of the military phase of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict in the mid-1990s, a number of donors and providers of technical support (European Union, United Nations Development Program, United Nations High Commission for Refugees, and the World Bank) indicated their readiness to provide resettlement and reconstruction support to those affected in Azerbaijan. Traditionally, the donors would have sent out a team of experts, usually producing a reconstruction program mirroring the technical expertise of the experts rather than the views of the affected people. In this case, before the experts went out, a social assessment of peoples' views was conducted which resulted in the following priorities: (i) physical security, including demining; (ii) provision of housing, especially repair materials; (iii) temporary food supplies; (iv) income-generating possibilities; and (v) access to a minimum level of physical and social infrastructure across a broad range of subsectors. These priorities were significantly different from what the government thought people wanted and what would have been the basis for the traditional "reconstruction" program of support.
14. At the end of civil conflict in 1994 in Tajikistan, it was clear that there would be few external resources available for reconstruction. Social assessments revealed what people felt were the highest priorities and, more importantly, that reconstruction services should be delivered through efficient existing channels such as local and international nongovernment organizations rather than through an already overburdened public service. A traditional approach at that time would have been to rely heavily on the public sector.
15. In 1996, the World Bank approved a $500 million loan to Russia to restructure

the coal sector, in particular to reduce government subsidies that amounted to a massive 1 percent of gross domestic product. Social assessments oriented much of the funding to those most affected by restructuring the coal communities rather than to coal companies and their employees. Management of the funds was an especially controversial subject until a survey revealed a solution—a new institution representing a broad range of stakeholders rather than an existing government or mine company solution.

16. During the preparation of the Baku (Azerbaijan) Water Supply Rehabilitation Project in 1994, water company officials and the World Bank team concluded that higher tariffs were essential to provide the financial resources necessary to put the Baku water company on a sound financial footing. However, discussions with the government over raising tariffs quickly became emotional. Government officials raised the specter of public riots, while the water company and World Bank team offered the gloomy vision of corporate bankruptcy. Although the public water supply service was inadequate throughout Baku, the low-income segment of the city's population suffered the most from the water situation. On average, households spent about 17 times more on alternative water supplies than on their monthly water bills. The poor spent 7 percent of their income on coping strategies while wealthier citizens spent only about 2 percent. A social assessment also showed that households would be willing to pay substantially more than their current monthly water charge for better public water service. The poorest elements of the population were prepared to pay 6 percent of their income, a slight decrease from their current payments for coping mechanisms. The social assessment process was used by government to justify its decision to raise water tariffs overall by 4 percent, a lower level than the 7 percent the poor were currently paying for coping mechanisms.

17. The social assessment of attitudes and behaviors of users of public buses in the capital city of Turkmenistan revealed that the poorest 25 percent of the households were compelled to spend 13 percent of their income on various alternatives to public transport or on making "extra" payments for using public transport when it was available since tariffs were so low that no coin was small enough to purchase a single-ticket fare. The social assessment showed that 94 percent of public transport users would accept a 2,000 percent increase in tariffs if there were a real improvement in service. Tariff increases immediately went into operation. The quick improvement in public transport service resulted in the poorest households paying higher fares but incurring lower real costs for transport when compared to the cost of their previous expenditures on coping mechanisms.

18. FM 3-0, para 8-14.

19. Field Manual 3-07 suggests as the example of unity of effort, the Provincial Reconstruction Team, which has as its aim "to develop the infrastructure necessary for the local populace to succeed in a post-conflict environment. A PRT is an integral part of the long-term strategy to transition the functions of security, governance, and economics to the host-nation." (FM 3-07 Annex 4, para. 4). A more appropriate use of the PRT in warfare would be "the Civil Operations and Revolutionary Development Support (known as CORDS), the efforts of the Departments of State and Defense were integrated under a "single manager concept" that effectively achieved the civil-military unity of effort vital to success (FM 3-07, para. 1.2).

20. Field Manual 3-07 deals with this aspect specifically. "Where military operations typically demand unity of command, the challenge for military and civilian leaders is to forge unity of effort among the diverse array of actors involved in a stability operation. This is the essence of *unified action*: the synchronization, coordination, and/or integration of the activities of governmental and nongovernmental entities with military operations to achieve unity of effort." FM 3-07, para. I.14.

THE INTERAGENCY ABROAD:
The New Paradigm's Progress

Major G. J. David, U.S. Marine Corps

WHILE IT HAS BECOME COMMON to invoke the term "inter-agency" to express a requirement for diverse capabilities in engagements abroad, applying the concept requires precise definition to avoid bureaucratic problems in the theater of operations. A wide variety of expertise is necessary to generate success in any conflict, but the need for many skills does not mean that we should diversify chains of authority. Unfortunately, the interagency process in its present form lacks cohesive leadership in the area of military operations. Federal agencies are not accustomed to permitting other agencies to direct their personnel and resources. Accordingly, planners would do well to consider the consequences of incorporating the term "interagency" into military doctrines and practices, and define precisely what resources are needed.

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PHOTO: U.S. Marines with 2d Marine Expeditionary Brigade eat dinner with Marines from 1st Battalion, 5th Marine Regiment and members of the provincial reconstruction team from the Helmand province at the former site of Patrol Base Jaker in Nawa district, Helmand province, Afghanistan, 31 October 2009. (U.S. Marine Corps photo by SGT Freddy G. Cantu)

The Interagency

The term "interagency" implies a highly diverse group of actors operating independently in a theater of conflict. The idea that the interagency process needs to be part of U.S. military engagements abroad came about through a series of reports, investigations, and committees which examined responses to terrorism and American foreign endeavors in the last decade. They concluded that information sharing, diverse expertise, and variety in constructive capabilities are prerequisites for success in foreign engagements.[1] These skills are not found in any single government entity, but rather in many, and thus an interagency approach has become essential in foreign endeavors, especially those involving complex contingencies.

Conceptually, the necessity for an interagency process appears in documents as diverse as the U.S. Marine Corps Vision and Strategy 2025 ("The Corps leads Joint and Multinational Operations and enables interagency activities"),[2] and the *National Defense Strategy 2008* ("We must consider further realigning department structures and interagency planning and response efforts…").[3] The "comprehensive approach" terminology in

the broader context of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, for example, likewise carries with it the impression that multiple organizations (such as the various entities of the U.S. government's executive branch) will be needed in NATO missions throughout the world.[4] The UK Delegation to NATO notes, "Experience from NATO operations has demonstrated to Allies that coordination between a wide spectrum of actors from the international community, both military and civilian, is essential to achieving key objectives of lasting stability and security."[5]

The formal distinction between those bureaucracies that have a role in conflicts and those that do not is evident in Title 50, U.S. Code, "War and the National Defense."[6] Yet, the interagency approach applies to all manner of non-Title 50 organizations which have been pressed into service during war and other conflicts. However, U.S. domestic bureaucracies, are generally designed, funded, and staffed to handle domestic issues in the United States. The expertise of their personnel may resemble that which is necessary in an overseas situation, but their detailed knowledge is tangential at best. For instance, the Department of Homeland Security sent several Customs and Border Protection agents to Iraq in 2005. While they were undoubtedly technically proficient, they had never encountered anything like the violent and parlous insurgents who operated along the more than 3,650 kilometers of land borders over which other Middle Eastern states supplied weapons, financing, and fanatical fighters and suicide bombers.[7]

Consider what it would take for U.S. federal law enforcement agencies to fight the Taliban in Afghanistan, a group engaged in killing, drug smuggling, weapons smuggling and transfers, trans-border illegal activities, and intimidation of senior Afghan leadership. Without the multi-billion-dollar behemoth of the intelligence community, these issues would require the respective expertise of the Federal Bureau of Investigation; the Drug Enforcement Agency; Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms; Customs and Border

Protection; the Transportation Security Agency; the Secret Service; and U.S. Marshalls. Although some of these agencies are in Afghanistan, responding to their own priorities and chains of command, they are not designed to act in international affairs as do the Department of State, the Central Intelligence Agency, or Department of Defense, because they are meant to enforce U.S. domestic federal law.

It is one thing for bureaucracies to work independently and quite another to assume that outsiders will understand their operations and be able to collaborate with them or even approach these issues in the same manner as U.S. federal agencies do. The problem of competing organizations with converging priorities is not unique to federal law enforcement; it is a sign of bureaucratic organizations locked in a Hobbesian state of conflict where organizational imperatives counter integration. The idea is the same across government. Why should Afghan nationals, or for that matter other government agencies and non-governmental organizations, have to sort through confusing bureaucratic rules designed for use in Washington? The need to apply all elements of national power to a given conflict or armed confrontation does not mean that the U.S. should export all its agencies.

Principles of Armed Conflict

Conflict spans a spectrum from major conventional operations to security and structure-building under threat of violence. Without the threat of violence, there is no need for a military operation unless for the sake of pure massed logistics; and in that case, the operation no longer has to do with conflict per se. Arguably, the farther away on the conflict spectrum a confrontation or operation is from major conventional operations, the more likely it is to require diverse expertise to provide civil responses to various problems and to build civil structures. However, this does not negate the principles of armed conflict nor mean that they somehow cease to apply; they apply to terrorism, insurgency, or even counter-piracy, as well as conventional clashes.

It is one thing for bureaucracies to work independently and quite another to assume that outsiders will understand their operations and be able to collaborate with them…

United States Joint and service doctrines present the American principles of warfare. The nature of warfare has not changed, nor has the need for unity of command, simplicity, economy of force, leadership, speed and flexibility of decision, and a cohesive approach.[8] While the need for rapid decision making may be greater as the conflict intensifies, the principles hold. Even the much-lauded counterinsurgency manual notes, "Warfare in the 21st century retains many of the characteristics it has exhibited since ancient times. Warfare remains a violent clash of interests between organized groups characterized by the use of force."[9] However much a hybrid of high- and low-intensity action a conflict may be, the fundamental nature of armed conflict remains unchanged.[10] The attendant principles that determine how to apply a national effort to that conflict have also remained constant.

Using the interagency process in its current form in an operational theater ignores these principles. Neither the team leader in the immediate firefight nor his commanding general control nonmilitary governmental agency personnel sharing the area of operations. Technically, the chain of responsibility for other than non-Department of Defense agencies converges with that of the military only at the office of the president. Indeed, many agencies and organizations of the U.S. government operating in conflict zones will avoid direct contact with the military for their own reasons. Most of the world, on the other hand, will view these other agencies, their personnel, and their actions in a conflict zone as those of the U.S. armed forces, probably attributing the military for both the good and the harm done.

Failures in such areas as information or resource sharing in the face of a threat or crisis reflect not only the lack of common engagement, but also bureaucratic posturing to preserve the status quo. These self-seeking efforts show a propensity to act in accordance with bureaucratic imperatives, or as Secretary of Defense Gates put it, "a reluctance to change preferred ways of functioning, the attempt to run a war with peacetime management structure and peacetime practices, a belief that the current set of problems either was an aberration or would

> *Failures in such areas as information or resource sharing…reflect not only the lack of common engagement, but also bureaucratic posturing to preserve the status quo.*

soon be over."[11] To conclude that sending the same agencies to the next conflict will somehow alter their behavior as they compete for resources, talent, and credit is not reasonable.

Defining an Approach

In a conflict zone, we must carefully determine how the interagency process is applied to avoid creating more problems than we solve with government agency participation. Any conflict may include military forces from other nations, multinational organizations like NATO, international organizations like the United Nations, nongovernmental organizations, contractors, and transnational actors. Because of this complexity, a nation's contribution in a conflict zone should be, at least in principle, as simple and cohesive as possible. During military operations, where lives are certain to be wagered on the success of the mission, even if that mission is to rebuild infrastructures in a hostile environment, the agency most competent by training, experience, and mandate must be given the designated lead and authority over other government agencies if we are to generate unity of effort and a common cause.

Designated lead. There are examples of success for this model of ceding resources to the qualified lead agent. Provincial reconstruction teams in Afghanistan, despite the evolution of the conflict there, have shown tactical success.[12] In Iraq, the convergence of General Petraeus and Ambassador Crocker's personalities and the desperate outlook in 2007 during the surge produced unity of effort. Agencies send their members to a conflict zone for a constructive purpose. Once they find common goals, they can unify their efforts, even if only by the force of key leaders' personalities and the good will of participants on the ground. The leadership should deliberately integrate the operational chain of command in the theater of conflict, rather than permit each disparate federal or contracted entity to act on its own.

Ambassador Ryan Crocker; Marine GEN Peter Pace, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; and U.S. Army GEN David Petraeus meet in Iraq, 16 July 2007.

Recent experience suggests that, to enable coordination and focus efforts, it is best to consolidate interagency personnel in an area of operations within or adjunct to military bases, and in some cases under the direct authority of the State Department and its ambassador, rather than in individual groups. In any conflict, the main effort is inevitably conducted by the military command, both by circumstance and by public perception. We should devise a system whereby (at least during Title 50-type conflicts) contributing U.S. government organizations must actually cede resources to those organizations accustomed to, and hopefully resourced for, conducting large-scale operations (often the military command present).

Specialized forces. The need for diverse expertise should cause the military to review its organizational design. The lethality of large-scale conventional conflict has driven the U.S. military to create and maintain pools of specialized forces for highly specific tasks. The threat drives conventional forces to construct qualifications and standards for a task-driven, specialized force across the board. It is like a military assembly line: each unit has its specified tasks that each unit member must perform to standard.

Using this mind-set, in order to construct a bridge, for example, one requires a unit of specialized engineers who build bridges. However, this provokes the question: in order to build a bridge, do we need a unit of bridge builders, or do we need a single bridge builder and a unit? The fact is that to construct a

bridge, one does not need a unit of engineers. One only needs a single competent engineer and a unit that can execute whatever task it is given. The Romans did not cross the Rhine or the Ebro with legions of engineers; they crossed these rivers by the creativity and dedication of their regular legionnaires, following the instructions of a single competent engineer. Perhaps the best option would be a unit of engineers, but it is not the only option.

Today, even the most sanctified of specialized missions has shown that when "special" becomes "normal," the only way to address many tasks is with large, conventional numbers. In Iraq and Afghanistan, the majority of U.S. military personnel engaged in training Iraqi and Afghan security forces to defend their own nation from internal threats are conventional. Training for foreign internal defense is, by definition, a core special operations task, and was once the most sacred of missions for special operations.[13] Even special operations must be flexible, however, when the particular operation in question becomes less special and much more commonplace. Field Marshall Viscount Sir William Slim, who commanded the longest continuous allied campaign of World War II and under whose command large-scale special operations began in earnest, expressed the paradox thusly: "Any well-trained infantry battalion should be able to do what a commando can do; in the 14th Army, they could and did. This cult of special forces is as sensible as to form a Royal Corps of Tree Climbers and say that no soldier, who does not wear its green hat with a bunch of oak leaves stuck in it, should be expected to climb a tree."[14]

The armed forces need to view their forces as military personnel first—personnel capable by virtue of their military culture of working efficiently together on a required task—and specialists second; or as the United States Marine Corps views itself: "Every Marine a rifleman." Diverse expertise may consequently only mean a single source of this expertise, for example, one FBI agent working with

an infantry unit, and a disciplined unit (that knows what it does not know and therefore knows what it needs) to be able to respond. The natural reluctance of governmental agencies to partner with military organizations is seen in domestic circumstances due to separation of powers, but this separation of power does not apply in the midst of a foreign conflict, and it is this environment that requires armed military personnel instead of domestic, federal police.

Likewise, the U.S. armed forces can look to historical examples for ideas on how to address today's issues. For example, at one time the armed forces operated a school of military government in conjunction with the University of Virginia.[15] This school provided the type of knowledge needed in June of 2003 in Iraq, where coalition forces were virtually the only capable, organized authorities extant and in contact with the populace. Conceptually, there are certainly a number of questions that imposing a military government on another nation rises as to modern interpretations of international law and the imposition of law. On the other hand, having a trained group of people who had studied in such a school might have helped an organization like the Coalition Provisional Authority in 2003.

Conclusions

Military planners must remain circumspect as to the application of the interagency process. If the Coalition Provisional Authority is the best recent conflict example, then the interagency process has a long evolution yet ahead of it to become useful. The dangers of using a relatively untested concept in conflicts are plain; the cost of mistakes is paid in lives. For this reason, U.S. Joint Forces Command eliminated the more overweening aspects of effects-based operations, in which certain proponents claimed both a change in the nature of warfare and the ability to predict collective human behavior through staff planning.[16] The doctrine has not been eradicated; rather, it has been redefined.[17] Likewise, the time has arrived to define more specifically how we intend to apply the interagency process in conflict.

Because of the nature of warfare, those agencies most competent to the task must have overall charge of the mission. In most conflicts, this is the military, but in some, the State Department is the obvious lead element and military forces are in support. The Navy-Marine Corps team by its expeditionary nature, and often the Special Forces, are both quite accustomed to responding directly to an ambassador. In principle, especially during a conflict, interagency expertise should be placed within a unified chain of command in theater. The military in particular must have a more flexible view of appropriate tasks to make the best use of this expertise using the creative labors of its ordinary Soldiers, Sailors, Airmen, and Marines. Only in this form can the interagency process become an effective paradigm in the tools of the Nation. **MR**

NOTES

1. See, for example, the 9/11 Commission Report, the Intelligence Commission Report, and the Robb-Silberman Report to the President.

2. U.S. Marine Corps, *United States Marine Corps Vision and Strategy 2025* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office [GPO], July 2008), 17.

3. Department of Defense, *The National Defense Strategy of the United States 2008,* (Washington, DC: GPO, June 2008), 18.

4. See the NATO website for definitions, < www.nato.int/cps/en/SID-2ACD72B2-2ACFADED/natolive/topics_51633.htm> (27 May 2009).

5. Great Britain, The UK Delegation to NATO, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, *Comprehensive Approach,* 2008-2009, <http://uknato.fco.gov.uk/en/uk-in-nato/comprehensive-approach> (13 May 2009).

6. Reference to Title 50 is Title 50 *U.S. Code,* "War and the National Defense, 193, Subtitle A, Chapter 8, Defense Agencies and Department of Defense Field Activities."

7. The Central Intelligence Agency, *The World Fact Book 2008,* at <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/iz.html#Geo> (9 March 2009).

8. Joint Publication (JP) 1, *Doctrine for the Armed Forces of the United States,* incorporating chg. 1 (Washington, DC: GPO, 20 March 2009), I-3.

9. U.S. Army Field Manual (FM) 3-24/MCWP 3-33.5, *Counterinsurgency* (Washington DC: GPO, December 2006), 1-1, para. 1-1.

10. Frank Hoffman, "Hybrid Warfare and Challenges," *Joint Forces Quarterly* 52 (2009): 34.

11. Robert Gates, "A Balanced Strategy: Reprogramming the Pentagon for a New Age," *Foreign Affairs* (January-February 2009). The secretary was referring to an earlier work during the Vietnam conflict by Robert Komer entitled *Bureaucracy Does its Thing.*

12. See, for example, Tucker B. Mansager, "Interagency Lessons Learned in Afghanistan," *Joint Forces Quarterly* (1st Qtr 2006); or U.S. Agency for International Development, "USAID PRT-QIP" at <http://afghanistan.usaid.gov/en/Activity.91.aspx> (27 May 2009).

13. JP 3-05, *Doctrine for Joint Special Operations* (Washington, DC: GPO, 17 December 2003) para. 4.

14. William Slim, *Defeat into Victory: Battling Japan in Burma and India, 1942-1945* (New York, Cooper Square Press, 1956), 547.

15. See for example, Brent C. Bankus and James Kievit, "The Army and Marines and Military Government," *Small Wars Journal* online, <http://smallwarsjournal.com/documents/bankuskievit.doc> (28 May 2009).

16. BG David A. Deptula, USAF, *Effects Based Operations: Change in the Nature of Warfare,* Aerospace Education Foundation, Defense and Airpower Series, Arlington, VA, 2001.

17. General James L. Mattis, USMC, "Commander's Guidance for Effects Based Operations," *Joint Forces Quarterly* (4th Quarter 2008), 105.

INTERAGENCY OPERATIONS
General Geoffrey Keyes in Austria
1947–1950

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THE UNITED STATES has called on its military forces to perform a variety of missions in the post-Cold War world, many in post-conflict settings with complex political, social, economic, and military dimensions. The American military has quickly discovered that effectively addressing these issues requires "interagency operations," the coordinated employment of multiple federal organizations, bringing all the instruments of national power to bear on a problem. Unfortunately, after concentrating for a quarter of a century on preparing for a war against the Warsaw Pact, the armed services have found themselves largely unprepared for this task. With only a modicum of doctrine, training, and expertise, the military has set about learning interagency operations on the job. Although the U.S. military had a long history of conducting assistance, it has not drawn fully and systematically on its historical legacy in preparing for an interagency effort, security operations, and civil-military affairs in post-conflict settings.[1] This failure is unfortunate. The post-World War II era in particular offers some valuable lessons on the role of the military after battle.

Strong parallels exist between today's post-Cold War world and the years immediately following World War II. Both periods began with unsettled regional security systems, ethnic and irredentist conflicts, significant regional economic dislocation, and serious migration and refugee issues. In each case, the world was an unsettled place, facing an ambiguous and uncertain future. In each instance, the American military played a prominent role in setting the conditions for regional stability, security, and progress. Finally, on each occasion the U.S. armed forces began their efforts with a "learn as you go" approach to interagency operations.

The experience of General Geoffrey Keyes, the American high commissioner for occupied Austria from 1947 to 1950, is a case in point. General Keyes' term as high commissioner reflected the difficulties inherent in an ad hoc approach to interagency operations. Most important, his campaign for Austrian security demonstrated the great danger of approaching these missions without a coherent, visionary regional strategy. The U.S. strategic approach to Austria was essentially "backward looking," designed to redress prewar issues. The stated objective was to abolish the *anschluss* that united Germany and Austria and recreate an independent Austrian state.[2] Senior U.S. leaders, however, provided no guidance on how to face the future and shape the development of a new postwar European political, economic, and security framework. Without a common doctrinal base and shared operational experience, the absence of a clear strategic vision

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GRAPHIC: Coat of Arms of Austria.

exacerbated the challenge of harmonizing interagency efforts for the challenges ahead.

Lacking clear long-term guidance on the U.S. role in Austria, General Keyes developed his own vision, shaping America's strategy from the periphery—a Cold War version of "the tail wags the dog." The inverted nature of General Keyes' Austrian strategy had its roots in the government's contentious wartime planning for the postwar world. Part of the Army leadership wanted nothing to do with civil affairs because it detracted resources and effort from warfighting tasks. Others countered that the military was the only organization that could muster the vast capabilities needed to support post-conflict missions. The Departments of Treasury and State argued that civilians should run the effort, but they were slow to organize or propose a practical alternative.[3]

Despite controversy, in 1942 the Army began training and planning for post-conflict reconstruction, establishing a rudimentary system in time to support operations in North Africa and Italy. Though field commanders complained of the additional responsibility, the military became the de facto leader for implementing post-conflict policies. As postwar planning accelerated, the Army assumed the overall mission for America's part in establishing military governance in occupied territories, including the reestablished state of Austria.[4]

The Occupation of Austria

The Army's preeminence in occupation duties, particularly in Austria, remained relatively unchallenged until the onset of the Cold War. General Mark Clark served as both the commander of U.S. forces in Austria and the high commissioner of the American occupied area. Occupying armies and military commissioners from France, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union joined General Clark's forces, dividing the country into four zones and ruling Austria through an Allied council, an arrangement similar to the one employed during the initial occupation of Germany.

Lieutenant General Geoffrey Keyes
1888–1967

Paul Godley

At first, Austria appeared to set the standard for interagency cooperation, although there were some complaints about the Army. While General Clark had boasted that the Austrian occupation would have "the best troops in Europe," one State Department observer protested:

The fact that the wrong army arrived [in Austria] is very definitely at the bottom [of our problems], and almost all of the incredible anomalies here are traceable ultimately to that. It must be kept in mind throughout. In the first place it was a combat army that had fought its way across France and Germany, and its principal concern is still with fighting and "occupying." Such things as MG [military government] are a necessary nuisance and political considerations are wholly submerged.[5]

Despite these criticisms, in the first years of the occupation, reports from the theater generally suggested that State and the Army were functioning together quite well, following wartime precedents with the Army in the lead and State in a supporting role. John G. Erhardt, who also served as a political advisor subordinate to General Clark, led the department legation. By all accounts, Clark, Erhardt, and their staffs functioned well together. One State Department official called Austria a "model of military and civilian cooperation."[6]

Despite the reputation for close collaboration and the fact that State had no objection to another military high commissioner following him, General Clark's departure in May 1947 revealed the strain developing between the two. Clark's farewell speech included a strong and unambiguous statement of American support for Austria. The State Department complained that Clark had not properly cleared the pronouncement with them. General Clark's remarks seemed to suggest an unrestricted, long-term commitment to Austria, while in fact, the United States had not settled on a clear strategy for the occupation or for negotiating a final treaty (called the state treaty) with the other Allied powers over Austria's status.[7] The

Farewell reception and luncheon in honor of General Mark Clark in Salzburg, Austria, 5 May 1947.

controversy surrounding Clark's departing remarks reflected a growing rift between the State Department legation and the military high command over setting the course for the U.S. position on Austria.

General Keyes' Proposals

Responsibility for implementing whatever long-term strategy the United States came up with fell to Clark's successor, General Geoffrey Keyes.[8] When Keyes assumed command of U.S. forces in Austria in the spring of 1947, American occupation policy was at a crossroads. The Austrian government wanted the United States to propose troop withdrawals even in the absence of a negotiated settlement by the occupying powers. The Austrians argued withdrawal would give them greater flexibility in dealing with the Soviets over the contentious issues delaying final treaty negotiations.[9] The legation wanted to consider the proposal. General Keyes rejected the idea outright and resented that the representatives of the State Department did not give him their full support. State's approach, General Keyes' chief of staff Colonel Thomas F. Hickey reported, is "to support the political advisor's theory that the high commissioner is just a figurehead." The political

adviser, he complained, had fallen for the Austrian line that the whole idea was, "get the Army out, and things will be easy in Austria."[10]

General Keyes, on the other hand, was convinced that the Soviets were intent on dominating Austria as a springboard for further incursions into Western Europe. His mistrust of the Soviets was legion. In fact, suspecting a Communist-inspired attempt to embarrass him the first day on the job, he had ordered extra security measures. Early that morning a general strike erupted, followed by an unprecedented 14 riots in General Keyes' first month of command, leaving him deeply suspicious that the Soviets were behind all of Austria's ills.[11]

Soviet obstructionism, General Keyes concluded, was part of a larger plan. He saw Austria as a key piece in an emerging geo-strategic confrontation between East and West. Although Austria had never figured prominently in American strategic planning either during or after the war, Keyes believed Austria was the linchpin holding back a concerted Soviet scheme to take over Western Europe. Austria should not be free, he argued, until it could resist Soviet influence.[12]

Keyes believed U.S. forces should remain until four conditions were in place:
- A state treaty.
- A plan to ensure Austrian economic independence.
- A security force to insure the territorial and political integrity of the country.
- The expeditious, simultaneous withdrawal of all occupation forces.[13]

He proposed a two-tracked approach of economic assistance and military aid to accomplish these goals and ensure U.S. interests in Austria.[14]

In terms of economic assistance, General Keyes envisioned a scheme that would piggyback off the Marshall Plan. Shortly after Secretary of State George C. Marshall announced the creation of the European Recovery Program, General Keyes began to argue that the initiative could be used to ensure Austrian independence and fight off Soviet influence in the country.[15] In October 1947, Keyes formally proposed a neutralization plan for Austria, an economic assistance package that would establish a viable "neutral" Austrian economy that could resist Soviet economic and political penetration. The plan included specific objectives far over and above the provisions of the European Recovery

Program (which called for only a $185 million investment in Austria). General Keyes believed that those resources would be necessary just for food imports; more funds were necessary for industrialization and the other investments to jump-start the Austrian economy.

The Keyes plan also called for undermining the viability of Soviet-controlled industries, strangling them by reducing access to rolling stock, energy, and raw materials, as well as boycotting their products. General Keyes estimated his plan would require an additional $27 million. He concluded that, without the neutralization plan, Austria would succumb to Soviet economic domination within six months after the withdrawal of U.S. forces.[16] During the next year, he constantly prodded the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the State Department to consider his initiative.[17]

Keyes also felt that physical security was as important as economic security. He believed that the presence of British, French, and American forces was the only thing blocking more aggressive Soviet penetration of the country. However, in arguing for maintaining troops in Austria, Keyes knew he had to temper his desires in light of the stark realities of the occupation as well as the views of the State Department and the Austrian government. The rapid demobilization after World War II strained the Army's limited resources and manpower. It could spare few troops to garrison the country. In addition, the economic burden of occupation by the few Western forces already in the country was undercutting efforts to resuscitate the Austrian economy. Still, while his forces were limited and were becoming tiresome to the Austrians, the general rejected the notion that the troops could withdraw safely, unless Austria first obtained military aid to establish its own security force.

As confrontations with the Soviets over Greece, Iran, Berlin, the Marshall Plan, and Yugoslavia became more agitated, General Keyes' confrontational approach seemed to dovetail well with America's emerging policy of containment. Keyes continued to pepper Washington with assessments demonstrating how conditions in Austria fit clearly into the overall Soviet threat to Europe.[18] He saw a potential danger to Vienna similar to the blockade of Berlin. American forces had identified 4,000 agents in the Western zones working to expand Soviet influence in the country. There was a legal, well-organized, and disciplined Communist party—150,000 strong—directly responsible, Keyes believed, to Moscow. General Keyes pictured an Austria stranded in a "no man's land" that was vulnerable to military, economic, and political isolation.

General Keyes also stressed the benefits of the continued occupation of Austria in the event of hostilities with the West, not only as an extension of the position in Germany, but also for its own geographic and strategic advantages.[19] As far as he was concerned, the United States was "engaged in a type of war with the Soviet Union," and America couldn't leave the Austrian front until Austria was secure.[20]

General Keyes' advocacy for more aggressive measures received a considerable boost from the February 1948 Communist takeover in Czechoslovakia. General Keyes called the Prague coup "one of those events which from time to time occur to change the course of history."[21] The coup demonstrated that the Soviets couldn't be trusted, strengthening his argument for a clear link between negotiating the state treaty and Austrian defense. On the heels of the coup, the Department of Defense fought off an attempt by Secretary of State Dean Acheson to weaken the linkage between security measures and treaty negotiations.[22]

When the Allies prepared to resume negotiations over the Austrian state treaty, General Keyes' persistent views on Austrian security won out. At the treaty negotiations in the wake of the Communist coup in Czechoslovakia, political adviser John Erhardt supported Keyes. Parroting Keyes' view, Erhardt concluded there seemed little to recommend giving up the position the United States held in Austria without a firm guarantee of the country's security.[23] General Keyes' ideas gained additional support when the State Department asked the Joint Chiefs to review the Austrian situation. In March 1948, the Joint Chiefs did little more than rubber stamp the Keyes position, and the State Department concurred.[24]

> *…rapid demobilization after World War II strained the Army's limited resources and manpower.*

Despite his apparent policy successes, U.S.-Austrian policy continued to frustrate Keyes. He was disappointed by the lack of American knowledge and interest in Austrian affairs.[25] He also feared that the U.S. effort in Austria was the poor stepchild of the German occupation.[26] He tried, without success, to persuade the Army staff in Washington to lobby the Joint Chiefs of Staff to sever all ties that subordinated his command to U.S. forces in Germany.[27]

In addition to his running battle with the military government in Germany, General Keyes had continuing clashes over the administration of the European Recovery Plan, arguing that it did not provide enough economic aid to ensure Austrian independence and was poorly managed. He wanted the Economic Cooperation Authority mission in Paris that administered aid to work through that office.[28]

Keyes' Proposals Rejected

General Keyes' proposal was ignored, and not long after the Economic Cooperation Authority began operations, trouble started. John Erhardt believed the Army became obstructionist, creating a "tempest in a teapot" with the Economic Cooperation Authority management team. By 20 October 1948, he reported conclusively, "The honeymoon is over." He argued that if General Keyes would not cooperate with the Economic Cooperation Authority, the State Department should take over the high commissioner post from the Army. The Marshall Plan, Erhardt argued, should not be under the Army anyway. The program needed to be set up so that authority could be progressively turned over to the Austrian government. "As I have explained to General Keyes," Erhardt stated, "Our policy is . . . to let the Austrian Government have more and more authority and to progressively diminish the authority of the Army. Under that formula, whether the Army likes it or not, the authority of the legation would also progressively increase."[29] The Army's leadership in Austria, Erhardt argued, was becoming an obstacle to further progress.

Not only were General Keyes' recommendations to subordinate the Economic Cooperation Authority to the high commissioner rejected, but his economic plan floundered in Washington. The Joint Chiefs of Staff referred the Keyes plan to the

Logo used on aid delivered to European countries during the Marshall Plan, starting about 1948. The labeling was deemed necessary when Congress became concerned that the Soviet Union was taking credit for the poorly marked U.S. foreign aid donations to European countries. The logo for the USAID (the current incarnation of the same programs) is descended from this logo.

State-Army-Navy-Air Force Coordinating Committee's Subcommittee for Europe as a priority project. The subcommittee convened a working group from the Department of the Army and the State Department to study the proposal. The State Department in Washington, however, was wary that any additional investments in Austria might only complicate the challenge of getting the Soviets to agree on a state treaty. In addition, State wanted to focus resources where it thought they would do the most good. It preferred to keep the priority of U.S. effort on supporting Germany, France, and Britain. On 30 April 1948, the State Department succeeded in having the Keyes plan removed from the committee's agenda and it was never revived.[30] As long as the State Department held preeminence in setting the agenda for foreign economic aid, there was little prospect that General Keyes' proposal would ever be implemented. While General Keyes' economic initiatives went nowhere, his plans for an Austrian security force made more progress. Here he had the full backing of the military in Washington. In fact, the Joint Chiefs had declared that "general agreement exists that the most urgent problem involved

in the conclusion of the treaty is the creation of an Austrian army capable of maintaining internal order during the period immediately following the withdrawal of the occupation forces and pending the expansion of the army to the full strength authorized by the treaty."[31]

The military had preeminent influence on traditional national security issues. With the full support of the Pentagon, security preparations in Austria continued, including measures to establish a covert Austrian army.[32]

> *…security preparations in Austria continued, including measures to establish a covert Austrian army.*

While the Austrians enthusiastically supported the secret rearmament program, they pushed equally vigorously for an end to the occupation. They, too, were often at odds with General Keyes' view that the utility of the occupation had to be "measured in terms of western political and strategic gains."[33] General Keyes told the Joint Chiefs that the occupation was essential and there was "no obligation or need to make excuses for or further justify an occupation which is the mildest in history."[34] Keyes worried that Austrian demands and public opinion would sway the United States. "Having strongly rejected a policy of appeasement toward the Russians," he complained, "we are now tending to adopt a policy of appeasement toward the Austrians at the expense of our national aims in the struggle for world peace when no appeasement is called for."[35] The Austrian view, General Keyes concluded, was less important than U.S. security interests were.

Keyes feared manipulation by Austrian politicians as much as Soviet penetration. In particular, he complained that the Austrian foreign minister Karl Grubber was pushing too hard for a treaty. Grubber, General Keyes concluded, was "playing both ends against the middle . . . a dangerous approach in dealing with the welfare of a country."[36] The foreign minister, Keyes believed, could not be pro-Western and, at the same time, claim the Austrians could negotiate in good faith with the Soviets.

While General Keyes continued his battles with Austrian officials, the military government in Germany, the Economic Cooperation Authority, and the State Department, State renewed its effort to take control. In 1947, the department had developed a proposal to civilianize the high commissioner's position, but later decided to wait until a resolution of the state treaty before making its case. Francis Williamson of the Department of State's Central European Division, however, wrote John Erhardt that if relations with General Keyes became too bad, "we will take the memorandum out and wave it under the noses of selected people in the Department of the Army."[37] When treaty negotiations collapsed in 1949, the State Department decided to renew that effort.

The military reaction to the State Department's initiative was equivocal. On 15 June 1949, the Joint Chiefs of Staff offered no objection to limiting or civilianizing the position of high commissioner.[38] Likewise, General Keyes raised no specific complaints to the recommendation, but renewed his overall concern with U.S. policy, arguing it overly focused on appeasing Austrian desires for a treaty at the expense of U.S. national security interests.[39]

General Keyes continued to believe that the real problem was the State Department's tendency to soften Austrian policy. When the treaty negotiations completely collapsed, he vigorously renewed his attack on the State Department. Now that the treaty seemed a dead-letter issue, General Keyes declared, "It is essential that we have singleness of purpose, united effort, and unified control." The Department of State and the Army were pulling at cross-purposes. General Keyes complained that the political adviser was supposed to work through him, but now, "he [the political adviser] feels he is justified in withholding or acting upon, certain matters, thus limiting or restricting his value to the high commissioner in his capacity as political advisor." Solving the problem by curtailing the authority of the military high commissioner, Keyes argued, would only worsen the problem. "The success of the west in holding the line in Austria these past five years," Keyes declared, "should invite grave study before a decision is taken to the procedure of normal peace time diplomacy." Rather than weakening the commissioner or replacing him with

a civilian, Keyes believed the position should be strengthened and the Army's policy of "firmness and benevolence" endorsed.[40]

Keyes wrote to NATO commander General Gruenther that a choice had to be made:

> My only desire is for the matter to be settled on a cold and factional basis free from personalities and inter-departmental jealousies. I have absolutely no interest in a personal row with either Erhardt or his organization. I do hope in the solution, the factor of National Defense is given its rightful weight.[41]

The general argued that his main fear was that intergovernmental politics would cloud the issue of what is in America's best interest.

Keyes' Approach Approved

In the end, General Keyes' approach triumphed and set the tone for U.S. policies until the state treaty was approved in 1955, but while he won the war, he lost the battle. On 12 October 1950, President Truman transferred high commissioner authority to the Department of State.[42] In addition, the President's order stipulated that in the future, State and Defense would have to jointly agree to military instructions for Austria and submit them to the president for approval.[43] Despite President Truman's decision, U.S. policy towards Austria changed little in the years following General Keyes' retirement.

While General Keyes succeeded in putting his stamp on Austrian policy, his legacy in helping establish America's Cold War strategy is more ambivalent. Geoffrey Keyes was a man of vision, determination, and conviction, serving in a critical, sensitive overseas post at a time of transition and turmoil in U.S. foreign policy. In this environment, it is not surprising that a military commander would become a de facto policy maker. What is disturbing was that in the policy vacuum of the early Cold War years, U.S. strategy in Austria appeared to emerge from below, instead of emanating from above. General Keyes

promoted his neutralization economic plan before the final form of the Marshall Plan had even been settled upon. The general advocated rearming former enemies before the creation of NATO. He forcefully pushed for U.S. national interests over nation building (and would have risked the division of Austria) long before the division of Germany. General Keyes' Cold War strategy was truly cutting-edge.

The Keyes strategy also seemed to be working. Western forces appeared to have blunted the Soviet penetration of Austria. Along with the successes of containing the communist insurgency in Greece, holding fast in Berlin, providing military aid to Turkey, and securing the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Iran, U.S. efforts suggested that a "stand tough" approach worked best, and that Soviet power could be contained with tolerable risks at a reasonable cost. To the national leadership, Keyes' pioneering Cold War tactics seemed to be the right way to deal with the Soviets in Western Europe.

Keyes' Policy Helps Precipitate the Cold War

Rather than reflecting a positive and proactive approach to the postwar world, however, General Keyes' policies and his ongoing conflict with the Austrians and other federal agencies demonstrated the weakness of the American approach to transitioning the use of national power from war to peace. Soviet behavior in Austria always demonstrated elements of ambiguity and inconsistency. At times, the Soviets appeared reasonable and cooperative, at others irrational and conspiratorial. This ambivalent behavior reflected, in part, an ongoing debate with the Soviet leadership over the value of maintaining a presence in Austria.[44] U.S. policymakers, however, failed to recognize and exploit the Soviet position. Keyes' forceful influence imposed clarity at the expense of analysis and understanding. The United States never seriously questioned whether its success was the product of U.S. resolve or Soviet caution and restraint and if alternative policies could

The general argued that his main fear was that intergovernmental politics would cloud the issue of what is in America's best interest.

have produced better options. While the Americans, without question, contributed immeasurably to establishing an independent, democratic state, the Keyes strategy also helped precipitate the growing cycle of mistrust and confrontation with the Soviet Union that evolved into a decade-long Cold War occupation of Austria.

The failure to provide coherent, strategic guidance at the outset added ambiguity and confrontation to the already difficult tasks of meeting the challenges of the postwar world. Keyes' views triumphed because he moved quickly and forcefully to fill a policy vacuum. His proposals were readily accepted because they reinforced the administration's preference for a strategy of containment. On the other hand, the lack of effective interagency coordination discouraged the consideration of other policy options. Rather than representing reasonable, alternative proposals, State-Army initiatives appeared as assaults in a "turf-battle" over control

of U.S. policy. In addition, Keyes' approach stifled continuous and serious reassessments of American preconceptions and assumption.

From the outset, the United States lacked an effective, visionary strategic framework to set the "ground rules" and harmonize interagency efforts. A common interagency operational doctrine or shared practices might have overcome the absence of strategic direction by providing an effective system for vetting policy options and facilitating trust, confidence, and cooperation among the members of the interagency team. Without these mechanisms, however, policymaking devolved into a process of intergovernmental squabbling.

This is a lesson worth remembering. Nations unite during wars by clearly articulating and focusing on their strategic aims—setting out a suitable, achievable end-state. Their efforts in peace deserve no less unity of effort. While the American occupation of Austria suggests no simple prescription for conducting interagency operations, the Keyes initiatives demonstrate the danger of entering an operation without a guiding strategy or shared doctrinal approach to harmonizing and integrating efforts during post-conflict operations. In such an environment, national policies, rather than evolving from collective effort, may appear from unintended places—with unintended consequences. ***MR***

NOTES

1. Many of the United States' post-conflict operations are discussed in an only recently published volume of official history. See, Andrew J. Birtle, U.*S. Army Counterinsurgency and Contingency Operations Doctrine 1860–1941.* However, the Army never fully incorporated this experience into its doctrine, military education, or professional development programs. The U.S. official report on the occupation of Germany after the First World War reported, for example, "The history of the United States offers an uninterrupted series of wars, which demanded as their aftermath, the exercise by its officers of civil government functions. Despite the precedents of military governments in Mexico, California, the Southern States, Cuba, Porte Rico, Panama, China, the Philippines and elsewhere, the lesson seemingly has not been learned." Quoted from *American Military Government of Occupied Germany, 1918–1920. Report of the Officer in Charge of Civil Affairs and Armed Forces in Germany*, 64. Similarly, in preparing for post-conflict operations after World War II, the U.S. Army found it had ignored past efforts in building a doctrinal foundation and operational concepts for post-conflict operations. Its preparations included studying the lessons learned reports from the post-World War I occupation in Germany. See Letter, Russell Snook to John D. Hartigan, 14 August 1946, box 7, John D. Hartigan Papers, Hoover Institute, Stanford University, Palo Alto, California (hereafter cited as HI).

2. JCS guidance laid out Objectives for the occupation. See SHAEF, subject, Provisional Directive for Military Government in Austria-Period and Area of Responsibility, 23 April 1945, U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, Geographic Files 1942–1945, Box 3, RG 218, National Archives, Washington, DC (Hereafter cited as NA); Joint Chiefs of Staff Directive to Commander in Chief U.S. Forces of Occupation Regarding the Military Government of Austria, U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, Geographic Files 1942–1945, section 9, Box 6, RG 218, NA; Headquarter, U.S.FA, Directive for Military Government in Austria, July 27, 1945, Flory Papers, Military History Institute (hereafter cited as MHI), Carlisle Barracks, PA; see also The Treatment of Austria: Policy Recommendations, The Inter-Divisional Committee on Germany, PWC-217(CAC-219) June 8, 1944, (Secret), box 1, David Harris Papers, HI. See also, Robert H. Keyersling, *Austria in World War II: An Anglo-American Dilemma.*

3. Ralph E. Pearson Papers, MHI; Eric James Bohman, "Rehearsals for Victory: The War Department and the Planning and Direction of Civil Affairs, 1940–1943," Ph.D, Yale University (1984); Harry L. Coles and Albert K. Weinberg, *Civil Affairs:*

Soldiers Become Governors.

4. For an overview of planning and the establishment of the U.S. occupation of Austria see Frank McSherry Papers, MHI; Velma Hastings Cassidy, "The U.S. in the Allied Administration of Austria," The Department of State Bulletin, XVI (March 9, 1947); Donald R. Whitnah and Edgar I. Erickson, *The American Occupation of Austria*; Ralph W. Brown III, "A Cold War Army of Occupation? The U.S. Army in Vienna, 1945-1948," Ph.D, University of Tennessee (1995).

5. Letter Erhardt to Adams, June 1, 1945, box 1, Records of the Office of West European Affairs, 1941–1950, RG 59, NA; Handwritten manuscript, Erhardt letters, dated June 13, 1945, box 1, Records of the Office of West European Affairs, 1941–1950, RG 59, NA.

6. Letter Williamson to Erhardt, December 10, 1945, box 1, Records of the Office of West European Affairs, 1941–1950, RG 59, NA. See also letter Erhardt to Williamson, November 3, 1945, box 1, Records of the Office of West European Affairs, 1941–1950, RG 59, NA; letter Erhardt to Mathews, June 3, 1945, box 1, Records of the Office of West European Affairs, 1941–1950, RG 59, NA; letter Erhardt to Williamson, September 19, 1945, box 1, Records of the Office of West European Affairs, 1941–1950, RG 59, NA; Letter Williamson to Erhardt, October 4, 1945, box 1, Office of the Assistant Secretary State for European Affairs, 1941–1950, RG 59. Erhardt's instructions as the political adviser for Austrian Affairs are contained in letter to Erhardt, March 27, 1945, box 1, Records of the Office of West European Affairs, 1941–1950, RG 59, NA. See also Meeting of the Secretaries of State, War and Navy, November 13, 1946, box 3, RG 335, NA. Eleanor Lansing Dulles, an economic analyst in the Legation recalled in an interview that for the most part Erhardt "handled Mark Clark quite well once in while he would say 'Mark Clark you are kind of an idiot you know, you shouldn't do that,' but by and large he went along with Mark Clark." See Sorenson Interview, Eleanor Lansing Dulles Papers, Dwight David Eisenhower Presidential Library, Abilene, Kansas (hereafter cited as DDE).

7. Memorandum for the State Member, SWNCC, Subject: United States Future Policy toward Austria, 14 May 1947, box 2, JCS Geographic Files 1946–1948, RG 218, NA.

8. General Keyes had taken a long road from his birthplace in Fort Bayard, New Mexico on October 30, 1888 to the front lines in the Cold War. Graduating from West

Point in 1913, he took a commission in the cavalry and served on the Mexican border, participating in the punitive expedition into Mexico. He spent his World War I years teaching at West Point. After a second teaching tour at West Point in the 1920s, he attended the Army's Command and General Staff College, followed by tours in the Midwest and the Canal Zone and further schooling at the *Ecole Superieure de Guerre* in 1933 and the Army War College in 1937. During World War II, after an assignment on the General Staff in Washington, he reported to the newly formed 2d Armored division at Fort Benning, Georgia where he served under General George S. Patton. He became one the early pioneers of the armor corps and briefly took command of the 9th Armored Division from June to September 1942. Promoted to Major General, he served under Patton in North Africa and Sicily as Deputy Commander of I Armored Corps and later commanded the U.S. II Corps in Italy during the Italian campaign. After breaking through the Gothic Line, his corps was attached to the British 8th Army and remained astride the Yugoslavian border until the end of the war. In July 1945, the corps headquarters moved to Salzburg, Austria where it inactivated. General Keyes remained in Europe to command the 7th and then the 3d U.S. Army. As for his experience with the State Department, General Keyes received his first political advisor, John Erlington Utter, when the General was serving as the Commander of the 7th U.S. Army in occupied Germany. See Alfred D. Chandler, Jr. *et al*, Eds. *The Papers of Dwight David Eisenhower, Occupation, 1945,* vol. VI, 326-7. Before being assigned to Austria General Eisenhower briefly considered assigning Keyes to command the U.S. Military Advisory Group for China. See Louis Galambos, *et al*, Eds., *The Papers of Dwight David Eisenhower, The Chief of Staff,* vol. VII, 762.

9. Memorandum to the secretary, subject: Difference between German Assets in Austria and reparations from Germany, 12 December 1947, box 7, Records of the Office of European Affairs 1934–1947, Files of John Nickerson, RG 59, NA, 4.

10. Message to Keyes from Hickey, Thomas Hickey Papers, MHI. Perhaps one reason that the State Department became more aggressive with the Army was General George C. Marshall's appointment as Secretary of Defense in January 1947. Charles E. Bohlen suggested Marshall's appointment improved morale because former Secretary James F. Byrnes tended to ignore the department. See Charles E. Bohlen, *Witness to History 1929–1969,* 258. General Keyes was equally indignant when General Clay the commander of U.S. forces in Germany suggested troop withdrawals in Austria. When General Clay argued that withdrawal of troops from Germany would be a disaster, but that the withdrawal of troops from Austria might be all right, Keyes reaction was vehement. He declared on 10 November 1947, "Cannot agree that what is being done in Germany is a determining factor here." See message from COMGENUSFA, Vienna sgd Keyes to EUCOM, 19 November 1947, box 2 JCS Geographic Files 1946-1948, RG 218, NA; Message from HQS EUCOM, Frankfurt, Germany Personal For Clay and Huebner to Dept of the Army Personal for Eisenhower, 5 November, 1947, box 2, JSC Geographic Files, 1946–1948, RG 218, NA; Message from CSGPO, 30 October 1947, box 3, JCS Geographic Files 1946–1948, RG 218, NA.

11. Alexander Samouce, "I Do Understand the Russians," unpublished manuscript, MHI, chapter XXI, 3-6. In fact, food shortages largely inspired the riots, not an organized Soviet plot.

12. General Keyes' Chief of Staff summarized the military's view writing, "It must not be overlooked from the political standpoint that anti-Communist forces are not necessarily strengthened by the sovereign state of Austria." Comments to Keyes, 11 February 1948, Thomas Hickey Papers, MHI. See also Memorandum for the Commanding General, subject, Austrian state treaty, 11 February 1948, Thomas Hickey Papers, MHI.

13. Memorandum for the Secretary, subject: The Austrian Problem, signed Geoffrey Keyes, high commissioner, box 7, RG 59, NA; Message from COMGENUSFAS Vienna Austria PERSONAL from Keyes cite PACG, to Dept of Army for JCS, 29 September 1948, box 11, JCS Geographic Files 1948–1950, RG 218, NA, 2.

14. General Keyes' proposals for economic and military initiatives exceeded his charter as commander of forces in Austria and high commissioner. See Directive to Commanding General, United States Forces, Austria, and the United States high commissioner for Austria, box 7, Office of West European Affairs, 1945–1950, RG 59, NA.

15. Memorandum for the Secretary, Subject: The Austrian Problem, signed Geoffrey Keyes, high commissioner, box 7, RG59, NA.

16. State-Army-Navy-Air Force Coordinating Committee, Neutralization Plan for Austria, Appendix, box 2, JCS Geographic Files 1947-8, RG 218, NA; Memorandum for the Secretary, Subject: The Austrian Problem, box 7, Hickerson Files, RG 59, NA; Message from Vienna Austria sgd Keyes, 10 November 1947, box 2, JCS Geographic Files 1946–1948, RG 218, NA. Erhardt also believed that the U.S. needed a more proactive economic policy for Austria. See letter Erhardt to Williamson, 26 July 1946, box 1, Office of the Assistant Secretary of European affairs, 1941–1950, RG 59, NA. Eleanor Lansing Dulles, a senior economic analyst for the Legation, actually developed General Keyes' economic plan. Dulles envisioned that the plan was required not to block Soviet penetration, but to ensure a viable Austrian economy. In 1947, she proposed an aid package of $127 million. See U.S. Economic Policy, Austria 7/25/46 prepared by Eleanor Lansing Dulles, box 12, Eleanor Lansing Dulles Papers, DDE. The analysis in Dulles' report suggests the threat of Soviet economic penetration far less serious than General Keyes suggested. See Russian Seizures Effects on the Austrian Economy prepared by Eleanor L. Dulles, Financial Attaché, 21 March 1947, box 12, Eleanor Lansing Dulles Papers, DDE. This contrasts Dulles' recollections in memoirs in which she claims to have thoroughly concerned herself with the threat of Soviet penetration and stressed as much in her reports. See Eleanor Lansing Dulles, *Eleanor Lansing Dulles, Chance of a Lifetime,* 207-10.

17. Message from COMGENU.S.FA Vienna Austria sgd Keyes to JCS pass to State, 13 February 1948, box 2, JCS Geographic Files 1946–1948, RG 218, NA Commanders Estimate of the Situation, 20 May 1948, box 10, Geographic Files, 1948–1950, RG 218, NA, 25-6, 29-30.

18. For example, on 29 September 1948 General Keyes sent a seven-page cable to the Joint Chiefs of Staff outlining his views on resuming negotiations for a state treaty. He warned that negotiating, rather than making the Soviets more accommodating might encourage the Soviets to cut-off Vienna, as they had Berlin and pressure the

Austrian government to push for a state treaty at any price. General Keyes warned that Vienna could be more easily isolated than Berlin and the problems of feeding the populace would be far greater. See, Message from COMGENUSFAS Vienna Austria PERSONAL from Keyes cite PACG, to Dept of Army for JCS, 29 September 1948, box 11, JCS Geographic Files 1948-1950, RG 218, NA, 1. General Keyes staff also provided a detailed analysis of the pros and cons of the proposed Austrian state treaty. Many of the arguments used by General Keyes reflected in their work. See Headquarters, United States Forces in Austria, Memorandum for the Commanding General subject: Austrian state treaty, 11 February 1948, Thomas Hickey Papers, MHI; Comments on Memorandum to Commanding General 11 Feb-Austrian Sate Treaty, Thomas Hickey Papers, MHI; Advantages and Disadvantages of Concluding a Treaty with Austria and Terminated Four Power Occupation, Thomas Hickey Papers, MHI; Strategic Aspects of the Austrian State treaty, Thomas Hickey Papers, MHI.

19. In the end, General Keyes argued, "The advantages and disadvantages of an extended front cannot be determined without weighing the advantages and disadvantages of Austria's own critically important political and geographic position. The value of an unoccupied Austria or a neutral Austria must be considered only when and if there is sufficient reason to believe her neutrality would be respected." See Message from COMGENU.S.FAS Vienna Austria PERSONAL from Keyes cite PACG, to Dept of Army for JCS, 29 September 1948, box 11, JCS Geographic Files 1948–1950, RG 218, NA, 6.

20. Handwritten notes, Thomas Hickey Papers, MHI.

21. Memorandum for the Secretary, Subject: The Austrian Problem, signed Geoffrey Keyes, high commissioner, box 7, RG 59, NA, 10.

22. For an excellent history of the debate between the military and the State Department over Austrian policy, see Audrey Kurth Cronin, *Great Power Politics and the Struggle Over Austria, 1945–1955.*

23. Message from London, To Secretary of State, 27 February 1948, box 11, JCS geographic files 1948–1950, RG 218, NA.

24. The JCS begrudgingly concluded that "although from the military point it was undesirable at that time to withdraw the occupation force from Austria, the Treaty should be concluded if political and economic considerations were overriding," but that even so, effective steps had to be taken by western powers to organize train and equip Austrian security forces, forestalling a treaty until Austrian security could be assured. See Letter signed Robert A. Lovett, Acting Secretary, 7 December 1948, Box 11 JCS Geographic Files, RG 218, NA; Memorandum and enclosure, 21 September 1948, box 5, Office of the Assistant Secretary of State for Occupied Areas, 1946–1949, RG 59, NA.

25. He argued, "Strategically it [Austria] has always been of extraordinary importance to Europe in all phases of history and would be no less so today even without the rise of the Russian problem." The United States had never recognized the importance of Austria. It was a mistake after World War I that overstressing "ethical considerations" did much to destroy an economically and politically viable region of Europe. Letter Keyes to Joseph E. Ridder, Thomas Hickey Collection, MHI, 1. See also letter Erhardt to Vedeler, 15 October 1947, box 2, Office of West European Affairs, 1941–1950, RG 59, NA.

26. "There has been increasing evidence of a tendency in the American Government in Germany to resist all transactions with Austria," General Keyes complained, "except deals where Germany gets something for nothing." Austria needed an independent policy on parity with the occupation of Germany. In addition, the Austrian situation was unique and the political settlement for Austria had to be "cleaved from negotiations on a German settlement." General Keyes was determined to establish an independent policy for Austria. Official briefings argued that the Austria situation was unique and should not be lumped with the German problem. Austria, briefers pointed out, already had a federally elected government and their emphasis was on rebuilding the country and assisting the government. Germany had no federal government and "the primary emphasis is placed on destroying once and for all the German military potential." Memorandum to Mr. Erhardt from Mr. McIvor, subject: OMGUS Resistance to Austria, 13 July 1947, Thomas Hickey Papers, MHI. See also Briefing, Thomas Hickey Papers, MHI, 3-4 Letter Keyes to Joseph E. Ridder, Thomas Hickey Papers, MHI, 3; Message from COMGENU.S.FA, Vienna sgd Keyes to EUCOM, 19 November 1947, box 2 JCS Geographic Files, 1946–1948, RG 218,NA; Message from HQS EUCOM, Frankfurt, Germany Personal For Clay sgd Huebner to Dept of the Army Personal for Eisenhower, 5 November 1947, box 2, JSC Geographic Files, 1946–1948, RG 218, NA; Message from CSGPO, 30 October 1947, box 3, JCS Geographic Files, 1946-1948, RG 218, NA.

27. Letter Keyes to Wedemeyer, 13 December 1947, Albert C. Wedemeyer Papers, box 98, Hoover Institute, Stanford University, Palo Alto, California; Jean Edward Smith, eds., *The Papers of General Lucius D. Clay,* Vol 1., 508-9, 519-22.

28. Draft letter, Thomas Hickey Files, MHI.

29. Letter Erhardt to Kidd, 22 January 1948, Office of the Assistant Secretary for European Affairs, 1941-1050, box 1, RG 59, NA; Letter Erhardt to Williamson, July 16, 1948, Office of the Assistant Secretary for European Affairs, 1941-1050, box 1, RG 59, NA; Letter Erhardt to Williamson, 21 July 1948, Office of the Assistant Secretary for European Affairs, 1941-1050, box 1, RG 59, NA; Letter Erhardt to Williamson, 20 October 1948, Office of the Assistant Secretary for European Affairs, 1941-1050, box 1, RG 59, NA.

30. Memorandum for Holders of SANACC 393 Neutralization Plan for Austria, 4 June 1948, box 105, RG319, NA; Disposition Form, Subject Neutralization Plan for Austria, 25 February 1948, box 105, RG319, NA; Neutralization Plan for Austria, 18 February 1948, box 105, RG 319, NA.

31. A Report to the President by the National Security Council on the Future Courses of U.S. Action with Respect to Austria, 17 November 1949, File 1574, MC. See also Cronin, *Great Power Politics and Struggle over Austria, 1945-1955,* 76-85.

32. Message from COMGFU.S.A Vienna Austria from PGC sgd Keyes to Dept of Army for JCS Pass to State, 6 January 1949, box 11, JCS Geographic files 1948–1950, RG 218, NA, 2.

33. Message from COMGENUSFA Vienna Austria sgd Keyes, to Dept of Army for JCS Pass to State, 19 May 49, box 10, JCS Geographic Files 1948–1950, RG 218, NA.

34. Message from COMGENUSFA Vienna Austria sgd Keyes, to Dept of Army for CSGPO for Bolte and Maddocks, 14 June 49, box 10, JCS Geographic Files 1948–1950, RG 218, NA.

35. Message from COMGENUSFA Vienna Austria sgd Keyes, to Dept of Army for CSGPO for Bolte and Maddocks, 14 June 49, box 10, JCS Geographic Files 1948–1950, RG 218, NA.

36. Handwritten notes, Thomas Hickey papers, MHI; Message to MA FRANCE, 15 June 49, box 11, JCS Geographic files 1948–1950, RG 218, NA, 2; Message from COMGENUSFA (Forward) Vienna Austria sgd Keyes to Dept of ARMY for CSGPO, 19 October 1949, box 11, JCS Geographic files, 1948–1950, RG 218, NA. For an overview of Karl Gruber's foreign policy initiatives see, Gunter Bischof, "The Making of a Cold Warrior: Karl Gruber and Austrian Foreign Policy, 1945–1953," *Austrian History Yearbook* XXVI (1995): 99–127. For example, of Gruber's manipulative approach to the Allied powers see Cronin, *Great Power Politics and Struggle over Austria, 1945–1955*, 65-6.

37. Letter Williamson to Erhardt, 10 August 1948, Office of the Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, 1941–1950, box 1, RG 59, NA. For a recommendation the shelve the earlier proposal to transfer the high commissioner authority for the Army to the State Department see, Administrative Responsibilities for Austria, box 5, Office of West European Affairs, 1941–1954, RG 59, NA.

38. Letter to the Honorable Secretary of State, signed Louis Johnson, box 11, JCS Geographic files, 1948–1950, RG 218, NA, 2.

39. Message to MA FRANCE, 15 June 49, box 11, JCS Geographic files 1948–1950, RG 218, NA, 2; Letter to the Secretary of State signed Louis Johnson, Secretary of Defense, 15 June 1949, box 11, JCS Geographic Files, 1948–1950, box 11, JCS Geographic Files, 1948–1950, RG 218, NA. In September and October of 1949, Keyes continued to register his reservations with the JCS, mustering every argument he could think of. He doubted Austria had either the economic capacity or sufficient security mechanisms to survive as an independent nation without the West. He cited the Soviet-inspired overthrow of governments in Romania, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. He argued that even if it signed a state treaty, the Soviet Union would pressure Hungary and Rumania to allow the troops, authorized by treaty to maintain the line of communication to the Soviet occupation force in Austria, to remain in their countries. General Keyes also feared the loss of Austria would create a Soviet salient in the east-west line of demarcation and jeopardize the gains made in trying to pull Yugoslavia into the western block. "Austria security forces," he concluded," are not now in existence in sufficient strength to insure internal security or guard against border raids. It would be a vital mistake to withdraw western troops of occupation prior to the existence of a stable trained Austrian Army in being." See Message from COMGENUSFA (Forward) Vienna Austria sgd Keyes to Dept of ARMY for CSGPO, 19 October 1949, box 11, JCS Geographic files, 1948–1950, RG 218, NA.

40. Quotes in this paragraph are from Message from COMGENU.S.FA (forward) Vienna Austria to Dept of the Army for JCS Wash DC, 23 Mar 1950, box 11, RG 218, NA.

41. Letter Keyes to Gruenther, 17 March 1950, box 2. Gruenther Papers, NATO series, Dwight David Eisenhower Presidential Library, Abilene, Kansas. General Keyes reported that the Austrian political leaders were in favor of the U.S. retaining a military high commissioner.

42. General Keyes retired in October 1950, though the Army recalled him to active duty briefly as the Director of the Weapons System Evaluation Group. He died at Walter Reed Army Hospital on 17 September 1967 and is buried at West Point.

43. Letter to the Honorable Secretary of Defense, signed Truman, 12 October 1950, box 10, RG 218, NA. General J. Lawton Collins wrote General Keyes that summer explaining the conditions for his relief and that General Hickey, the U.S.FA Chief of Staff would also moved out. General Keyes requested a delay of the transfer until the fall. See letter Collins to Gruenther, 13 June 1950, box 17, DDE. For a discussion on the transfer of high commissioner authority see; Memorandum, subject: Directive to the civilian high commissioner for Austria, G3 Operations Decimal File, box 71, RG 319, NA. The State Department also tried to influence the appointment of future military commanders in Austria. General Stafford Leroy Irwin (16 October 1950 to April 1952) and General George P. Hays (April 1952 to May 1953) followed General Keyes as USFA commander. When General Hickey (Keyes former Chief of Staff) was proposed to succeed Hays, Francis Williamson from the State Department and others argued against the appointment. General William H. Arnold was eventually selected. See Memorandum to Perkins, 15 October 1952, Miscellaneous Office Files of the Assistant Secretary of European Affairs, 1943–1957, box 25, RG 59, NA; See Memorandum to Perkins, 14 October 1952, Miscellaneous Office Files of the Assistant Secretary of European Affairs, 1943-1957, box 25, RG 59, NA.

44. For a discussion on the ambiguities in Soviet policy revealed by recently released Soviet archives see William C. Wohlforth, "New Evidence on Moscow's Cold War: Ambiguity in Search of a Theory," *Diplomatic History* 21 (Spring 1997): 237.

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POLITICAL ADVISORS
Harnessing the Soft Power of Brigade Commanders

**Captain Adam Scher,
U.S. Army**

Captain Adam Scher is the commander of Dog Company, 2d Squadron, 2d Stryker Cavalry Regiment. He previously served as the political advisor to the brigade commander of the 3d Brigade Combat Team (187th Infantry Regiment), 101st Airborne Division (Air Assault). He deployed in support of Operation Iraqi Freedom from 2004 to 2005 and from 2007 to 2008. CPT Scher earned a B.S. from the U.S. Military Academy.

PHOTO: U.S. Army Major General Peter Aylward, deputy commanding officer of Iraqi Security Forces, speaks with a 10th Iraqi Army Division General during a meeting at Camp Sparrow Hawk, Maysan, Iraq, 18 November 2009. (U.S. Army, SPC Ernest E. Sivia III)

DESPITE TACTICAL SUCCESSES and operational gains during the past five years in Iraq, the U.S. Army's doctrinal evolution is still very much in its infancy. Consider the ground-breaking concepts encapsulated in FM 3-24 at the beginning of the counterinsurgency doctrinal dialogue. Due to current force commitments and the strategic framework for the near future, military leaders can expect to find themselves continually deployed to developing countries to conduct full spectrum operations based on the principles of reconstruction and stabilization. To achieve success, leaders at all levels must continue a professional discourse about the shortfalls of traditional maneuver operations in a counterinsurgency environment.

To meet the challenges presented by the people and politics in this environment, brigade combat team commanders should establish political advisors (POLADs). Political advisory cells whose personnel support unit-of-action commanders complement physical security operations and protect the population. The POLAD cell would provide anthropological, sociological, and political analysis to support the military decision-making process, maximizing the application of "soft power."

The asymmetric nature of an insurgency enables a weaker, dispersed, and outnumbered guerrilla force to challenge and attrit the capabilities of a larger, technologically advanced, and better-resourced conventional force. In this operating environment, the conventional force's proficiency and technical skill is actually a weakness that can discourage key leaders from adapting. Senior leaders have spent their careers focusing on massing combat power at a decisive place and time. Unfortunately, recent U.S. military experiences in Iraq illustrate that "conventional military forces are too prone to emphasize offensive actions such as capturing or killing terrorists rather than the predominately political, economic, and security requirements upon which the ultimate defeat of the insurgency depends."[1] Leaders often become caught up in wanting to fight the enemy they trained for instead of the enemy they face.

The most important difference between conventional and counterinsurgency warfare is this: the central battleground of the latter is not physical space. In counterinsurgency warfare, key terrain does not exist on a map, on the ground, or in any physical form. Instead of land, the people—or to be precise, the way they think, act and feel—are the terrain the insurgent and counterinsurgent must control to achieve victory. Initial efforts in Iraq applied conventional warfare concepts in search and destroy operations against insurgent elements on specific physical territory. The results were

counterproductive. However, when U.S. leaders understood that the Iraqi population was the key terrain, they had greater success neutralizing insurgents. Accepting a "people-centric" paradigm is the first step in converting conventional force doctrine from a liability into an asset. Once leaders adopt this mentality, they can apply their knowledge, experience, and institutional systems to evaluate, influence, and manage the population—the insurgent's most treasured sanctuary.

Instead of engaging an amorphous enemy with predetermined forms of attack to seize land, we must focus our superior strength in numbers, technology, and resources on the real terrain of combat—the physical and emotional loyalty of people. Political advisors and political advisory cells in the brigade combat team will provide primary and specialized support for these efforts.

To effectively seize and hold this new key terrain—the local population— military leaders must reconstruct their organizations. As Galula states—

> In conventional warfare, the staff of a large military unit is composed roughly of two main branches—intelligence/operations and logistics. In counterinsurgency warfare, there is a desperate need for a third branch—the political one—which would have the same weight as the others. The officer in charge of it would follow the developments in all matters pertaining to political and civic action, advise his chief, make his voice heard when operations are in the planning stage, and not have to wait until they are too advanced to be altered.[2]

Once we realize that the population is the key terrain and the counterinsurgency fight is primarily a maneuver that supports political action, we must decide which echelon will be the fighting element of the counterinsurgent force. Higher headquarters identifies this basic unit, and then organizes it to *live among the population*. Galula notes—

> The basic unit of counterinsurgency warfare as the largest unit whose leader is in direct and continuous contact with the population. This is the most important unit in counterinsurgency operations, the level where most of the practical problems arise, where the war is won or lost.[3]

Today, battalions live among the people they defend and support. Battalions establish and maintain numerous static security positions, and other units conduct day-to-day patrolling. These actions generate trust in the local population and create bonds that are vital for sharing information and intelligence. Unfortunately, each battalion is relatively static and can only muster significant combat power for short periods during company or larger operations. Living among the population limits unit flexibility, and the decreased maneuverability of company-sized elements limits the brigade commander's ability to amass combat power at a given time and location.

The new brigade focus is not on applying large formations of combat power at a decisive time and place on specific terrain. Instead, the brigade embraces a people-centric paradigm that recognizes society itself as the actual battleground. The commander has two unconventional but significant "weapon systems" at his disposal in the counterinsurgency fight: money and the office of the brigade combat team commander.

> *The commander has two unconventional but significant "weapon systems" at his disposal: money and the office of the…commander.*

Capital, Money, and Funding

Money is the most significant weapon system. The brigade combat team can effectively command, control, and apply funds to each of its subordinate elements using the arts and science of nonlethal operations. During the deployment of the 3d Brigade Combat Team, 101st Airborne Division (Air Assault), in support of Operation Iraqi Freedom from 2007 to 2009, the brigade combat team continually used money as an instrument of combat power by targeting critical aspects of society through—

- Friendly force sustainment.
- Micro-grants and loans.
- Civil service contracts.
- Internal security contracts and disarmament.
- Demobilization contracts.
- Reintegration contracts.

Battalions disbursed these funds. The brigade team staff requested funds from division, supported

A local electronics store owner explains the improvements he has made to his business, in Dibbis, Iraq, 28 August 2009. U.S. Soldiers follow-up on micro-grants issued throughout the city.

U.S. Army, SPC Canaan Radcliffe

battalions in the acquisition process, and adjudicated funding priorities among subordinate headquarters. The use of money as a weapon system was largely successful, primarily due to the brigade staff's ability to interact with various echelons and become a single point of contact and a subject matter expert for the entire brigade combat team.

Political Capital

A second and equally effective "weapon" is the commander himself. He possesses "soft-power" or political capital in the engaged culture. He is a "super-sheik" with the power of the purse, and he has armed forces, construction material, technical expertise, and law enforcement capabilities at his disposal, as well as the institutional knowledge to employ them across a large area of operations. While we normally measure combat power based on the massing of forces, numbers of troops, tanks, planes, and bombs with respect to a geographic location, transforming our understanding of terrain means adapting other notions of power as well. In a people-centric context, power is not a function of the ability to kill or capture the enemy, but the result of reputation, demeanor, and the ability to persuade and influence noncombatants. In other words, it is soft power.

Dr. Joseph S. Nye, author of *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, defines the term *soft power* as "getting other actors to want what you want."[4] Instead of mandating, dictating, or coercing the population through hard power, the commander uses his reputation, integrity, and character to mold the beliefs and preferences of key leaders within the local population in his area of responsibility. Dr. Nye concludes, "The [soft] power of ideas or the ability to set the political agenda and determine the framework of debate can shape other's preferences, desires, and decisions."[5]

Soft power lends credibility and legitimacy to the coalition's continued footprint in Iraq. Because this type of influence is less invasive, it generally creates less animosity and less resistance from the local population.

Patterned behavior. The brigade combat team commander builds soft power through patterns of behavior, repeated interactions, shared vulnerabilities, and shared successes with the population. A shared military ethic and professional courtesies enhance the commander's soft power among Iraqi Army commanders, and directing subordinate commanders to engage in daily political interactions at the grass-roots level establishes soft power's base amid the people. The level of interaction and the rapport developed increase physical and economic security.

Center of gravity. The population is the center of gravity for both the insurgent and counterinsurgent force. The center of gravity for the commander is the force's posture with respect to the population, its interaction with the local community, and its actions to improve the quality of life within the community. When enemy attacks compel a unit to alter the footprint of its forces, the unit risks a decline in soft power. If the counterinsurgent force nurtures its relationship with the people through resource allocation, force positioning, and continued partnerships, then it can increase its soft power and apply more of it to political reconciliation and economic development. How much soft power the commander has depends on his force's location and relationship

with the local population. Changes in this relationship due to enemy activity or friendly maneuver have significant impact on the commander's ability to gain, maintain, and apply his soft power. (For example, if Soldiers abandon their patrol bases or battle positions because logistical resupply routes are unsafe or the counterinsurgent force cannot maintain essential services, the population's access to water or electricity may be reduced.) Similarly, the brigade commander can actively exert his influence on the community by changing the location, type, frequency, and tone of the subordinates' interactions with community leaders.

A complete weapon system. The commander gains political capital from the rapport between his Soldiers and children who walk to school in front of his most outlying patrol base. In a conventional war, no one would consider an individual Soldier as a complete weapon system. In the counterinsurgency environment, each individual Soldier factors into a "soft-power" approach. Each, through his actions and communications with the local population, becomes a "weapon" of soft power. Every word while conversing with locals is important. A Soldier's uniform and posture during such conversations also sends a message to the population. The commander must harness the implicit and latent power of such "soft" presence and employ it in support of operations.

Political Advisor

To achieve this, the brigade combat team commander should establish the position of political adviser. Working directly for the chief of staff as a special assistant to the brigade combat team commander, the POLAD has a seat at the table among other staff officers and a direct line of communication to the commander. This gives him "certifying authority" (in contrast to tasking authority, which is a training and operations officer function). Certifying authority is oversight authority. The POLAD has two distinct functions. He is the—

● Primary political advisor to the brigade combat team commander on the Iraqi elections and the Iraqi government.

● Facilitator and quality control representative to the staff and maneuver battalions, "certifying" that all actions and operations meet the brigade combat team commander's intent as to elections and governance.

The POLAD is responsible for brigade combat team staff synergy and observes the combined efforts of the—

● Team training and operations staff.
● Civil-military operations.
● Provincial reconstruction team.
● Nonlethal targeting.
● Information operations.
● Public affairs.
● Human terrain team.
● Linguists.

He validates the confluence of lethal and nonlethal force allocations, engagements, and operations that directly influence government, politics, and elections.

Galula argues, "[I]t is just as important that the minds of the leaders and men be adapted to the special demands of counterinsurgency warfare."[6] Thus, the political advisor should ideally be someone with a background in one of the following: cultural anthropology, economics, political science, international relations, languages, or maneuver warfare principles. Newly developed human terrain teams should be part of the political advisory cell. These subject matter experts can focus on a unit's operating environment and support the planning cycle with analysis derived from maneuver intelligence. Ideally, the POLAD should also have conventional warfare experience to ensure that planning and research priorities are tactically relevant.

The brigade combat team commander must make informed decisions as he task organizes his staff and political advisory cell. He should base his decisions on the characteristics and personalities of his subordinate leaders, while taking into account his own passions and concerns. The defense coordinating officer, executive officer, training and operations officer, or civil-military operations officer could perform POLAD functions. The provincial reconstruction team leader or Department of State governance official embedded with the brigade combat team could also serve in this capacity, or the commander can appoint a human terrain team leader or social anthropologist as the POLAD. Regardless of who he selects, he must choose someone (a direct assistant to the defense coordinating officer, executive officer, training and operations officer, or civil military operations officer, if necessary) to study and interpret the political landscape that

shapes the needs, concerns, and attitudes of the local population. The landscape includes governance at the local and national level, political parties and elections, and relations between foreign countries and the host nation.

The political adviser must integrate the commander's soft power effects and develop a method to analyze and understand society as terrain. During the deployment of the 3d Brigade Combat Team, 101st Airborne Division (Air Assault), in support of Operation Iraqi Freedom, the brigade commander, Colonel Dominic J. Caraccilo, empowered the POLAD to—

- Study the Iraqi political process.
- Interact with key State Department officials.
- Meet regularly with local political leaders.
- Act as an advocate for the Iraqi population.
- Advise the commander on the political landscape within the area of operations and interest.[7]

The political advisor became the subject matter expert on the Iraqi provincial elections, the national legislative process, voter registration, political entities, candidates, and perceptions among the population during the electoral cycle. The commander correctly identified the provincial elections as the single most vital political event of the deployment and allocated his resources appropriately. The Iraqi Army, police, the Sons of Iraq, and local government leaders were ready to participate in a free and fair election with little direction from coalition forces. While the election law floundered nationally and provincial elections failed to occur during 3d Brigade Combat Team's time in Iraq, significant effort and coordination at the grass-roots level by the 3d Brigade Combat Team political advisory cell created a community environment ready and willing to participate in a legitimate provincial election.

Bearing in mind that the population is the key terrain, and the "soft-power" of the brigade combat team commander is a decisive "weapon system," the following conventional concepts help determine what combination of kinetic and political operations will best achieve the desired end state:

U.S. Army COL Caraccilo, center, from 3d Brigade Combat Team, 101st Airborne Division, speaks with an Iraqi city council member in Mahmudiyah, Iraq, 9 October 2008.

- Key terrain.
- Observation and fields of fire.
- Avenues of approach.
- Obstacles.
- Cover and concealment.

Key terrain. We can define key terrain as any area that, when seized, controlled, or retained, affords a marked advantage to either combatant. Key terrain is terrain that permits or denies freedom of maneuver. Key terrain may also be decisive terrain if it has an extraordinary impact on the mission.[8]

Because of the insurgents' political goals and their recruitment of and sanctuary among the people, counterinsurgent forces must organize their tactics, techniques, and systems of organization toward the population in a similar fashion. The insurgent can avoid battles with the counterinsurgent on the ground, but the insurgent must always fight for, among, and against the people. When the counterinsurgent chooses to engage the population, the insurgent risks defeat by failing to do so as well.[9] Understanding the population as terrain allows commanders to determine which parts of a society are key. Certain groups of people (elites, businessmen, military, etc.) will be more or less significant terrain features given the

When the counterinsurgent chooses to engage the population, the insurgent risks defeat by failing to do so as well.

culture, sociology, and anthropology of the community. Taking the initial step of equating people to terrain allows this methodology to become a combat multiplier.

Observation and fields of fire. Observation in the conventional sense is the ability to see and understand the threat in and around areas, either visually or with surveillance devices. However, in counterinsurgency, observation includes recognizing changes in demographics or population density or recognizing when a foreigner or outsider has moved into a tribe or community. The political advisory cell will be uniquely qualified to sift through all reports from subordinate commands to execute this observation function effectively.

A field of fire is an area in which a weapon, group of weapons, or any aspect of combat power may be effectively applied.[10] In a counterinsurgency environment, a field of fire may be a specific tribe or community, a specific demographic, or a distinct sector of civil society, such as doctors, farmers, or police. Depending on the designated field of fire, one can determine the capabilities of a group of people or aspect of society by observing the changes in the key terrain—people—through physical contact or intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance platforms.

Avenues of approach. An avenue of approach is any route that leads a force to the key terrain. Avenues of approach are developed by using mobility corridors. A mobility corridor restricts or controls the movement or application of a military force or a specific element of combat power. We can measure mobility corridors against each other and prioritize them based on the numbers of obstacles present and which corridor best allows us to capitalize on the principles of mass and speed.[11] With the local population as key terrain, avenues of approach include some traditional terrain features such as roads, subways, or rivers. An expanded view, however, includes routes to respect and gain cooperation in the local community and among social leaders. Methods for developing these routes include addressing local concerns such as dependable electricity production and distribution, operational schools and clinics, functioning government institutions, sufficient drinking water, and employment opportunities. Each one of these concerns is a mobility corridor providing access to the population. The level of humanitarian assistance and construction assets and the locations of combat outposts and patrol bases give counterinsurgent forces varying degrees of access to the society they protect.

Obstacles. Obstacles are natural or man-made terrain features that stop, impede, or divert a military force or the application of combat power. We can discover viable mobility corridors by evaluating obstacles.[12] The traditional obstacles to sustainability, lines of communication, and lines of supply apply to a people-centric concept of key terrain. In almost any corridor, the obstacles to the movement of money and political influence (soft power) are bureaucratic inefficiency, corruption, and sycophantism. With the population as key terrain, counterinsurgent forces must analyze specific "people features" that influence society. These include culture, women's rights, religion, and ethnicity. Military leaders must understand how such features affect daily interactions between people in the same tribe or sect, interactions between people of different tribes or sects, and interactions between locals and counterinsurgent forces. Questions to ask include the following:

● Are certain people prone to lie in order to save face?

● How does the local population view age, money, weapons, gender, etc.?

● What cultural sensitivities will affect the relationship among people in this community?

The POLAD advisory cell will perform detailed analysis to expose the extent of corruption, illegitimacy, or disenfranchisement tolerated by the local population's value system and determine how it constrains the ability to apply combat power.

Cover and concealment. Cover is protection from the enemy's small-arms effects. Concealment is protection from personal observation.[13] In a counterinsurgency, host-nation governments or governing bodies can offer concealment to counterinsurgent forces.

Indigenous military and law enforcement agencies provide cover to a counterinsurgent force. Government institutions and civilian leaders can serve as agents to implement combat power, most notably money or political capital, through a designated avenue of approach. This brings the government closer to the people and conceals the behind-the-scenes efforts of the counterinsurgent, who uses his money and influence to encourage

civilian leaders to execute key initiatives. As local forces improve their professionalism, equipment, and execution, the counterinsurgent can consider reducing his forces. After all, the overarching goal is that the indigenous government and security forces achieve enough legitimacy and credibility among the population to win the hearts and minds of the people and allow the counterinsurgent to withdraw.

The widely accepted notion that one wins or loses a counterinsurgency at the squad leader level and below is too narrow. Daily grassroots interaction is vital in determining the senior leader's soft power position, but sustaining gains made at the lower levels requires applying soft power at the highest levels. Senior leaders are not on the front lines during conventional wars, but the counterinsurgency fight requires they judiciously and systematically exercise their soft power during a kinetic conventional conflict. Using the commander's decision calculus concerning political capital and supported by a political advisory cell, the POLAD is the commander's primary representative in this process. Decisions focus on whom to target for soft power engagements and how to transfer physical security measures into civil security successes like good governance and functioning essential services.

The creation of a political advisory cell to help integrate and maximize soft power is only a first step. There is no question that physical security is paramount, and it must come before the recommendations in this article. The application of soft power can only be truly effective once physical security requirements are met and the population no longer openly supports insurgent forces. However, once the physical security situation is stable and

> ***…sustaining gains made at the lower levels requires applying soft power at the highest levels.***

predictable, counterinsurgent forces must be ready to capitalize on its tactical and strategic advantages. For long-term success, the focus must be on creating the sustainable gains of economic growth and political reconciliation.

The political advisor's utility depends on the people-centric paradigm becoming a part of military doctrine and culture. Key military leaders must task organize for the challenges of living among the population. Making such a paradigm an enduring aspect of military doctrine requires that Soldiers and officers perform practical exercises based on this mode of thinking, beginning with their initial entry in the military. This is not new and unconventional; it is simply conventional wisdom, applied in an unconventional way. **MR**

NOTES

1. John Nagl, foreword, *Counterinsurgency Warfare* (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006), vii.
2. David Galula, *Counterinsurgency Warfare* (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006), 64.
3. Ibid., 78.
4. Joe Nye, "The Decline of America's Soft Power," *Foreign Affairs*, May-June 2004, 155.
5. Ibid., 156.
6. Galula, 67.
7. COL Dominic J. Caraccilo, commander, 3 BCT 101st Airborne Division, and author of *Achieving Victory in Iraq* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2008).
8. Norman Wade, *The Battle Staff* FM 5-0, FM 6-0, FM 1-02 (Lakeland, FL: The Lightning Press), 3-12.
9. Galula, 58.
10. Wade, 3-13.
11. Ibid., 3-12.
12. Ibid., 3-13.
13. Ibid., 3-12.

Providing Security Force Assistance in an Economy of Force Battle

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PHOTO: 1SG David Shaw, B/2-6 IN, Task Force Conqueror, Ramadi, Iraq, training Iraqi MPs in dismounted patrolling at Camp Blue Diamond, 2 September 2006. (DOD, TSGT Jeremy Lock)

THE 1ST BATTALION, 35th Armor (Task Force Conqueror), fought an economy of force mission for most of the Battle of Ramadi during the summer and fall of 2006. This narrative highlights lessons learned from the deployment. Through a combination of partnering with Iraqi Security Forces (ISF), tribal engagement, aggressive Iraqi Police recruiting, and targeted U.S.-led operations, the task force was able to—

- Reestablish the Iraqi Police in Ramadi.
- Increase the capability of our partnered Iraqi Army battalion.
- Link the sheiks of Anbar with the government of Iraq fostering the Anbar Awakening.

Overview

The Battle of Ramadi had a clear beginning but no clear-cut end, and it was a battle fought on two main fronts. The first front was an incredibly lethal fight to wrest control of Ramadi back from Al-Qaeda; the second was a battle to link the population with the government of Iraq. In the end, it was a victory for the Soldiers, Sailors, Airmen, and Marines of the 1st Brigade, 1st Armored Division (Ready First Combat Team). The battle proved to be a blueprint for the emerging counterinsurgency doctrine, U.S. Army and Marine Corps Field Manual (FM) 3-24, *Counterinsurgency*, which was being developed at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. While many of the actions of the Ready First now seem like simple application of doctrine, at the time, the following concepts ran counter to the prevailing conventional wisdom:

- Living in small combat outposts.
- Focusing on protecting the population.
- Investing in the Iraqi Security Forces.
- Working with tribal leaders.

In May of 2006, the situation in Ramadi was dire. Al-Qaeda had declared Ramadi the capital of a so-called "new Islamic caliphate," and it was destroying all vestiges of government services that the duly elected government provided. From the destruction of cell phone towers to assassination of governmental leaders, Al-Qaeda was systematically attacking the city's infrastructure to exert control over the population. It waged a highly successful murder and

intimidation campaign against Al Anbar provincial government leaders, the Iraqi Army, the Iraqi Police, and the population of Ramadi in general. The provincial government had collapsed, and the ISF were ineffective. Al-Qaeda had co-opted the hard-core Sunni rejectionists, as well as the mujahedeen (the honorable resistance), and was in control of large portions of Ramadi.

Governor Mamoon Sami Rashid was the elected leader of Al Anbar, but it was questionable if he was the choice of the people. The December 2005 Iraqi national election was widely boycotted in Al Anbar. Although the election turnout was statistically higher than the previous election, the actual voter turnout was less than 30 percent of the population. The local sheiks' opinion of Governor Mamoon ranged from the belief that he was an ineffective leader to the suspicion that he was a card-carrying member of Al-Qaeda.

Coalition forces in Ramadi, operating out of large forward operating bases predominately on the outskirts of the city, were capable of short-duration offensive surge operations. However, they were essentially fixed in securing the lines of communications to Ramadi through a series of static checkpoints along Routes Michigan, Mobile, and Long Island. Large portions of Ramadi and surrounding tribal areas had little to no coalition presence for an extended period, in effect giving Al-Qaeda freedom of movement throughout the area of operations.

Bringing the team together. Task Force Conqueror was part of the brigade-sized Central Command operational reserve, the Call Forward Force, stationed at Camp Buehring, Kuwait. We had been in Kuwait since 15 November 2005, training and waiting orders to deploy somewhere in the Central Command area of responsibility. Fortunately, the task force's planning effort focused on Al Anbar, Iraq, and we had the opportunity to conduct an area orientation in March of 2006. After a series of false starts, Task Force Conqueror and 1st Battalion, 6th Infantry (Task Force Regular), commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Dan Walrath, received orders in

late May 2006 to deploy to Ramadi. The task forces linked up in Ramadi with the Ready First brigade headquarters (a legacy brigade). Other combat team members included 1st Battalion, 506th Infantry (Task Force Currahee); 1st Battalion, 37th Armor (Task Force Bandit); 2d Battalion, 3d Field Artillery (2-3 FA); 16th Engineer Battalion (-); 501st Forward Support Battalion (501st FSB); 3d Battalion, 8th Marine Regiment (3/8 Marines); a detachment of U.S. Navy Seals; and other enablers that were already in place in Ramadi. The Ready First Combat Team's immediate mission was to conduct a relief in place with 2nd Brigade, 28th Division, Pennsylvania Army National Guard. This "mini-surge" from the Call Forward Force provided the additional forces necessary to project combat power into Ramadi and to protect the population from Al-Qaeda.

While the employment of the task forces from the Call Forward Force was an operational secret, numerous reports of an impending large-scale attack on Ramadi were in the Arab media. This allowed Al-Qaeda elements to prepare their defenses for the impending battle. Large, deep-buried improvised explosive devices were implanted throughout the city along with arms and ammunition cached for the impending fight. As the relief in place began, civilians were leaving the city in droves, packing as many of their worldly possessions in their vehicles as they could. There was an overall feeling of apprehension among the populace.

The plan. There was to be a fight for Ramadi, but not the fight that Al-Qaeda expected. The Ready First, commanded by then-Colonel Sean MacFarland, took back Ramadi in a way that led to a lasting success and served as a template for operations during the "surge" in the spring of 2007. Given vague guidance to "Take back Ramadi, but don't make it another Fallujah," MacFarland had the latitude to conduct operations in a different way. Instead of operating from large forward operating bases, the Ready First would push forces out into smaller combat outposts and execute a "clear-hold-build" strategy that focused on securing the population of Ramadi.

…numerous reports of an impending large-scale attack on Ramadi were in the Arab media.

Initially, Task Force Conqueror was the brigade's main effort and would secure the western and southern approaches to Ramadi by establishing combat outposts in the suburb of Tam'eem and near Al Anbar University. Task Force Regular would clear the tribal areas north of Ramadi, while Task Force Curahee and 3/8 Marines would expand out from their current combat outposts inside of Ramadi. Task Force Bandit was in reserve and, on order, would assume the main effort and attack into southern Ramadi, establishing multiple combat outposts. The main effort would then rotate between the task forces in order to keep Al-Qaeda off guard until eventually ringing the interior of Ramadi with combat outposts, thus eliminating Al-Qaeda's freedom of maneuver to attack coalition forces and to subjugate the population of Ramadi.

Relief in Place/Transfer of Authority

On 1 June 2006, Task Force Conqueror and Task Force Regular began conducting a "relief in place/transfer of authority" with 1st Battalion, 172 Armor, Vermont Army National Guard (Task Force 1-172), commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Mark Lovejoy. Task Force 1-172 was a four-company battalion task force that had spent a year in Ramadi with an enormous area of operations, fighting against an increasingly emboldened enemy. Task Force Conqueror and Task Force Regular split Task Force 1-172's area of operations. The split allowed each task force staff to focus on issues specific to the diverse tribal area north and west of the city of Ramadi.

The relief in place occurred under heavy enemy contact, during which Task Force Conqueror incurred high casualties from improvised explosive devices (IEDs) and small-arms fire. Additionally, a devastating suicide vehicle-borne IED attack in southern Tam'eem effectively destroyed an Iraqi Army checkpoint, Entry Control Point 3. Al-Qaeda was attempting to inflict high casualties to disrupt coalition attacks, make the coalition casualty-adverse, and provoke a violent overreaction, further separating us from the population.

On 7 June 2006, the actual day of the task force relief in place/transfer of authority, Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, leader of Al-Qaeda in Iraq, died during a coalition airstrike near Baghdad. With the leadership of Al-Qaeda in Iraq decapitated, Colonel Mac-

Farland decided to attack immediately into Ramadi. Ready First's relief in place/transfer of authority was completed on 14 June 2006. Task Force Bandit assumed the brigade's main effort and, on 18 June 2006, it attacked over an abandoned railroad bridge from Tam'eem into southern Ramadi.

From there, MacFarland used a swing force of three maneuver companies and an engineer company to weight the main effort. By shifting the main effort between battalion task forces and establishing a series of combat outposts, he continued to put pressure on Al-Qaeda and ensured an enduring coalition presence in the city. Task Force Conqueror reverted to an economy of force mission operating west of Ramadi. To offset the shortage of U.S. combat power, we received operational control of the 1st Battalion/1 Brigade, 7th Iraqi Division (1/1/7 Iraqi Army), Iraqi Police from the Al Horea Police station, and Iraqi Highway Police Station 4. Over time, we also received a T-72 tank company from the 9th Iraqi Army Division, the 7th Iraqi Military Police Company, and police from the Tway Iraqi Police Station. The lack of available U.S. combat power forced us into a close relationship with the Iraqi forces and self-generating or augmenting transition teams for each Iraqi security force unit. This support provided to the ISF would likely not have occurred if U.S. forces had been more robust.

Building ISF capacity. At relief in place/transfer of authority, we immediately began investing in the Iraqi Security Forces. Supporting the 1/1/7 Iraqi Army was a 10-man Marine military transition team (MiTT) commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Kris Stillings. Following the precedent set by Task Force 1-172, Task Force Conqueror augmented the MiTT with 10 noncommissioned officers. I was initially reluctant to assign task force Soldiers to the MiTT, but Stillings told me succinctly, "If you give me 10 guys, I can give you 300." It turned out to be the best decision I made during the entire deployment. By augmenting the military transition team, we maintained a constant coalition presence with the Iraqi Army at the static checkpoints, accompanied every Iraqi Army patrol, and were able to mentor and develop the Iraqi Army commanders and staff. Despite suffering nearly 50 percent casualties over the course of six months, the MiTT was continuously effective because of its established relationship of trust with the Iraqi Army. They were the

catalyst for the marked improvement of the 1/1/7 Iraqi Army over the course of the summer.

The 1/1/7 Iraqi Army had been conducting independent operations in the city of "5 Kilo" since February of 2006. The battalion was manned at less than 50 percent strength, with the officers of the unit predominately Sunni and the soldiers Shi'a. Most of the soldiers had not attended basic training. Despite these issues, they were an effective unit, but they were near the tipping point of melting away due to an increasing AWOL problem. In addition to a host of administrative and logistical shortfalls, they were subjected to an intense murder and intimidation campaign both on duty in Ramadi and in their homes in Baghdad while they were on leave. Al-Qaeda beheaded the first sergeant of First Company in his home in front of his family in early June 2005, further undermining unit morale and increasing the AWOL problem.

Living conditions for the Iraqi Army at the static checkpoints were horrible, and the construction was substandard. Building on lessons from the destruction of Entry Control Point 3, we immediately increased force protection of all static positions within the Task Force area and began improving the living conditions at the remaining ISF positions. Our engineers (C/40th), led by Captain John Hiltz and First Sergeant Jerry Bailey, and the Task Force Engineer Platoon, led by Lieutenant Toby Watson, renovated Check Point 293. Once the Iraqi Army saw the investment we were making, the rate of Iraqi Army soldiers going AWOL decreased dramatically and their proficiency began to increase.

The Iraqi Police station in Al Horea was located in the city of 5 Kilo, which was relatively quiet. The supporting U.S. police transition team was not under Task Force Conqueror or Ready First control, and it did not maintain a constant presence at this station. Nor did it ever develop personal relationship between the transition team and the Iraqi Police. Lack of effective advisors presented problems

> ***Al-Qaeda beheaded the first sergeant of First Company in his home in front of his family in early June 2005…***

that hampered the development of the Iraqi Police throughout the deployment. Iraqi Police in Al Horea therefore did not develop at the rate the 1/1/7 Iraqi Army did. While the Iraqi Police that reported for duty wanted to fight Al-Qaeda, they simply did not have the requisite skills to do so effectively.

Additionally, the T-72 tank company from the 9th Iraqi Army rotated to Ramadi on a three week basis. Each T-72 company brought its own MiTT for the three-week rotation. There seemed to be a good relationship between the MiTT and the tank companies, but we never had the continuity needed to bring the tank company, the MiTT, and the task force into true partnership with each other. Although we used the Iraqi Army's T-72s predominately for highly visible static checkpoints, they also participated in major urban clearing operations. They proved to be a highly effective unit, especially in conveying the message that we were in Iraq to help establish the Iraqi government, not occupy Iraq. Seeing Iraqi tanks with a large Iraqi flag flying from the turret was a source of national pride, a 41-ton billboard for the Iraqi government.

Task Force Conqueror received the 7th Iraqi Army Division Military Police Company for the clearance of Al Anbar University at the end of July 2006. Initially, the company had a division-level MiTT, which we quickly replaced with a self-generated team led by Captain Jason Craw and augmented with a section of the Ready First's female search platoon, Team Lioness. Due to the sensitive nature of occupying an Iraqi University, ensuring this Iraqi Army company's success was critical. Their success, thanks in large part to the internally resourced MiTT team, prevented Al-Qaeda from exploiting the university as a recruiting base and training center. The Iraqi Army was seen taking back their own university, a theme we exploited in media messages and key leader engagements. Clearing and holding Al Anbar University led to a reduction in violence west of Ramadi.

Fighting the economy of force battle. Task Force Conqueror had three distinct areas of operation (AO). Charlie Company, 1-35 AR (Team Comanche), consisted of a tank company headquarters, a tank platoon, the battalion scout platoon, and the battalion mortar platoon augmented with tankers from the battalion HHC. Its AO encompassed Camp Ramadi and consisted of the agrarian tribal region of Zangora to the north; Routes Michigan and Mobile to the west; and

the desert regions to the south, including Al Anbar University. Team Comanche assumed responsibility for eight static vehicular observation posts, and was responsible for keeping Routes Michigan, Mobile, and Long Island open. Captain Mike Schoenfeldt—followed by Captain Matt Alden—and First Sergeant Robin Bolmer led Comanche, which also had a partner relationship with the Iraqi Highway Patrol Station located on Route Mobile and a relationship with numerous tribal leaders in Zangora. Over time, Comanche began using Iraqi Army forces in combined operations in Zangora. There were very few attacks against coalition forces in this area of operations, but we suspected that Al-Qaeda operatives were living in the region and commuting to conduct attacks in Ramadi. Overall, the tribal sheiks and the residents of Zangora were supportive of the coalition efforts and there were signs of commerce; it was the only glimmer of hope in the entire Ramadi region.

Bravo Company, 2-6 IN (Team Dealer), was a mechanized infantry company with an attached tank platoon. Its AO was markedly different. The city of Tam'eem was a densely populated, blighted, incredibly violent urban area of 40,000. Tam'eem suffered an inordinately high number of attacks, had little economic activity, and the area was rife with despair. Captain Lou Lancon—followed by Captain Matt Graham—and First Sergeant David Shaw led Team Dealer. Their unit was attacked with deep-buried and vehicle borne IEDs, sniper fire, and small-arms fire daily. We assumed that any route not physically observed had explosive devices on it. In response to a series of devastating deep-buried IED attacks, we limited coalition movement in the city to dismounted patrolling or in armored vehicles unless it was a large-scale operation or reaction to troops in contact. Team Dealer maintained a 24-hour presence in the city through mounted outposts and dismounted patrols. It conducted both intelligence-driven targeted raids and census operations. The census operations allowed us to have personal contact with the residents of Tam'eem and were an invaluable source of intelligence. Use of ISF in Tam'eem was limited because of high levels of violence. The Iraqi forces simply did not have the ability to maintain a long-term presence in Tam'eem.

We used our headquarters company, led by Captain Jonathan Cornett—followed by Captain Mike Schoenfeldt—and First Sergenat Kerry Dyer, to support the ISF. The Iraqi Security Force sector of 5 Kilo was a wealthy one where the upper levels of Ramadi society lived. The Iraqi Security Force's control of this town was always in question, but the level of violence was relatively low, especially compared to Tam'eem. We thought it a haven for Sunni rejectionists and possibly Al-Qaeda operatives, but never had the intelligence to conduct decisive operations in this community. We also did not foster a good working relationship between the Iraqi Army and the Iraqi Police unit until very late into our deployment, further fracturing the command and control relationship in the city of 5 Kilo.

The Awakening

We recognized that building capability within the Iraqi Security Forces was the only solution for long term success in Iraq. While an effective Iraqi Army was critical to the successful prosecution of the counterinsurgency fight, we thought the Iraqi Police

CPT Matt Alden, commander C/1-35 AR gives an operations order for a combined operation with the 2/1/1/7 Iraqi Army on 29 July 2006 at Camp Ramadi, Iraq.

would be a more effective weapon for our area of operations. Police recruiting could quickly provide success on a number of lines of effort. First, we would increase the economic development by providing respectable jobs to young men, thereby lessening the likelihood of Al-Qaeda paying them to attack coalition forces. Second, we would build the government's legitimacy by having the government pay the Iraqi Police salaries, making the populace less likely to dismiss the government as unrepresentative. Third, we would improve security by having buy-in of the local population in their own security. The locals knew who belonged in their area and who was doing harm to the coalition. They could identify the enemy when U.S. forces were simply incapable of doing so.

Our ability to see inside the Iraqi culture was extremely limited. Twelve-plus years of Saddam Hussein-orchestrated, anti-U.S. propaganda in the media and in the schools, combined with a deep sense of disenfranchisement among the Sunnis after the liberation of Iraq, had predisposed the population of Anbar against the coalition. Few residents of Ramadi were brave enough to speak openly to coalition forces. We also found that the locals would fight hard for their tribe or village but did not want to leave Ramadi. Initially, we thought the insurgents were operating outside of the cities in remote corners of the desert, but after a time we realized the enemy was moving through the population.

Roots. One family openly supportive of the coalition was the Bezia family of Abu Risha tribe. The family paid a high price for this support. Al-Qaeda operatives had killed the father and two sons in the previous three years. The three remaining sons, Sheiks Ahmed, Sattar, and Jabbar, would all play leading roles in the Anbar Awakening. In June 2006, Ahmed and his brother, Sattar, were influential leaders in the community. The Bezias, and the Ramadi sheiks in general, wanted to rid Ramadi of Al-Qaeda influence but did not have the means to do it alone. Police recruiting had come to a standstill since the failed "Al Anbar People's Council," formed by Dr. Muhammad Mahmud Latif Al-Fahadawi to evict Al-Qaeda in December 2005. This "tribal movement" arose without coalition support and quickly failed due to a devastating suicide bombing at the police-recruiting site on 5 January 2006 and an extremely effective murder and intimidation campaign against the sheiks by Al-Qaeda throughout January 2006.

We approached Sheik Ahmed with a proposition. If the tribal leaders could get their young men to join the Iraqi Police, then the coalition would establish a police station in the tribal area. This request had come out of necessity. The Iraqi Police recruiting drives were failing to produce the necessary numbers to reinvigorate the police force, and the U.S. combat power required to protect the recruiting site surpassed what Task Force Conqueror could muster without giving up a constant presence in Tam'eem. By holding the recruiting drive in the tribal area as opposed to the traditional Camp Ramadi site, we would need fewer coalition forces to secure the site. By working through the tribal leaders, we could target where the security and economic impact of the recruiting drive would take place and maintain a level of operational security since we would not need a large-scale information campaign to notify potential recruits.

For the sheiks, this was a great proposal. The Sunnis wanted to secure their families and villages and hold jobs that were prestigious in their communities, such as military officers or police officers. (Previously, coalition forces had offered them jobs as garbage collectors or street cleaners.) They wanted Al-Qaeda out of Anbar, but were unable to fight them alone. The sheiks had constantly asked for authorization to arm militias to fight Al-Qaeda, a proposal that was unacceptable to the coalition. By putting the young men into the Iraqi Police, we linked the tribes with the central government, and began investing Sunnis into the political process, which paid dividends later.

The first tribal-backed recruiting drive took place on 4 July 2006, at the Bezia compound. It was also the first time that recruits would report directly to training at the Police Academy. Previously, recruits would sign up, but never report to move out for training. Al-Qaeda would intimidate them while they waited to attend training, and they simply would not come back. Lieutenant Colonel Jim Lechner, the Ready First deputy commander, proved

> *The Sunnis wanted to secure their families and villages and hold jobs that were prestigious in their communities…*

himself invaluable in fighting through bureaucracy by eliminating the requirement to ship and screen recruits on separate days. While this sounds like a simple solution to a complex problem, bureaucratic nay-saying made it extremely difficult. In the end, this small procedural change paid enormous dividends in reducing the no-show rate for recruits.

The sheiks produced the recruits and helped provide local security in cooperation with Team Comanche. Recruits went through the induction process and those who passed went to the Police Training Academy in Jordan. Mid-morning mortar attacks on the Bezia compound damaged only a few coalition vehicles while it stiffened the resolve of the recruits and the sheiks. After the attacks, we asked Sheik Ahmed and Sheik Sattar it they wanted to continue the recruiting drive, since their families were put in imminent danger. The answer was yes. We were impressed that they would take such risks to try to save Anbar.

The total number of recruits that day was around 80. While not the hundreds promised, it still increased the police force in Ramadi by nearly 100 percent. We continued conducting recruiting drives over the course of the summer with increasing success. The exception was September, which brought only 20 recruits. When pressed, the sheiks admitted that they had "donor fatigue." They had run out of young men to put into the police force until the others returned from the police academy. They needed to keep some young men back to protect their homes and run their businesses. October brought in over 400 recruits. Momentum was gaining, but a tough fight still lay ahead.

Stationing of the Iraqi Police. As in America, police should live and work in the same community in order to be effective. Thousands of young men had signed up to become police officers in Ramadi from 2003-2006, but few were still reporting for duty. We were only beginning to understand the insular nature of the Anbar communities. To the locals, a "foreign fighter" may be from somewhere no farther than two villages away. A tribal member will protect his village, but may not feel the need to protect the next village or the larger city. Establishing a police station in the tribal region was a source of pride for the locals. While eager to rid Anbar of Al-Qaeda, the recruits wanted to secure their homes and families first. A large police presence was necessary in the city of Ramadi to build on hard-fought gains, but Ready First's leaders established the police station in Tway and reinforced the Jazeria Iraqi Police station first, rather than rushing the new recruits into established but abandoned police stations in Ramadi. Had we rushed the recruits into the urban stations, the recruits and the reenergized police force would have melted away before they had time to become effective.

The establishment of the Tway police station also required overcoming bureaucratic hurdles. There was tremendous organizational resistance to establishing a new Iraqi Police station, regardless of the tactical importance or strategic significance. In time, we declared the Tway station a substation of the Al Horea police station, which satisfied the bureaucrats. Through the hard work of Captain Nick Franklin and Captain Navin Kalicharan, we created a primitive police sub-station similar to a combat outpost by creating an out-of-hide police transition team, composed of Captain Jonathan Cornett; 2nd Lieutenant Stephen Winter, an MP officer; and a squad of military police. Construction ended just in time to house the initial group of returning Iraqi Police recruits and to facilitate the beginning of the Anbar Awakening.

Al-Qaeda also recognized the importance of this station and attacked it daily with suicide vehicle-borne IEDs and indirect fire. Although under constant attack, the Iraqi Police were not intimidated. They now saw themselves as fighting the real enemy, Al-Qaeda. Recruiting soared to all-time highs. To the general population of Ramadi and to the mujahedeen, it was now "honorable" to fight Al-Qaeda and not the coalition.

By November 2006, nearly 3,000 men were either in the Iraqi Police, in training at police academies, or awaiting shipment to them—a 30-fold increase from May 2006. Other men wanting to protect their homes but, ineligible to join the Iraqi Police, formed Neighborhood Watch programs as unpaid but regulated volunteers in their tribal areas. Eventually, the outpouring of local support to join the

> *…we created a primitive police sub-station similar to a combat outpost by creating an out-of-hide police transition team…*

> ***…to the mujahedeen, it was now "honorable" to fight Al-Qaeda and not the coalition.***

Iraqi Police and fight Al-Qaeda surpassed the Iraqi Police authorization, resulting in the Iraqi national government establishing emergency response units in Ramadi to fight Al-Qaeda.

Setting conditions. Throughout the summer of 2006, Task Force Conqueror conducted intelligence-driven operations and an aggressive information engagement strategy with the sheiks, orchestrated by Captains Pat Fagan and Sean Frerking. The sheiks and the population recognized that Al-Qaeda's hold was being broken across Ramadi, and that coalition forces were trying to protect the population.

The local government in Ramadi had collapsed. Governor Mamoon was under the constant protection of a Marine Corps rifle company, and the government center in Ramadi was subject to large scale, complex attacks, seemingly daily. The area surrounding the government center was a no-man's land of rubble and unexploded ordinance. While Mamoom came to work daily, the Anbar director generals, the true facilitators of governmental legitimacy and reconstruction, did not. They had well-founded safety concerns and were subject to an intense murder and intimidation campaign as well.

Through daily information engagements with the sheiks, we attempted to use tribal pressures to get the director generals back to work. We emphasized to the sheiks the importance of participating in the democratic process and stressed that the only way to restore a decent standard of living in Ramadi was to get the government back into operation. We understood that we needed to tie the population to the government of Iraq to achieve long-term success, and spent a tremendous amount of time and effort in educating the tribal leadership that the only way to a peaceful future was through a democratic government.

On 26 August, Task Force Conqueror executive officer Major Chuck Bergman and I held a meeting at the Bezia compound to get an update from the sheiks on police recruiting. We found sheik Sattar abu Risha and a group of 10 other sheiks meeting in the house. They told us that sheik Khaled A'rak

Ehtami Al-A'layawi'a of the Abu Ali Jassim tribe had gone to speak with members of the Abu Aetha Tribe about rejecting Al-Qaeda, but was killed and his body was being held hostage. This act of disrespect by Al-Qaeda enraged the sheiks and the local populace.

The population's support for Al-Qaeda was already dwindling. In response to the Iraqi Army checkpoint established at Al Anbar University, Al-Qaeda had issued a decree that they would kill the children of Anbar if they attended school. Al-Qaeda was also attempting to implement strict sharia law throughout Ramadi, including a ban on smoking, which caused an uproar with the local population. Al-Qaeda's disrespect of the people, combined with the coalition's efforts to protect the population, turned public opinion against them and set the conditions for the Anbar Emergency Council.

The Anbar Emergency Council

On 2 September 2006, Task Force Conqueror operations officer Major David Raugh and I met with about 20 sheiks at the Bezia compound. They had come to us with a proposal. They were declaring an "Emergency Council" to bring peace to Al Anbar. They claimed that the Iraqi Constitution authorized formation of an Emergency Council and brought out lawyers with copies of the Iraqi Constitution to prove their point. The sheiks stated their desire to work with coalition forces to rid Al Anbar of Al-Qaeda and to restore peace in the region. They wanted to work openly with the coalition forces and the government. What we had been trying to do with the sheiks for months was now on the table.

They also called for the ouster of Governor Mamoom, a demand that the coalition could not accept. We applauded them for their commitment, but told them that a declaration such as this had an impact far beyond the Task Force Conqueror's area of operations, and we would have to take it to our chain of command.

We immediately told Colonel MacFarland that the sheiks wanted to work openly with coalition forces and that they wanted Governor Mammon replaced. We set up a meeting between MacFarland and the sheiks for 9 September. As we continued engaging the sheiks, our message was that removal of a sitting governor by coalition forces in a sovereign Iraq was not likely to happen. The best course of action was to work with the existing government to improve

the situation in Ramadi. While the sheiks still did not trust Governor Mamoom, they respected the advice given to them and were willing to take us on our word that the situation would turn out all right.

On 9 September 2006, MacFarland and the leaders of Task Force Conqueror met with the sheiks, led by Sattar Bezia, at the Bezia compound. The sheiks meant business, and this meeting was an opportunity to tie the greater population of Ramadi into the hard-earned tactical victories the Ready First had already achieved. While the sheiks initially wanted a coalition presence at the Emergency Council meeting, they ultimately agreed that this needed to be an Iraqi solution to an Iraqi problem. The coalition would support them anyway we could, but the Iraqis had to be in the lead.

Anbar Awakens

On 14 September, three days after the release in the *Washington Post* of the Devlin Report announcing the Marine Expeditionary Force assessment that Al Anbar was lost, the Al Anbar Emergency Council meeting went off without a hitch. Task Force Conqueror and the Ready First provided outer security, and the sheiks provided security at the site. Forty-one sheiks signed the Emergency Council proclamation and swore to drive Al-Qaeda out of Anbar. Sheik Sattar abu Risha, a charismatic leader who ultimately became the face of the Anbar Awakening, was elected by the sheiks as the head of the council. While it seemed merely ceremonial to us at the time, the movement immediately gained traction throughout Al Anbar. Prior to the Anbar

Initial meeting between the coalition forces and the leaders of the Anbar Awakening Council, 9 September 2006, Ramadi, Iraq. From the left, Sheik Jabbar abu Risha, LTC Tony Deane, Sheik Hamid al-Hais, Sheik Sattar abu Rischa, COL Sean MacFarland, Sheik Moayed Ibrahim Hammadi, and Sheik Abd Al Kareem.

DOD, Mr. Sterling Jensen

Tenets of the Awakening Meeting

- Return "honorable" status to Sheiks who did not support terrorism in any way or means to form the Anbar Sheik Council.

- Hold free elections for the members of the Rescue Anbar Province Council with all sons of Anbar democratically represented without illegal pressures.

- Form the police and army with Anbar sons by coordinate the hiring process and appointments with the sheiks, who will issue affidavits in which they confirm the good civil conduct of the recruits from their tribes.

- Provide security for highway travelers and for roads within tribal areas.

- Condemn terrorism, wherever and whenever it is found, and denounce any attacks against coalition forces to allow an open dialogue and draw a new road map for the province.

- Stop all arms holding in public streets, except for the police and the army.

- Respect the law and support the judicial system, so it can uphold the law.

- Open dialogue with ex-Ba'athist members who have not committed any crime against Iraqis and did not support terrorism, to help them get jobs.

- Immediately initiate industrial development, reopen commercial industries, and revive agricultural endeavors to lessen unemployment.

- After ratification of the proclamation by tribes, sheiks will hold responsible and surrender to the proper authorities any person who gives refuge to any terrorist, whether Arab, foreign, or Iraqi.

- Open dialogue with coalition forces to schedule their withdrawal from Anbar once the Anbar police and army forces are completely formed.

Awakening, only nine of the 21 tribes in Ramadi were cooperative or neutral to coalition forces. By December 2006, that number had doubled to 18.

Sheik Sattar. Sheik Sattar was the obvious pick as the leader of the Anbar Awakening. While not high in the tribal hierarchy, Sattar was a dynamic natural leader and was unafraid of the numerous impending Al-Qaeda attempts on his life. Over the course of the fall of 2006, Sattar was engaged in a media battle

with Al-Qaeda in the Arab press. He understood the power of information operations and was a master of getting his message out. Sheik Sattar was also a man of the people with a vision of what Iraq could be. He remained the leader of the Awakening until his assassination by Al-Qaeda in September 2007.

Sheik Sattar, using intermediaries, contacted the Malaki government for backing, which he received in a few weeks. Police recruitment continued to rise, as did the efficiency of the police. With the establishment of the Tway station on 5 October 2006, we were beginning to see the fruits of the bitter battle the entire Ready First had been waging for the past four months. Al-Qaeda operatives increased their attacks, including a devastating and complex attack against the Al Horea police station.

Initially, coalition higher headquarters resisted supporting the Anbar Awakening. A series of reports portrayed the leaders of the movement as Al-Qaeda operatives not to be trusted; these assertions proved unfounded. Ideas surfaced such as providing the Awakening their own area of operations, but were quickly discounted. MacFarland and the Ready First leadership recognized that the Awakening needed to involve both the local population and the coalition, and that neither could eject Al-Qaeda without the other.

Getting the Iraqi Security Forces into the fight. Task Force Conqueror's final task force-level mission was to establish Combat Outpost Dealer in Tam'eem. Colonel MacFarland named it as a tribute to the unflinching valor shown by the members of Team Dealer, who despite suffering 25 percent casualties, took the fight to Al-Qaeda every day while still protecting the population. The operation began the week before relief in place/transition of authority with 1st Battalion, 77th Armor (Task Force Steel Tigers). The Steel Tigers had assumed the Call Forward Force mission and deployed early to Ramadi. They relieved Task Force Conqueror of its steady-state checkpoints in order for the task force to surge for the operation. Combat Outpost Dealer had a large Iraqi presence, including two Iraqi infantry battalions, a T-72 company, and for the first time a large contingent of Iraqi Police from the Tway Iraqi Police Station. As soon as Combat Outpost Dealer was established, the population began to come forward with information on the enemy or to inquire about joining the police. While a tough fight remained for Task Force Steel Tigers and the rest of the Ready First, they had a solid foothold in Tam'eem from which to operate.

Lessons from Ramadi

A counterinsurgency is a cavalry fight. One fights for information and uses host-nation security forces as indirect fire to attack the enemy.

Development of host-nation security forces is a full spectrum fight. Personnel need to be recruited

courtesy of author

Sand table rehearsal for Operation Dealer, 10 October 2006, Camp Ramadi, Iraq.

and trained, then formed into units, which must be partnered with U.S. units until they are capable of sustaining independent operations. Constant direct mentorship and coaching from U.S. leaders at all levels is vital to the development of any host-nation security force.

Until the local population views the police force as a prestigious, legitimate organization, individual soldiers or police officers are vulnerable to coercion, bribery, and intimidation. If traditional power brokers such as sheiks are on board with the development of the police forces, then it will be a success; if not, it will fail.

Commanders must avoid both creating a host-nation culture of dependency on U.S. forces and putting the host-nation security force into the fight too soon. Both extremes lead to failure. Commanders must decide how much risk is acceptable in conjunction with the host-nation security force commander and then develop a plan for the host nation to accept more responsibility for security.

While a tremendous sacrifice was made by U.S. forces serving in Ramadi, investing in the Iraqi Security Forces, especially the Iraqi Police, was the key to success. For our part, Task Force Conqueror's augmentation of the MiTT and police transition teams with quality personnel fostered the rapid development of the Iraqi Security Forces. Having the local populace take charge of their own security, combined with an evenhanded approach to taking back the city by coalition forces focused on protecting the population, allowed us to capitalize on our information operations theme that improving the future of Iraq means supporting the Iraqi government and not Al-Qaeda. Once this message took hold, the population quickly turned against Al-Qaeda and began siding with the government, albeit more at the provincial level than the national level.

The residents of Ramadi quickly realized that a future with Al-Qaeda was not what they wanted, but they were unable to reject the insurgents once they had established themselves in the city. The Ready First leadership understood that a capable local security force was the key to success, but they realized that for it to be effective it needed robust coalition support until it was fully capable of independent action. The tactical successes gained by the Soldiers, Sailors, Airmen, and Marines assigned to the Ready First led to the ultimate strategic success evident in Ramadi today.

It was evident to us that winning the "hearts and minds" of the population simply by spending money on public works projects was futile. Reconstruction projects initiated over the previous years had brought little lasting progress towards a peaceful Ramadi. Linking the population to the process was the missing ingredient. Clearing and holding must be well underway before we move to the "build" stage.

We found that we could secure the population and convince them that the best hope for the future is through a democratic process. Al-Qaeda, which was religiously—not politically—motivated, was incapable of ever entering into any genuine political process. Its views were just too strident. We were therefore able to separate the population from Al-Qaeda, putting the population back into the realm of politics.

To quote Tip O'Neill, "all politics is local." In the end, we were able to tie the historical tribal power structure of the sheiks in Ramadi to the government of Iraq, first by having young men join the Iraqi Security Forces, then by having the sheiks work with the local provincial government, and ultimately by having sheiks run for elected office, a phenomenon seen in the recent provincial elections. Over time, this success spread across Iraq. If the population believes the government is responsive to its needs, and that political means settle grievances better than violence, then the seeds of democracy have taken root. Linking traditional power bases to central governments will be a problem that the Army will face in the future.

The December 2005 elections were a defining moment in Iraq, one often discounted. By September 2006, the Sunni sheiks recognized that for the first time in Iraq, there had been a free and fair election, not the rigged elections of the Saddam regime, and they had missed it. Although this recognition came late, the sheiks wanted to join the democratic process, and we provided them access to it. Iraqis seeing the opportunity for self-determination were as important to the success of the Anbar Awakening as any tactical operation conducted throughout the entire war. The sheiks were excited about having the chance for democracy, albeit six months late. As Sheik Sattar said in his speech at the Emergency Council, "Why can't this be like Germany or Japan, peaceful and prosperous?" *MR*

The Glass Balls of the Brigade Aviation Element:

The Brigade Aviation Officer in Combat

Major Erick "Zeke" Sweet II, U.S. Army

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BATTALION AVIATION OFFICERS continue to distinguish themselves as valuable members of the ground brigade combat team (BCT) and are leading the way in the integration of Army Aviation and unmanned aerial vehicles in wartime operations. In military parlance, "juggling glass balls" is a common metaphor for having to accomplish multiple critical tasks simultaneously. Three "glass balls" have emerged that define the brigade aviation element's (BAE) success in support of ground units during combat: air-ground integration, unmanned aerial vehicle integration, and airspace management and Army airspace command and control. The following narrative of the combat experience of an aviation brigade in the Multi-National Division-Baghdad area of operations from 2005 to 2006 provides insight into those enduring issues that affect the BAE's operations across the Army.

Glass Ball Number 1: Air-Ground Integration

The obvious "glass ball" of the brigade aviation element is air-ground integration. Army aviation is unique in that it traverses all aspects of military operations from kinetic combat operations to combat service support logistics missions. Thus, brigade aviation officers must dabble in every aspect of BCT operations and support operations to integrate aviation to its full potential.

Training and integrating. With accelerated deployment timelines and limited garrison training opportunities, brigade aviation elements must conduct air-ground integration (AGI) training at every possible turn, and help the BCT commander identify key AGI skills that the unit wishes to hone prior to deployment. A simple convoy delivering trucks to the rail yard can quickly turn into an integrated training opportunity with attack or reconnaissance aircraft providing route security while reporting to the convoy commander and the parent unit tactical operations center through multiple communication networks. The more opportunities our junior ground leaders have to integrate and communicate with aviation assets, the more effective their communication will be in combat. If a football coach has a star receiver he never uses at practice, he cannot be upset when the receiver
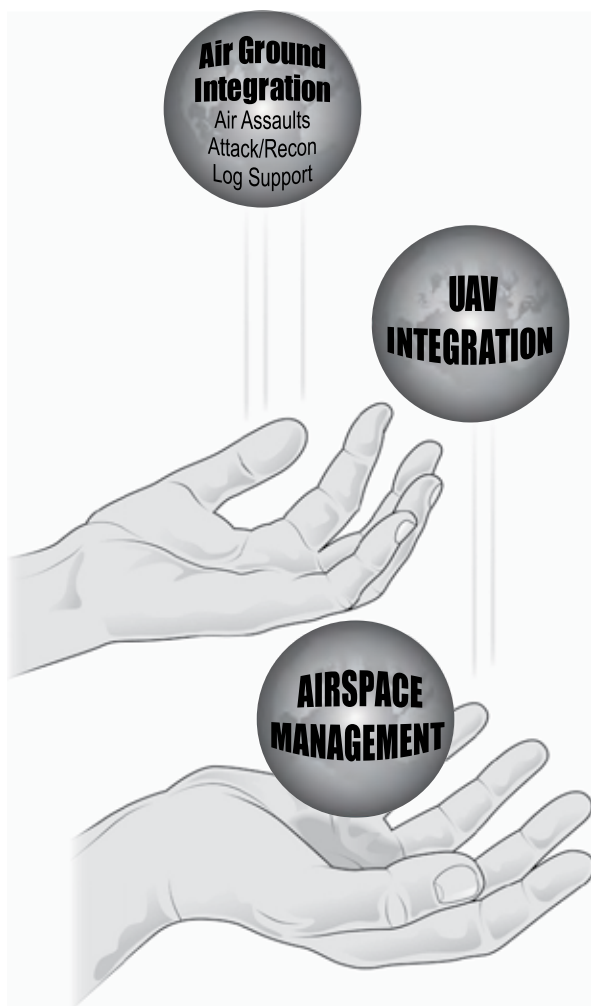
does not know the plays on game day. Similarly, if aviation assets are never integrated into ground unit training until the execution of a combat training center rotation, or even real combat operations, the unit cannot expect aviation performance to be at its best. Granted, these integration challenges can be overcome ad hoc, but the preferred method is to integrate aviation into combined arms training from the outset.

The relationship of the brigade aviation element with its supporting aviation unit is critical to successful air-ground integration. Strong professional relationships with the corps staff training officer, combat aviation brigade staff training officer, and the subordinate aviation battalion training officers streamline the coordination process and improve integration. If fully informed about the challenges facing the employment of aviation assets from the combat aviation brigade point of view, the battalion

aviation officer can communicate those issues and explain their effects on BCT operations.

For example, if an aviation unit surges air crews to support a large scale operation, then the brigade aviation officer can address the subsequent loss of those aviation assets during the operation or immediately afterwards, while crews recycle themselves to their steady-state battle rhythms or play maintenance catch up, therefore squashing any angst. At the beginning of mission planning, the brigade aviation officer can provide the cost or benefit analysis of such a surge. For this to be effective, the element must open and maintain clear lines of communication with corps and division training and air operations, combat aviation brigade staff, and the commander himself. Brigade aviation elements must also be careful not to delve too deeply into the maintenance status of individual airframes or the fighter management cycles of individual crews. The better approach is to assist the ground commander with identifying his desired effects, weigh the costs and benefits of any surge in aviation support, and then allow the aviation unit to execute as necessary to achieve the desired end state. In this respect, the brigade aviation element is a sort of permanent liaison officer for aviation, although the element's final loyalties must always be to the ground units they serve. This may not preclude the need for an aviation unit liaison officer, especially for large scale missions like a battalion air assault, but the ability of the brigade aviation element to inform and educate the ground commander on the limitations of aviation assets will produce huge dividends over time. In execution, the brigade aviation element can segment its air-ground integration focus into three main areas:

• Air assaults and tactical air movements.
• Attack and reconnaissance aviation integration.
• Logistics and administrative aviation support.

Air assaults. Air assaults have become a staple of combat operations in Operation Iraqi Freedom and Operation Enduring Freedom. Once relegated almost exclusively to the light infantry community, air assault operations have proliferated throughout the Army. The 4th Infantry Division executed over 60 air assault operations and an additional 70 tactical air movements in the Multi-National Division-Baghdad area of responsibility during a six-month period in 2006—an impressive display, considering

Air assaults have become a staple of combat operations in Operation Iraqi Freedom and Operation Enduring Freedom.

the large areas of built-up terrain and the fact that a large chunk of these missions were in support of traditional heavy-armored or mechanized combat units.[1] With the complex early warning systems that our enemies employ to thwart ground infiltration, air assaults often provide the surprise and flexibility that spells the difference between mission success and the infamous "dry hole." Restricted terrain, like that in Afghanistan, is another driving factor in the popularity of the air assault. In many cases, there is simply no other way to get to the mission location.[2]

Thus, the brigade aviation elements must be ready. Clear standard operating procedures for air assault planning products and events is the first step to a smooth and timely planning process. The element serves in the traditional role of the battalion staff training officer for air operations, but it expands that role to assist the ground unit on how best to employ its aviation assets to achieve success. The brigade aviation element acts as the battalion training air officer, air mission commander liaison officer to the ground unit, ground unit liaison officer to the aviation unit, and primary BCT staff planner all in one. As with any air movement mission, the key points of information that need fidelity up front are—

● Where is the objective?

● Are there any proposed landing zones from the ground unit?

● What is the number of passengers and amount of equipment to be moved?

● What is the tentative time-on-target or requested mission timeline?

The brigade aviation element assists by prompting the ground unit to arrive at the initial planning conference (or air mission coordination meeting) with an 85 percent solution for its ground tactical plan. Failing to accomplish this critical step can cause delays and complications in the planning process for all involved units.

The aviation unit will assist by outlining what it expects from the brigade aviation element in the air assault planning process. Most aviation units will reserve the right to plan flight routes and final landing zone directions for themselves; however, in a time-constrained environment, the element may be able to provide some preliminary planning products to the aviation unit to expedite its planning.

Lastly, brigade aviation elements can fully expect to control the primary pickup zone for the ground BCT. This control is challenging since the current team Modified Table of Organization and Equipment does not provide the element with the necessary vehicle and communications equipment to perform the mission to standard. With the air defense airspace management shelter vehicle tied to the brigade combat team's tactical operation center, the brigade aviation element often must beg and borrow for pickup zone equipment. Pickup zone manpower can also be a challenge for large-scale or sustained missions. Thus, the brigade aviation element must identify its pickup zone control needs up front and work with team leaders to establish set procedures to acquire personnel and equipment quickly for pickup zone control missions.

Attack and reconnaissance aviation integration. When employing attack and reconnaissance aviation assets, brigade aviation elements can help their ground units maximize aviation effectiveness by enforcing a few key standards. First, ensure that the unit provides a clear task and purpose for the aviation assets in the mission request.

CW3 William Buglehall

Air assault to capture an insurgent High Value Target northwest of Baghdad in 2005.

For instance, a poorly worded task and purpose might be: "Observe the outer cordon to identify enemy leaving to objective." This task and purpose is too vague to give aviators a clear focus. A properly worded task and purpose might be: "Concentrate observation on the alleyways to the north and east of the objective between checkpoints 3 and 4." This articulation better focuses task and purpose.

Although aviation is very flexible and can cover a lot of ground in a short period of time, many ground commanders overestimate the ability of air crews to see everything at once. Brigade aviation elements can educate and coach ground unit commanders on how to submit an accurate and clear focus for their aviation support.

The second key standard is to ensure that aviators and ground formations have the same graphics that provide a common operating picture. Often, units submit air mission requests without checkpoints, building numbers, or phase lines. The lack of common reference points causes challenges in air-ground integration. In many cases the graphic control measures only apply within the boundaries of the objective area or route being covered. Once enemy action causes the unit to exit the original lines of those graphics, there must be common points of reference that will allow both air and ground crews to find targets, identify friendly locations, and synchronize their fires. By setting clear standards and providing examples of good air-ground integration graphics up front, brigade aviation elements can ensure that aviation assets are effective.

The third key standard involves marking conventions. Clear standard operating procedures for marking both friendly and target locations is an integral component of air-ground integration. With myriad options to choose from, all players must identify, understand, and track which signals mean what during the mission execution. Infrared strobes, infrared chemlite "buzz saws" (swinging an infrared chemlite on a string), and laser "ropes"

…many ground commanders overestimate the ability of air crews to see everything at once.

(moving a visible laser in a circular fashion in the air so that aircraft can identify the laser spot) are common night markings for friendly locations. Lasers, tracer rounds, or even simple voice communications work well for target marking at night. Proper care must be taken to identify the origin of a laser versus the laser hit spot to prevent confusion and possible fratricide. Day markings can be more challenging and difficult because the markings are less obvious. Most target designations must be done with reference to a friendly location using a VS-17 signal panel or colored smoke. Use of the pink side of the VS-17 to designate key leaders or convoy and patrol commanders is highly effective.

One technique that worked particularly well for the 1st BCT, 10th Mountain Division, in Multi-National Division-Baghdad was to paint orange panels with a four-digit identification marker (that was easily visible from the air) on the rooftops of all brigade combat team vehicles. When combined with a legend and frequency card, these marking conventions allowed aviation units to report items of interest to individual patrols and greatly improved the overall situational awareness of air crews with respect to friendly unit locations. Initially the apprehension was that the enemy would use these markings to target key military leaders or units, but in practice the opposite effect was observed. Over time, local nationals came to recognize and trust these patrols based on their markings and actions. This led to an increase in local-national intelligence against the insurgency. In fact, during a Qada governance meeting, a battalion commander introduced himself to a local leader who subsequently identified the battalion commander from his vehicle marking and further stated that he was impressed with the battalion's ability to quell the insurgency in his local neighborhood.[3] While it was clear that both sympathetic local nationals and enemy insurgents used the markings to identify friendly unit and patrol activities, the ability of the enemy to identify these markings for any effective method against coalition forces was inconclusive at best. However, what is certain is that the positive effect on air-ground integration was tangible.

A final standard that can greatly enhance attack and reconnaissance air-ground integration is to encourage the use of aviation assets in support of

steady-state operations. When attack/recon aviation is able to support daily patrols, a level of cooperation and familiarity emerges between ground and air units that greatly enhances air-ground integration effectiveness in case troops come in contact with enemy forces. The 1-1 Marines, attached to 1st BCT, 10th Mountain Division, in Multi-National Division-Baghdad during operations in 2005–2006, began employing attack aviation daily in support of steady-state patrols in a particularly dangerous area. Based on daily use of aviation assets and their willingness to push these assets to user levels—whether platoon or squad—their ability to identify possible enemy sniper positions, improvised explosive device locations, and ambush sites greatly improved. More importantly, as pilots and patrol leaders worked through the initial friction of combined arms operations, there emerged a level of cooperation and mutual respect that—when combined with proven tactics, techniques, and procedures—caused the air-ground integration to be seamless and responsive during enemy contact. The Marines took care to alter their requests for aviation support at varying times, in varying locations, and for varied durations. This variance prevents aviation patterning, which could result in effective enemy targeting of friendly aircraft. Once the word got out on the effectiveness of the air-ground integration, steady-state use of aviation quickly spread to all land-owning battalions in the BCT. Soon the brigade aviation element was inundated with attack aviation requests—a good problem for a staff section charged with integrating aviation in the ground scheme of maneuver. Granted, many missions were unsupported due to multiple teams requesting limited aviation resources. But the productive use of attack aviation in steady-state operations resulted in increased effectiveness during enemy contact when air-ground integration mattered most.

Logistics and administrative aviation support. The third primary air-ground integration venue, and often the most-used, pertains to logistics and administrative movements. With current enemy tactics, techniques, and procedures favoring the use of improvised explosive devices to attack coalition vehicles transitioning between separated coalition bases, air movement is often the travel method of choice. Dental and medical appointments, supply transactions, and transport for leaves are only

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Sling load operation, Camp Liberty, Baghdad, Iraq, 2006.

a handful of myriad administrative air mission requests that often inundate aviation units. By setting clear aviation usage priorities at BCT level, nested with division or higher headquarters priorities, the brigade aviation element can help sort out and accommodate these numerous requests. Smart combinations of missions and periodic missions to common destinations can help the element assist the combat aviation brigade in efficient use.

Aerial resupply can also be a valuable asset to outlying bases and minimize ground convoy exposure to dangerous routes. Brigade aviation elements must coordinate closely with the BCT logistical leaders, in particular the brigade support battalion staff and brigade support operations officer. Since the aerial resupply is largely a logistical mission, the support officer must take the lead, with the element helping coordinate for the aviation support. Conducting sling-load training, identifying air assault- and pathfinder-qualified personnel to build loads and run the pickup zone, conducting precombat inspections of sling sets and

Since the aerial resupply is largely a logistical mission, the support officer must take the lead…

pallet equipment, and training forklift operators to internally load equipment onto CH-47 helicopters are some of the key tasks that brigade aviation elements can prepare for in partnership with the brigade support officer. Such cooperation reduces the number of convoys and allows for flexible, timely delivery of essential supplies. The 1st BCT, 10th Mountain Division, used this aerial resupply technique to good effect. While partnered with 2-4 General Support Aviation Battalion in the 4th Infantry Division, the BCT executed weekly aerial resupply to each of its outlying forward operating bases, reducing team logistical convoys to a trickle. Critical to success were clearly defined load standards which all players agreed upon and close coordination between the BCT logisticians and the aviation unit coordinating through the brigade aviation element.

Glass Ball Number 2: Unmanned Aerial Vehicle Integration

Most brigade aviation officers will tell you that if it flies, it must be a brigade aviation element responsibility. Thus, elements may find themselves covering everything from Aerostat balloon operations to airport point of debarkation command and control. Unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) are no exception. However, with the Aviation branch gaining propo-nency for aerial vehicle operations in April of 2006, the brigade aviation element must be the champion for their use in support of BCT operations. The two most commonly fielded vehicles at team level are the RQ-11 Raven and the RQ-7 Shadow.

Raven. The Raven small unmanned aerial vehicle is a simple system to employ. Qualification training is just two weeks long, and operators often equate the job to flying a remote control airplane. Raven operators are selected from their unit's existing military occupational specialties to serve as an additional duty. Thus, it is critical that the Raven program at the BCT level likewise remain simple. Unlike an aviation unit equipped with trained instructor pilots to administer the unit aircrew training program, the average Raven system is assigned at company level to an enlisted Soldier with only two weeks of quali-fied instruction. Therefore, the Raven aircrew train-ing program must be easy to maintain and simple in nature. For such an uncomplicated system, readiness level progression and full aviation flight records may be overkill. Instead, a Raven aircrew training program might be better served with a single check ride upon arrival at the unit, much like an annual proficiency and readiness test evaluation for avia-tors. Subsequent annual evaluations would also be required, but not tied to any birth month. Instead, they could be tied to the calendar year so that busy ground units can ensure that all Raven operators maintain high standards of execution, but are afforded greater flex-ibility in the conduct and timing of those annual evaluations. Multi-National Corp-Iraq hosted a pilot version of the Raven Master Trainer Course in 2006. Designed to train Raven opera-tors to act as aircrew training program stewards and master trainers for the Raven system, this course is a crucial step in the formalization of Raven operations at the BCT level and will undoubtedly serve our branch well as we seek to infuse some aviation culture into the unmanned aerial vehicle com-munity.[4] However, until Raven

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SPC Joseph Tilletski launches an RQ-11 Raven UAV, 2005.

operators are recognized with their own military occupational specialty or skill identifier, we must be careful not to overcomplicate a simple and effective system, or we risk degrading its combat effectiveness in support of ground unit operations.

In terms of Army airspace command and control, Raven small unmanned aerial vehicles can operate in the same altitude band as most rotary wing assets. With a preferred altitude less than 1,000 feet above ground level, de-conflicting rotary wing assets is critical. Resolving conflicted airspace is best achieved with restricted operating zones. By submitting restricted operating zones through the tactical airspace integration system for inclusion on the airspace coordination order, the BCT provides visibility on the unmanned vehicle operation times and locations to all airspace users. Of course, a clearly outlined method of informing key airspace users of short-notice missions is paramount. As the only battalion level aerial intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance asset, one of the Raven's greatest strengths is its flexibility, so the ability to employ it on short notice is crucial.

Also crucial are immediate airspace alerts that inform potential airspace users of conflicting requirements. By using radio check-ins with the BCT tactical operations center or brigade aviation element, transiting aircraft can gain immediate situational awareness on unmanned aerial vehicle missions and deconflict themselves laterally or by altitude to allow both assets to continue their mission safely. In an extreme case, the rotary wing asset can request an "autoland" of the unmanned vehicle to prevent any possible conflict. For preplanned missions, easily identifiable terrain features like canals and roads allow for easy deconfliction of unmanned aerial vehicle and rotary wing traffic. This requires direct radio communication between the Raven operators and the rotary wing assets but is effective and provides means to ensure mission success.

The Raven vehicle has logged over 250,000 hours in support of combat operations in both Afghanistan and Iraq with only one Army airspace command and control incident. Even then the aircraft returned to base under its own power without issue.[5] This is testament to the fact that unmanned aerial vehicles and rotary wing assets can successfully and safely coexist when properly managed. They have an incredible track record when one considers the high volume of unmanned vehicles and rotary wing traffic in the same airspace in both theaters. Critical to maintaining this track record is the use of restricted operating zones to alert all airspace users of unmanned aerial vehicle operations. A clearly defined method of immediate alert for short-notice missions and the use of traditional deconfliction measures (altitude and lateral separation) allows simultaneous operations.

To maximize the combat effectiveness of the Raven, battalion commanders should select Raven operators who are technically capable and self-disciplined. Raven operators are often required to execute missions with limited supervision, and they must be able to think on their feet. Selecting a few noncommissioned officers is always smart. Units must also employ their Ravens regularly. Flight skills are perishable, and regular intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance missions will ensure that the unit's Raven operators hone their skills when needed in support of more complicated missions such as cordon and search operations. The Raven is an effective deterrent to improvised explosive devices and indirect fire when used at low altitudes over known enemy hot spots. This can help disrupt enemy activity and force them to employ less desirable tactics that make them more vulnerable to coalition targeting.

On the whole, the Raven is a simple and effective intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance tool at the battalion level. Brigade aviation elements can assist in its use by helping to enforce high standards, coaching units on ways to maximize its effectiveness, and ruthlessly monitoring and enforcing clear Army airspace command and control standards to prevent conflicts with other airspace users.

Shadow. The Shadow tactical unmanned aerial vehicle comes with a far more robust support structure in the form of the tactical unmanned vehicle platoon. Thus the brigade aviation element

> *…unmanned aerial vehicles and rotary wing assets can successfully and safely coexist when properly managed.*

An RQ-7 Shadow Unmanned Aerial Vehicle readied for launch at Forward Operating Base Warhorse, Iraq.

oversight of Shadow tactical unmanned vehicle operations is less critical than for Raven small unmanned aerial vehicles. However, the brigade aviation element can provide some key assistance to tactical unmanned aviation vehicle platoons.

As the most requested aerial intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance asset at the BCT level, the tactical unmanned aerial vehicle has become a mainstay for all aspects of team operations. Thus, the airspace command and control issues in the Shadow vehicle altitude band are of particular concern to the brigade aviation element. Unlike the Raven, which is most likely to encounter conflicts with rotary aircraft below the coordinating altitude, the Shadow often operates above the coordinating altitude under positive control of the Air Force control and reporting center. Tactical unmanned vehicle operators conduct in-flight coordination using online chat rooms; however, the brigade aviation element assists by submitting restricted operating zones and flight routes to get the Shadow to and from their mission areas. In the Multi-National Division-Baghdad area of operations, the control and reporting center uses the common geographic reference system keypad to deconflict Shadows from fixed wing and various other aerial intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance platforms. By submitting preplanned restricted operating zones through the brigade aviation element, the tactical unmanned aerial vehicle platoon can help deconflict airspace more specifically than the large keypads and offer other airspace users the

ability to operate within the same keypad.

Currently, flight-records training conducted during the tactical unmanned aerial vehicle fielding train-up lacks substance. While this is sure to be addressed as the Aviation branch takes over proponency from the Military Intelligence branch, there may still be a lag as units field and employ the Shadow system. Thus, tactical unmanned aerial vehicle platoons often require some mentoring from the brigade aviation element noncommissioned officers (occupational specialty 15P) in proper record maintenance. By training the Shadow platoon noncommissioned officers on records, the element can help establish enduring standards of flight record keeping.

Tactical unmanned aerial vehicle operations vary greatly from theater to theater and even from one operational area to another within a tactical theater. Thus, the brigade aviation element must diligently explore the procedures in a given area of operations and help the Shadow platoon address airspace challenges. As its tactical unmanned aerial operations transition from a military intelligence-focused culture to an aviation-focused one, the brigade aviation element's involvement with Shadow operations will greatly increase. Keeping the overall focus on the tactical unmanned aerial vehicle platoon, the most reliable and responsive asset for intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance in support of the BCT, is important.

Glass Ball Number 3: Airspace Management and Army Airspace Command and Control

What is an air defense airspace management cell? That is the first question many brigade aviation officers ask when they arrive at a BCT. Most ground BCT Modified Tables of Organization and Equipment do not list the brigade aviation element at all. Rather, aviation staff slots fall under the air defense airspace management cell. In partnership with air defense artillery Soldiers, this cell provides

- Tactical operations center intercommunications system communication suite.
- Tactical airspace integration system.

Each of these systems provides key individual contributions, but when used in concert through the air defense systems integrator, the synergistic effect far outweighs the sum of its parts. The ability to conduct sustained 24-hour operations almost requires the aviation and air defense artillery sides of the air defense airspace management cell to coordinate their efforts. Neither can sustain operations independently with the personnel assigned. However, with cross training, the cell is more than capable of executing long-term operations.

Differentiation between airspace "management" and airspace "control" is important. The air defense airspace management cell does not have an organic capability to control any airspace. Thus, the term "management" is more accurate. This constitutes coordination with the airspace controlling agencies such as the Air Force control and reporting center, combined air operations center, and whichever Army air traffic control unit may be controlling airspace below the coordinating altitude, if any. Through constant communication and coordination with these agencies, the BCT air defense airspace management cell can shoulder many of the responsibilities traditionally handled by the division Army airspace command and control cell. This includes the clearance of airspace for immediate fires and controlled detonations, activation of airspace control measures, deconfliction of rotary wing, fixed wing, and unmanned aerial vehicle assets, and Army airspace command and control for large tactical operations like air assaults.

This also allows the air defense airspace management cell to provide the team commander and staff with a near real-time picture using the combined effects of all the air defense artillery and tactical airspace integration system. The feeds from the Sentinel radar through the air missile defense systems and air defense systems integrator, combined with the tactical airspace integration systems air track feeds over the Secret Internet Protocol Router Network, provide a reliable and accurate picture of all airspace users in the BCT area of operations. This can assist in Army airspace command and control duties and provides the team with a common operating picture.

Soldiers prepare to move a Patriot Air Defense Missile system to a different location on an undisclosed base in Southwest Asia, 25 July 2009.

U.S. Air Force, SSGT Robert Barney

the BCT with Army airspace command and control and airspace management capabilities.

While the initial reaction may be to try to operate independently, the most effective method of accomplishing airspace command and control and airspace management is to synthesize the efforts of the air defense artillery and aviation Soldiers as a truly cohesive air defense airspace management cell. The digital systems that the air defense artillery side brings to the fight are invaluable in managing airspace. In fact all air defense airspace management cell systems are fielded to most BCTs as part of a "282 airspace management" shelter which includes four primary systems that allow the cell to manage the team airspace successfully:

- Air missile defense work station.
- Air defense systems integrator.

The processing of airspace control measures is a key component of the air defense airspace management task, and it is where the tactical airspace integration system makes its value known. This is particularly important when deconflicting unmanned aerial vehicle missions. The ability to submit these requests digitally from tactical airspace integration systems to the combat air operations center allows every intermediate command node to track and process the requests quickly. This greatly improves the situational awareness at all levels of command and prevents delays in immediate airspace usage requests.

Another key aspect of airspace management includes usage of the tactical operations center intercommunications system "commo package" to communicate with all airspace users in the BCT's area of operations. From rotary aircraft check-ins to direct radio communication with firing batteries and monitoring of air traffic control and Joint tactical aircraft controllers frequencies, the brigade aviation element can enhance its situational awareness via radio communications while also playing a direct role in preventing airspace command and control conflicts. On more than one occasion, air defense airspace management and brigade aviation element cells have been able to contact transiting rotary wing aircraft to inform them of immediate unmanned aerial vehicle missions in their flight path, thus averting possible mishaps.

One item that could greatly enhance the effectiveness of the brigade aviation element would be the addition of a air traffic control noncommissioned officer (15Q) to the team. This could be done at the expense of one of the 15P noncommissioned officer slots, but would provide an understanding of airspace and control issues not currently found in the cell. Proper schooling for the air defense airspace/brigade aviation element cell can also help

enhance its airspace management capability. If select members of the cell could attend the Joint airspace command and control course, the resident expertise to effectively interact with those key airspace controlling agencies would be greatly enhanced.

The benefit of managing airspace at the BCT level is that the responsiveness of airspace clearance is improved, which results in quicker counter-fire missions, less Army airspace command and control conflicts, and better situational awareness of airspace user activity in the team area.

Lasting Impact

In closing, brigade aviation elements are making a lasting impact in the integration of aviation and unmanned aerial vehicles while providing a valuable airspace management function to the ground BCT commander. To do this effectively, element personnel need to stay focused on their stated duties. Too often, brigade aviation elements are targets for additional duties and tasks that take them away from their given mission. Aviation branch needs to continue to man the brigade aviation elements with its most talented officers, warrant officers, and noncommissioned officers since they are on point for our branch. With sustained initiative, enthusiasm, and competence, brigade aviation elements will continue to make the combined arms fight a successful reality and will greatly enhance integration of aviation and unmanned aerial vehicles into combat operations. *MR*

NOTES

1. MAJ Michael Higginbotham, former S3, 3-4 AHB, 4th ID, personal interview via email, 25 June 2006, Taji/Baghdad, Iraq.
2. MAJ Jerry Lewis, former brigade aviation officer, 3d BCT, 10th MTN Division, personal interview via email, 27 June 2006, Bagram, Afghanistan.
3. LTC Kevin Brown, former commander, 2-22 IN BN, 10th MTN Division, personal interview, 27 June 2006, Baghdad, Iraq.
4. MAJ Robert Blanchette, APM UAS, guest attendee at MNC-I UAS Conference, Al Faw Palace, Camp Victory, Baghdad, Iraq, 10 June 2006.
5. Blanchette, interview via email, 30 June 2006.

The Renaissance in American Strategy and the Ending of the Great Cold War

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PHOTO: East and West Germans converse at the newly created opening in the Berlin Wall after a crane removed a section of the structure beside the Brandenburg Gate, 21 December 1989. (DOD, SSGT F. Lee Corkran)

WHEN THE RED FLAG came down over the Kremlin on 25 December 1991, few people were aware just how great a contribution NATO had made to ending the Cold War. NATO's 60th anniversary is a particularly good time to look back and try to understand what really happened. Thanks to material that has become available since the end of the Cold War—from once-secret archives, memoirs, and interviews—we can now see far more clearly what NATO and the Warsaw Pact were trying to do.

After the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962, the spectre of a nuclear war haunted the Cold War adversaries. During the last two decades of the period, they put enormous effort into trying to ensure that if a war did break out in Europe, for whatever reason, it would not go nuclear. This honorable intention sparked the greatest renaissance of military thinking in the 20th century. High-quality intelligence, in both senses of the word, shaped the actions of the two sides, and each was often quick to adopt the innovations of the other.

The rivalry between NATO and the Warsaw Pact was not only intense and dramatic, but absorbed a huge amount of the energy of their military commanders and political leaders. As Diego Ruiz-Palmer, one of the most astute observers of this era, remarked, "No other war has been so thoroughly planned and well prepared, yet never fought."[1] This, however, was not simply a military affair. Both sides were engaged in what was, in effect, a psychological struggle for the "mastery of Europe." Not surprisingly, relations were at times fraught with tension and the stakes exceptionally high.

Preventing Nuclear War

In many respects, the story begins in 1967 when NATO made it clear that it not only wished to see détente in Europe, but was also changing its strategy. In the event of a conventional Soviet attack, it would not immediately unleash a "massive retaliation" with tactical nuclear weapons, but instead pursue a policy of "flexible response."[2] This eased one of Moscow's deepest fears—that the outbreak of any conflict in Europe would automatically result in NATO using nuclear weapons and that, in turn, would almost certainly unleash a global nuclear war.

Moscow quickly signalled that it was taking NATO's new strategy seriously. Its Dnieper military exercise in February 1968 began with Soviet forces fighting for a week before resorting to the use of nuclear weapons—this was a first. Preventing NATO from using its some 7,000 nuclear weapons posed a major challenge for the Warsaw Pact. Under NATO's new strategy of "flexible response," its armies would try to hold the frontline close to the Inner-German Border, while its aircraft, which accounted for half of NATO's conventional firepower, remorselessly pounded the attackers.

Over the next few years, while the United States became bogged down in Vietnam and NATO was in a lamentable state, the Soviet Union rapidly increased the firepower and mobility of Warsaw Pact forces in Central Europe. The Soviet air forces in the forward areas, meanwhile, began to acquire large numbers of new aircraft—some designed to provide close support for ground troops, others to pin down NATO aircraft at their bases and destroy their nuclear storage and other military sites. In 1974, Marshal Viktor Kulikov, the chief of the General Staff, announced with satisfaction that Soviet forces were now "abreast of contemporary requirements."[3]

That same year, with the Vietnam War now over, the renaissance in American thinking about strategy in Europe got underway. James Schlesinger, the then-recently appointed Secretary of Defense, set out to revitalize the alliance. Schlesinger worked closely with General Alexander Haig, the new supreme allied commander in Europe, and Andrew Marshall, one of RAND's wisest and most creative thinkers, whom he had brought into the Pentagon to head the new Office of Net Assessment.

Marshall was tasked with coming up with imaginative suggestions on how to strengthen NATO and put the Soviets on the defensive. He invested heavily in research by consultants, scholars, and the military themselves. Before long, Marshall was helping to forge new ideas into an intellectual offensive that focused on how NATO could win with conventional weapons.

Given the likely scale of the Soviet offensive, NATO had to win the initial battle. "From the beginning," Marshall said, "we knew that would require new weapons, but I also firmly believed they could only be effective if combined with a new doctrine, based on a careful study of how Soviet forces would fight."[4]

"We began to look more closely than others had previously done at the way Soviet forces did things, and why they did them that way," Marshall explained. "We not only monitored exercises, but studied training manuals and models or matrixes that the general staff used to assess the balance of forces. It was clear that Soviet commanders feared that if subordinates were not pushed, there would be inertia. The battle plans, therefore, had to be built around creating mass and momentum. To facilitate this, they relied heavily on standardized procedures."[5] NATO would have to exploit the weaknesses inherent in such a regimented approach to warfare to win the initial battle.

General David Jones, the commander of the American Air Force in Europe, was quick to realize that he now needed to concentrate on breaking up Soviet forces close to the front line, not just the reinforcements moving up from the rear. This would require the Air Force to work more closely with the Army.

In 1975, the Air Force opened its "Red Flag" training school in Nevada. With the help of a Soviet pilot who had defected with the latest Soviet interceptor and Israelis who had fought both Soviet and Soviet-trained pilots over the Middle East, a mini-Soviet air force was established with Soviet aircraft captured by the Israelis.[6]

Within a few years, the Army had a similar institution in the desert of California, where a "Red Division," equipped with captured and replica Soviet tanks, fought like Russians. American units that

trained against them always lost. They were relieved to learn that Reds won in large part because they had fought more battles together than had any of the teams that took them on. Practice made perfect.

General William DePuy, who headed the U.S. Army's Training and Doctrine Command, took this work further by revolutionizing tactics and training further in 1976 which effected the biggest change in U.S. Army doctrine since World War II. Instead of confronting Soviet forces in Europe with well-prepared static defense, the army would henceforth pursue "active defense," which meant that they could counterattack with ground troops well beyond their own front line.[7]

At this time, some old German officers explained first to the British, then to the Americans, that during World War II, they had treated the whole Eastern Front as one huge theater of military operations.[8] This was the only region in which their army and their air force had worked closely together. The British and the Americans began to ponder how NATO could exploit this idea.

A Revolution in Military Affairs

In parallel with this new thinking about how to fight the Russians, a technological revolution was also taking place in military affairs.

One of the first ground breaking studies commissioned by Marshall was *The Comparison of Soviet and U.S. Weapons*. The study showed that new Soviet equipment was as good as or better than that which the Americans were producing except—and this was a big exception—in the field of electronics.[9] The message was clear. NATO could only regain the advantage by exploiting advanced technology.

At this time, in 1974, the Defense Nuclear Agency and the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency sponsored a study that showed that the revolution taking place in the accuracy of weapons would soon make it possible to use conventional substitutes for nuclear weapons. Within a year, work had started on a completely new range of heat-seeking and terminally guided weapons that were together called "assault-breaker." At Marshall's urging, the Defense Intelligence Agency began to work out how these weapons might be used to best effect.[10]

A "revolution in military affairs" was underway, and Moscow knew it. On 14 December 1975, Yuri Andropov, the head of the KGB, warned the Soviet Politburo that such new weapons could dramatically increase NATO's ability to thwart any Soviet conventional attack.[11]

This created a serious problem because, by the early 1970s, Soviet leaders had lost their faith in the utility of nuclear weapons. According to Vitaly Tsygichko, a scientific analyst working in the Ministry of Defense, top Soviet generals "understood and believed that the use of [tactical] nuclear weapons by either side would be catastrophic."[12] By 1975, and probably earlier, the Soviet General Staff had already received an "instruction" from the leadership that Soviet forces were never to be the first to use nuclear weapons. There was now even greater pressure on the Soviet military to be able to overwhelm NATO with conventional forces before it could "go nuclear."[13]

Ogarkov's Response

Moscow had a surprise in store for NATO. In 1975, the Soviet Union began testing its new SS-20 mobile missile, which had three MIRV warheads. According to General Andrian Danilevich, this "was a breakthrough, unlike anything the Americans had. We were immediately able to hold all of Europe hostage."[14] This was no exaggeration: the SS-20 could attack targets anywhere in Europe from deep within Soviet territory; some 400 of them would be deployed over the next few years.

As this new nuclear "umbrella" was being put in place, Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov, the new chief of the General Staff, was tasked with developing a credible strategy for defeating NATO with conventional forces alone, which could transform the psychological balance of power in Europe by making the West Europeans doubt that the United States would be able to protect them.

General Danilevich, probably the most talented Soviet strategist of the Cold War era, did the bulk of the work. The results were later encapsulated into a three-volume, top secret "directive" on *The Strategy of Deep Operations (Global and Theater)* that would guide Soviet military operations in time of war. The key innovation was the concept of fighting an integrated air and land battle over a vastly greater area than ever before.

A few people in Washington soon had a good idea of this new strategy, thanks mainly to Colonel

Last Army ID of Colonel Ryszard Kuklinski.

Ryszard Kuklinski, a Polish officer working on the war plans of the Warsaw Pact, and a CIA agent. The scale of Ogarkov's vision stunned those who saw Kuklinski's intelligence. It gave them a sense of shock and awe long before that term entered common parlance.

The central concept was a high-speed offensive launched from under the cover of military exercises in East Germany and Czechoslovakia. Simultaneously, 2,000 aircraft would attack all of NATO's nuclear weapons facilities and seek to pin down NATO aircraft for 48 hours. This latter task was gaining importance because NATO aircraft were soon expected to be carrying "assault breaker" munitions that would be far more effective than conventional bombs against Soviet armored forces. Meanwhile, a massive offensive, involving two million troops, would begin along a front stretching from northern Norway to eastern Turkey.

To suppress NATO defenses, strengthened with nearly 50,000 modern antitank guided missiles, Soviet forces would subject them to an unprecedented artillery and aerial bombardment. The term for it in Russian suggested that it would be of nuclear intensity.

"This new strategy aimed to give the Soviet Union more options than NATO," Phillip Petersen, one of the leading experts on Soviet strategy in the Defense Intelligence Agency, later observed. "Ogarkov," he said, "knew that many in NATO doubted that their political leaders would agree quickly to use nuclear weapons. A key aim, therefore, was to fight the war in such a way as to delay NATO taking the decision to use nuclear weapons until it was too late for them to be able to influence the outcome of the war."[15]

Testing Ogarkov's Strategy

In September 1981, on the plains of the western Soviet Union, General Ogarkov gave NATO a glimpse of his new strategy in Zapad-'81, probably the largest armored Soviet military exercise since 1945. "We monitored this exercise intently," recalled Diego Ruiz-Palmer, who worked with Andy Marshall at the time. "Ogarkov," he pointed out, "showed that over the past three years he had studied closely the ways in which the Americans' 'assault breaker' would work and what action could be taken to minimize their impact."[16]

A key element in Ogarkov's strategy was the new fast moving armored "operational maneuver groups," or OMGs.[17] Mobile artillery and engineers with river-crossing equipment accompanied them to facilitate their advance, with fighter-bombers

How forces in East Germany and Czechoslovakia planned to encircle NATO Forces.
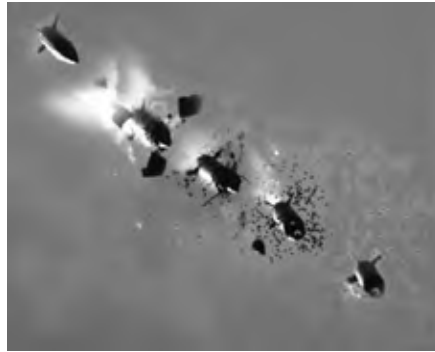
One of the new "assault-breaker" weapons makes its mark.

and attack helicopters providing added firepower. To reduce their vulnerability, they could spread themselves thinly until they were about to attack, while at the same time being accompanied by large numbers of mobile surface-to-air missiles to protect them from NATO air attacks.

The main task of these OMGs was to penetrate deep into West Germany to disrupt the command and control of NATO forces and to seize the remaining nuclear stores, airfields, and key logistic points. Special Forces airlifted behind NATO lines would help them in these tasks. Other OMGs would encircle the main NATO units, but do so much faster than Soviet forces could have done in the seventies. The intent was for Soviet forces to reach the Channel in less than 20 days—and without using nuclear weapons.

Compared with NATO, Soviet conventional forces had never looked so good, especially in the carefully edited Soviet propaganda film that followed. Publicly, Soviet leaders began proclaiming that they had perfected the structure and methods of their forces to the point where they could win a European war with conventional weapons alone.

Much needed to be done, however, before the Soviet forces could realize Ogarkov's concept in full. "Experienced observers knew," Ruiz-Palmer points out, "that every part of these maneuvers had been carefully rehearsed and choreographed. Nearly all those taking part were officers and NCOs, not ordinary soldiers. This was not how it would be in a military operation; it was military propaganda at its best."[18]

The Initial American Response

However, NATO was not willing to let the matter rest. At the close of 1981, just three months after Zapad-81, General Bernard Rogers, the Supreme Allied Commander, Europe of the day, received a personal and top-secret briefing at his headquarters at Mons in Belgium. His briefers were the two DIA analysts who were most knowledgeable about Ogarkov's plans. When they had finished, Rogers reportedly told them, "For the first time in my career, I really feel that I am getting inside the mind of my adversary."[19] General Rogers was quick to realize that NATO had much to learn from Ogarkov.

While NATO was getting its act together, Ogarkov's was running into trouble. At almost the same time that General Rogers received his briefing, Marshal Dmitri Ustinov, the Soviet minister of defense, was telling his Warsaw Pact colleagues that the balance of power between NATO and the Warsaw Pact was "at the moment not in our favor."[20] His statement reflected a sudden and marked decline in Soviet confidence.

One major factor certainly was the rise of the Solidarity Movement, led by Lech Walesa, in Poland. Even after the imposition of martial law on 13 December 1981, Poland could not be considered a reliable ally. And to make matters worse, when Moscow learned that Kuklinski had defected to the Americans, Ogarkov had to face the unpleasant fact that his new war plans were no longer secret.

Transforming the Battle

Marshal Ustinov's change of outlook is also likely to have stemmed from a full assessment of the

> *"For the first time in my career, I really feel that I am getting inside the mind of my adversary."*
>
> —General Bernard Rogers, 1981

new "revolution in military affairs"—a revolution in which the Americans were pushing the competition beyond Soviet reach—from electronics into the realm of micro-electronics.[21]

Soviet military intelligence would not have had great difficulty in obtaining copies of brochures that American defense contractors were using to persuade the military that the second generation of "assault-breaker" weapons would be far more effective than the first.

These brochures, which contained a lot of hype, drew heavily on a film produced in 1979 that showed aircraft dropping "bomblets" whose heat-seeking sensors enabled them to home-in on tanks with devastating effect. The film, however, was a cleverly edited version of the first test of the new weapons a year earlier. Each of the "bomblets" was hand-made and had cost a fortune. They were strung on wires across a canyon directly above lines of tanks that were not moving. But they did work. And Soviet military intelligence probably also knew that the Americans were testing helicopters that could identify moving objects up to 40 kilometers (km) behind the front line.[22]

In addition, within two years they expected the Americans to bring into service cruise missiles with a range of 2,500 km that could destroy hardened targets which were previously only vulnerable to a nuclear attack. This would expose the whole territory of the Warsaw Pact to a speedy conventional attack from the outbreak of hostilities.

While Soviet military intelligence seems to have grossly overestimated the pace at which NATO would deploy the new "assault-breaker" munitions, it was not a bad error to make—its main message was that the Soviet Union faced a challenge that it could not match.

By the end of 1982, Marshal Ustinov was referring rather coyly to "unsolved problems and difficulties" in the development of the Soviet economy.[23] There was now little prospect of Ogarkov acquiring the extremely costly weapons he needed if he was going to win—the accurate missiles with conventional warheads that could close NATO airfields and destroy its nuclear facilities and the high-performance aircraft that would give the Soviets air superiority from the outset of the war.

Three months later, President Reagan jabbed a very raw Soviet nerve. On 23 March 1983, he launched his Strategic Defense Initiative (more popularly known as "Star Wars"). He called on scientists to render nuclear missiles "impotent and obsolete" by developing an impenetrable network of ground and space-based systems that could destroy missiles in flight.[24] Many in the United States were skeptical about the feasibility of this initiative, but Soviet leaders feared it might succeed. They were really shaken by the strategic implications of the arms race moving into space.

Shortly after Reagan's announcement, a telling insight into Soviet weakness arose during a conversation Marshal Ogarkov had with a former American arms controller. Ogarkov told the American, "In America, small children play with computers…For reasons you know well, we cannot make computers widely available in our society. We will never catch up with you in modern arms, until we have an economic revolution. And the question is whether we can have an economic revolution without a political revolution."[25]

Worse was yet to come. In September 1983, Soviet air defense forces shot down a South Korean airliner that had strayed into Soviet airspace. Moscow's strident defense of its action reduced the considerable opposition in Europe to NATO deploying Pershing II and cruise missiles to counterbalance the Soviet SS-20s. This was very bad news for Moscow as the Soviets feared that the Pershing IIs could reach Moscow in less than 10 minutes, which would not give the Soviet leadership time to retaliate; similarly, Soviet radar would have considerable

President Ronald Reagan addresses the Nation from the Oval Office on National Security (Strategic Defense Initiative speech), 23 March 1983.

difficulty detecting the terrain-hugging cruise missiles. The first missiles arrived in Western Europe in November 1983.[26]

At the operational level NATO was beginning to turn the tables on the Soviets. By the early 1980s, the U.S. Army in Europe had moved from the doctrine of "active defense" to that of the "air-land battle," which involved the close coordination of ground and air forces. Meanwhile, General Nigel Bagnall, a distinguished military historian, returned to Germany to command the British Corps. Bagnall firmly believed that the weak could defeat the strong and he devoted much time to showing those under his command how this could be done.[27]

In his efforts to find a way to thwart a Soviet offensive, Bagnall received highly valuable help from an unexpected quarter. Colonel Ghulam Dastagir Wardak had studied at the Voroshilov General Staff Academy in Moscow in the mid-1970s, where he had secretly taken detailed lecture notes in an obscure Afghan script. After the Soviet invasion of his country, Colonel Wardak came into contact with the Americans in Pakistan. His notes were of great value to NATO, but most important, Wardak had been trained as a Soviet officer, thought like a Soviet officer, and fought like one.

In 1983, General Bagnall invited Wardak to command a full Soviet army in a war game that he was holding at his headquarters.[28] To British amazement, Wardak immediately threw a full division in an almost suicidal attack on their heavily defended front line. The British responded by committing their reserves. While they were pinned down, other divisions under Wardak's command swept through the weaker Belgian forces to the south and those of the Dutch to the north, thereby not only encircling the whole of the British force, but that of the Germans as well.

For Bagnall, the pain of seeing his commanders humiliated by an Afghan on the plains of Germany was more than offset by the new insight that he had gained into Soviet thinking. Indeed, this experience reinforced Bagnall's conviction that to defeat a highly coordinated Soviet offensive, NATO not only needed a well-coordinated defense, but also the ability to launch powerful counteroffensives.[29] On taking command of the Northern Army Group in 1983, Bagnall worked closely with similarly minded senior German and French officers to develop a highly innovative and flexible approach to thwarting a Soviet offensive.

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NATO's self-confidence continued to grow as the Americans showed that in just 10 days they would be able to fly in five extra divisions to join up with their equipment which would be waiting and ready for them in Europe.[30] This represented a formidable addition to NATO's capability.

The Turning Point—1985

On becoming the Soviet leader in March 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev pushed forward the fresh approach to East-West relations that he had first signaled during his famous talks with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in London in December 1984. He wanted, he said, to see both sides' nuclear and conventional arsenals sharply pruned back.

Within the Politburo, there was growing awareness of the country's economic problems. As Marshal Akhromeyev later put it, "The Soviet Union could not continue the confrontation with the United States and NATO after 1985. The economic resources for such a policy had been practically exhausted."[31]

This was one reason why Gorbachev had been delighted. Shortly before his death in December 1984, Marshal Ustinov, the minister of defense, had demoted Marshal Ogarkov. Gorbachev detested Marshal Ogarkov, mainly for wanting to pour even more money into revamping Soviet conventional forces in readiness for a war that Gorbachev was determined they would never fight.[32]

In Western capitals, however, there was considerable suspicion over Gorbachev's real intentions. NATO pressed ahead with its plans to strengthen the alliance. One of the great enhancements came about in 1985, when NATO adopted the doctrine of follow-on forces attack.[33] For the first time, the supreme allied commander, Europe, could coordinate conventional attacks across East Germany and deep into Poland.

The transformation that had taken place in NATO's Northern Army Group had greatly increased the ability to mount such attacks. Since Bagnall had

taken command of it in 1983, the British, Dutch, Belgian, German and American forces in the group had trained to fight as one army that could exploit its superior flexibility, concentration of force, and ability to surprise. Bagnall kept telling his commanders not to follow his orders, but to use their initiative.[34]

Follow-on forces attack and Bagnall's approach to fighting the Soviets were both closely tied to the gathering momentum of NATO's "revolution in military affairs." This provided an intellectual framework to adapt the latest American technology to the realities of the European battlefield. The key task was to break the offensive by Soviet armored forces and close down the airfields from which air support originated.

One NATO aircraft could destroy up to 100 more targets with the new types of "assault breaker" weapons than with previous conventional munitions.[34] Even so, efficient targeting remained essential as the initial Warsaw Pact attack alone could involve up to 40,000 tanks, armored personnel carriers, and artillery systems.

Ted Warner, a defense expert who rose later to be assistant secretary of defense for strategy, emphasized, "One of the greatest innovations was what we called the 'recce-strike.'"[35] NATO was now developing a surveillance aircraft, the J-STAR, which could identify targets on the ground up to 250 kms away. Once the J-Star or other aircraft had identified a target, high-powered computers could then locate aircraft already in the air that had the right munitions and were near the target and then flash them the coordinates for the attack.

For the first time, the Americans were moving toward gaining the upper hand—not in defense, but in attack.

Keeping Up the Pressure

At the Reykjavik summit in November 1986, Presidents Reagan and Gorbachev had similar views on the need for deep arms cuts in nuclear missiles. Deadlock ensued, however, when Reagan would not agree to link the cuts to tight restrictions on developing weaponry for the Strategic Defense Initiative, or "Star Wars," as it was more widely known.

Despite this setback, Gorbachev still felt the need to find a way forward.[36] In early 1987, he decided to break the ice and agreed to the negotiation of a separate treaty on intermediate-range nuclear forces

without any preconditions about restraints on the Strategic Defense Initiative.

Gorbachev's willingness to eliminate the SS-20 missiles symbolized his rejection of Ogarkov's strategy. After all, the SS-20 had made Ogarkov's strategy possible in the first place, and then threatened Soviet security by provoking NATO to deploy Pershing II and cruise missiles.

On 28 May 1987, Mathias Rust, a 19-year-old West German, flew a Cessna light aircraft 1,000 kilometers across the Soviet Union and landed it right in Red Square, close to Gorbachev's office in the Kremlin—without anyone trying to stop him. That same day, at their meeting in East Berlin, the leaders of the Warsaw Pact called for reductions in conventional armed forces and armaments to a level that would preclude surprise attacks and "offensive operations in general."[37] Gorbachev quickly took advantage of the Rust incident to sack the minister of defense and many senior officers, thus making it easier for him to push forward the reform of Soviet strategy in Europe.

Despite these signs of flexibility from Moscow, General Rogers set out in the autumn of 1987 to undermine Soviet confidence by staging the largest and most innovative exercises that NATO had ever held. In northern Germany, General Bagnall's concept of using large armored reserves to launch a counterblow against a Soviet breakthrough was tested in exercise Certain Strike, which involved nearly 80,000 men, 35,000 flown in from the United States.[38] For the first time, all of these forces, from five different countries, were under the commander of NATO's Northern Army Group, not their respective national commanders.

France contributed 20,000 troops to a similar exercise in southern Germany, called Bold Sparrow. This was the largest-ever French contingent to deploy to Germany in support of NATO—and it was the first time that France's new *Force d'Action Rapide* had crossed the Rhine.

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Following the signing of the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty at the Washington Summit in December 1987, there was considerable euphoria in the West. Not only were many people claiming that the Cold War was virtually over, but a growing number of politicians were calling for a "peace dividend" based on immediate, unilateral cuts in Western defense expenditure, with the savings redirected to deal with urgent economic and social issues.[39]

This prospect alarmed several Western leaders and their military advisers, who pointed out that the Warsaw Pact buildup was continuing and the Warsaw Pact had a massive preponderance of conventional forces in Europe. Terminating NATO's own long-planned buildup, in which it had invested a huge amount of money and political capital, would leave the alliance at a grave disadvantage if the Soviet Union rejected Gorbachev's approach and relations became confrontational once more. NATO was also keen to see deep cuts in Soviet forces in Eastern Europe so that these countries would have a better chance of regaining their freedom.

Checkmate

With military expenditure continuing to rise, Gorbachev told his colleagues in February 1988, "It's clear now that without substantially cutting military expenditures, we cannot solve the problems of perestroika."[40] The crucial question that Gorbachev had to address urgently was how big he wanted the cuts to be—and whether he thought the military would accept them.

Within months of Bold Sparrow, secret Soviet military journals ran articles warning that new technology was threatening tanks with obsolescence. The Soviet minister of defense, Marshal Dmitri Yazov, compounded the depression of his colleagues when he lamented that the West had developed electronic warfare capabilities that the Soviet Union simply could not match. This was probably a reference to reports from an American agent, working for both the East Germans and the Soviets, that the United States could now insert false messages into the Warsaw Pact communications networks—which could have disastrous consequences in time of war.

In the spring of 1988, the Warsaw Pact staged its first large-scale exercise that was purely defensive,

The Soviet minister of defense… lamented that the West had developed electronic warfare capabilities that the Soviet Union simply could not match.

followed by a limited three-week counteroffensive that halted after NATO forces had been expelled from Eastern Europe. "This period," Marshal Akhromeyev said, "would have provided leaders on both sides with ample time to terminate the war."[41]

Shortly after taking command of all NATO forces on the central front, General Hans-Henning von Sandrart issued the first "Operational Guidance for the Central Region."[42] This document pulled together the main elements of the new, dynamic strategy. NATO once again drove home the message about its growing prowess. That autumn NATO conducted Reforger 88, the biggest single exercise it had ever held, involving over 120,000 men. In this exercise, NATO tested both its new ideas and equipment.

NATO leaders felt they had finally gained the upper hand. They had admired Ogarkov for thinking big and coordinating his operations across a huge theater of military operations; now they had shown that they could not only respond in a similar way, but had the ability to defeat forces much larger than their own. As Diego Ruiz-Palmer once graphically put it, "In military terms, this was the public execution of Marshal Ogarkov outside NATO headquarters."[43]

Wanting Rapid Progress

Although work was progressing well on the Strategic Arms Reductions Treaty, it was clear that the Senate would not be willing to ratify the treaty until major cuts had been agreed on conventional forces in Europe, negotiations on which were to resume in Vienna in March 1989. Gorbachev did not object to this because as part of his efforts to build a new relationship with Western Europe, he also wanted such an accord. Just as important, deep cuts in conventional forces would free up more resources for the Soviet economy than cuts in strategic nuclear missiles would.[44]

In his historic address at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri, in 1946, Winston Churchill spoke of the Iron Curtain that had cut Europe in half. When Gorbachev gave his first speech to the United Nations, in December 1988, he wanted to show that he was now lifting that curtain.

In his speech, Gorbachev first emphasized the importance of the global interests of humanity, then went on to make the dramatic announcement that, over the next two years, Soviet forces would be cut by 500,000 men, and six of its armored divisions in Eastern Europe would be disbanded.[45] Moscow, he assured his listeners, was not going to use force against Eastern Europe or anywhere. Gorbachev received a standing ovation.

As Anatoly Chernayev, his foreign affairs adviser, later told me, "Gorbachev wanted to cause a sensation—and he did." He also caught the American establishment off-guard, though Secretary of State Shultz later recalled feeling that "if anybody declared the end of the Cold War, [Gorbachev] did in that speech: It was over."[46]

Few Western leaders went so far as Shultz, publicly or privately, but most accepted that Gorbachev was moving briskly in addressing some of the remaining contentious issues of the Cold War. The large, unilateral cuts he had announced in Soviet conventional forces would put NATO and the Warsaw Pact on an equal footing.

The immediate gain was that when the negotiations reducing conventional forces in Europe resumed in Vienna in March 1989, there was now hope of a real breakthrough. For the first time, the Soviet Union was likely to table credible figures on the number of its troops and the equipment it would have in Europe once the announced unilateral cuts had been implemented. That would provide a realistic basis on which the two sides could discuss deep and rapid cuts.

Within a year, the Berlin Wall came down, and the long-dreamed-for unification of Germany soon became a reality. When the treaty on conventional forces was signed in Paris on 19 November 1990, Soviet Minister of Defense Marshal Yazov could not contain his fury. He ranted to his colleagues, "This treaty means we have lost World War III without a shot being fired."[47] Gorbachev's critics were gaining popular support and in just over a year, he would be gone.

Although there is no doubt in my mind that Gorbachev wanted to cut nuclear and conventional forces, I do not believe that they would ever have been so deep or come so quickly had NATO not pursued the well-thought-out strategy that I have just outlined. Moreover, NATO's strategy, I submit, made a crucial contribution towards unifying Germany, freeing Eastern Europe, and ending the Cold War.

Reflecting on the Cold War after it was over, a senior Soviet military intelligence officer said, "The Americans beat us not because they had more tanks, but because they had more think tanks."[48] There was more to it than that, but he was right to underline the power of careful thought, especially in matters of strategy. **MR**

NOTES

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3. Barass, 429.
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5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., 268.
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8. Ibid., 267-268.
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10. Ibid., 199.
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SAVING MILITARY FAMILIES

**Captain Gene Thomas Gomulka,
U.S. Navy, Retired**

Captain Gene Thomas Gomulka is a military family life consultant with over 30 years of counseling experience. He holds a bachelor and doctorate in sacred theology from the University of St. Thomas Aquinas, Rome, Italy. He authored The Survival Guide for Marriage in the Military. *One of the most published chaplains in recent history, he received the Alfred Thayer Mahan Award for "literary achievement and inspirational leadership" from the Secretary of the Navy.*

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PHOTO: A U.S. Navy personnel specialist from the amphibious assault ship USS Boxer gives his wife a farewell embrace 9 January 2009, in San Diego. (U.S. Navy, Mass Communication Specialist 2d Class Daniel Barker)

MILITARY COMMANDERS who recognize the critical relationship between family readiness and mission readiness are deeply concerned about the high divorce rate of military couples, as well as increasing suicide rates among military active duty personnel and veterans. Evidence in 2008 indicates that the Department of Veterans Affairs downplayed both the number of successful suicides and attempted suicides by veterans. A number of military spouse and veterans groups believe that the divorce rate, as calculated by the Department of Defense, seriously underestimates the extent of marital problems in the armed services, particularly ongoing problems among those who have made multiple combat deployments.

Army chaplain Glen Bloomstrom, while serving as director of ministry initiatives for the Army Chief of Chaplains, reported that in an informal survey of Soldiers and their spouses or significant others conducted by the Army in February 2005, those surveyed rated the loss of a relationship as their top deployment concern—even above personal death or injury. A Navy chaplain's research, conducted while assigned to an operational Marine Corps battalion, supported this finding. Following his return from Iraq, the chaplain and a sergeant from his unit paid a visit to a comrade who had lost a limb from wounds sustained in combat. While driving back from their visit, the sergeant told the chaplain that he would gladly have suffered the loss of his own arm or leg rather than suffer the loss of his wife who was currently divorcing him and seeking custody of their son. At that point, the chaplain realized his unit had suffered copiously more "casualties" than actually appeared in official reports.

Soldiers and Marines have shouldered the burden of most of the fighting in Iraq and Afghanistan. Given the high stress levels endured among military families after years of multiple combat tours and lengthy deployments, it is no surprise that divorces among enlisted Soldiers and Marines reached a 16-year high in fiscal year 2008. There were nearly 1,000 more divorces among enlisted Soldiers in 2008 than in 2007.

Chaplains who counsel service members with marital problems are familiar with the negative impact that deployments and the stressful reali-

ties of military life place upon relationships. One chaplain recalls working with Rob and Deb, who married just before Rob's 12-month deployment to Iraq. What neither spouse anticipated was Deb's immediate pregnancy and Rob's absence during the birth of their daughter. Even though Rob's basic pay was tax-free while serving in a combat zone, the couple experienced financial problems, which further added to the stress Rob was experiencing while in harm's way. Rob returned from Iraq a changed man, and Deb was also different than the young, immature woman Rob had left behind. With no desire ever to deploy again, Rob decided against reenlisting, even though he did not have employment upon completion of his service obligation. The couple's relationship worsened following Rob's separation from the military; they subsequently divorced. Within three months of their divorce, after his increased consumption of alcohol did not overcome his loneliness and feelings of failure, Rob committed suicide.

Because of the number of divorces and suicides that take place after service members leave the armed services, military divorce and suicide rates are far greater than current statistics reveal. Dr. Ira R. Katz, Veteran Affairs deputy chief patient care services officer for mental health, reports, "Suicide prevention coordinators are identifying about 1,000 suicide attempts per month among the veterans we see in our medical facilities."[1]

According to data gathered by CBS News and analyzed by Dr. Steve Rathburn, the acting head of the Epidemiology and Biostatistics Department at the University of Georgia, suicides in 2005 among returning combat veterans aged 20 through 24 were "between two and four times higher than civilians the same age."[2] Vice Chief of Staff of the Army General Peter Chiarelli reviewed investigations on Soldier suicides, which reached a three-decade high in 2008, and reported that in over 70 percent of the cases, "you have one constant, and that was a problem with a relationship."[3] The problems do not appear to be diminishing as the Army counted a record high 64 possible suicides in the first four months of 2009.[4] Thomas Insel, the director of the National Institute of Mental Health and a highly respected psychiatric researcher, posited that "the suicides and psychiatric mortality of this war could trump the combat deaths."[5]

> *…the suicides and psychiatric mortality of this war could trump the combat deaths.*

The Effects of Relationship Problems

The Pentagon does not account for actual divorces. Instead, they take the total number of troops who are married at the beginning of the fiscal year in each service and compare it to the total number of troops who are married at the end of the year. The difference between the two figures becomes the estimated number of marriages that ended in divorce during the year. There are a number of problems inherent in this method of calculation. For example, because people in the military tend to remarry faster than civilians, a service member who divorces in January and subsequently remarries by September fails to be recorded as a divorce statistic. At the same time, two service members married to each other that divorce count as two single and separate divorces unless they remarry or leave military service before the end of the fiscal year. Because some service members will enter the armed forces and others will depart the service within the course of the year, those who are counted at the beginning of the year are not all accounted for at the end.

A more important reason for underestimating the divorce problem in the military involves the number of military personnel whose marriages end in divorce within a year or two after leaving the armed services. Paul Rieckhoff, executive director of Iraq and Afghanistan Veterans of America, argues that Pentagon divorce statistics are too low because they fail to account for "troops who divorce after leaving the military, the divorce rates of National Guardsmen and Reservists, and the number of marriages intact but in trouble."[6]

There are numerous reasons why service members in problematic relationships often wait until they separate from the military before getting divorced. Many couples want to keep the benefits that married personnel and their family members have as long as possible, benefits that will be discontinued once the service member is no longer

on active duty. Service members living in family housing may be reluctant to return to living in confined single quarters or have their basic allowance for housing rates slashed. With health care costs very high today, spouses might wish to hold on to their health benefits as long as they can, even if it means remaining legally married to someone they no longer love.

Because certain states require a period of time for legal separation before a divorce decree is granted, some military couples are not able to complete that period while the military spouse is still on active duty. Even though such couples usually divorce shortly after the service member has completed the service obligation, their divorce is never reflected in Department of Defense divorce statistics.

A final reason personnel divorce after they are separated from the military involves the Servicemembers Civil Relief Act. The Act affords service members the right to request a delay in civil proceedings like divorce. Those on long-term deployments often invoke this provision; consequently, some couples can only finalize their divorce after the service member has returned from a long deployment that may coincide with the end of the obligated service.

Stacy Bannerman is a military spouse and the creator and director of Sanctuary Weekends for Women Veterans and Wives of Combat Veterans. In a recent AlterNet article entitled, "Broken Military Marriages: Another Casualty of War," she wrote, "Military marriages are at increasingly high risk of failure...More than 13,000 military marriages ended last year…and combat is the cause."[7] She also reported that a study published in *Armed Forces & Society* reveals that male combat veterans were 62 percent more likely than civilian males to have at least one failed marriage. While divorce rates among returning male combat veterans are high, divorce rates for women in the Army and Marine Corps are nearly three times that of their counterpart male Soldiers and Marines.

Reasons for High Military Divorce Rates

David Rudd, the Texas Tech psychologist who was chosen by the Department of Defense to lead a three-year study intended to reduce suicidal death among veterans, would be wise to research and

…divorce rates for women in the Army and Marine Corps are nearly three times that of their counterpart male Soldiers and Marines.

address not only the symptoms of veteran suicides, but also their principal causes, particularly problematic relationships. To reduce high divorce and suicide rates among service members and veterans, he should address the three major causes:

● The young age at which many servicemen and servicewomen marry.

● Financial problems that contribute to stress and lead to complications in relationships.

● Multiple long-term deployments, particularly in combat zones, that can result in medical and mental problems, including post-traumatic stress disorder.[8]

Chaplain Frank Muñoz is assigned to Marine Air Group Eleven based in Miramar, California. Early in his career, he recognized that he had to increase the median age at which many of his Marines were marrying if he was going to reduce marital problems and divorces. What the chaplain learned was confirmed by the 2007 RAND Corporation study, *Families under Stress*, which concluded, "Programs and policies that minimize or delay entry into marriage are likely to reduce rates of marital dissolution as well."[9] While the median age of people marrying in the United States is 27.7 for men and 26.0 for women, many service men and women marry when they are younger, to discover only later that they are not prepared to cope with the challenges that both marriage and military life bring.

The emphasis on prevention must be adopted by chaplains, counselors, and others involved in the social sciences. The likelihood of divorce can be reduced by both preventing unhappy marriages from occurring and by altering the course of marriages that have gone poorly. As one human behavior writer noted, "Preventing unhappy, destructive marriages is much cheaper—in dollars and in human misery—than attempts to clean up the toxic waste that follows them."[10]

One effective way of encouraging young service members in their teens and early twenties to

consider postponing their marriage plans is to use military self-help relationship inventories. These inventories are designed to raise questions that identify areas of concern and assess the couple's true potential to prevent divorce. Chaplain Miles Barrett, the command chaplain at the U.S. Coast Guard Training Center in Cape May, New Jersey, compares the marriage and military-life inventory to the effective counseling of alcoholics. If he were counseling a Marine who exhibits all of the signs of alcoholism, he would not state, "Your problem is that you're an alcoholic." Instead, he would help the individual understand the symptoms of alcoholism and lead the service member to self-identity and state, "Chaplain, I think my problem is that I am an alcoholic."

Likewise, instead of saying to a recruit, "You're too young to get married and you need to wait," Chaplain Barrett will make marriage and military-life relationship inventories available to recruits and their potential spouses to use. When a young recruit and his potential life partner respond to the inventory, which involves detailed questions about personal communication, finances, conflict resolution, children, and other major relationship issues, many are led on their own to realize and say, "Maybe it would be best if we waited a

little longer." Others may decide to proceed with their wedding plans, but acknowledge, "We need to develop a budget and stick to it if we're ever going to save up enough money to start a family." By reducing the number of marriages by young recruits, who often divorce within a few years, and by assisting those who do marry to better prepare themselves to cope with the challenges of marriage and military life, Commander Barrett helps lower the high military divorce rate as well as the spouse abuse and suicide rate, all of which derive in part from problematic relationships.

The second reason for the high divorce rate among active duty personnel and veterans is finances. Financial problems that place high stress on relationships are often the result of poor budgeting and financial mismanagement. Instead of limiting spending to those items that they can afford to pay for in cash, some couples use credit cards to delay payment, without a plan to pay off the debt. Many couples only pay the minimum amount on their credit card statements, thus incurring high interest charges and significantly increasing the cost of the items. Few couples save and invest a percentage of their income for later needs. Some young married couples spend an inordinate amount of money on entertainment and expensive electronic "toys." Married enlisted personnel with children, particularly E-1s through E-5s, can find themselves living from payday to payday if they are not disciplined enough to budget and save their money.

A third cause for marital problems, divorces, and even suicides among active duty personnel and veterans is the loneliness that can occur during deployments and the resulting medical and mental problems that can arise when a service member returns from a combat tour. Although the RAND Corporation reported that evidence linking deployments and the demands of military life to failed marriages "remains sparse," it did note that "the strongest evidence...comes from interviews and surveys of military spouses."[11] Had the RAND study included data involving veterans who divorce within one or two years of leaving active duty service, the researchers would have had more than enough "evidence" to link failed marriages with multiple deployments.

U.S. Soldiers are gathered at Panzer Kasern, Boeblingen, Germany, to deploy to Iraq, 31 May 2009.

U.S. Army, Martin Greeson

When Paul Olson returned from a tour in Iraq where he served as an Army company commander, his wife, Erin, was interviewed by Ashley Stetter of the *Army News Service* about how she coped with their long separation. She said she spent time wondering where her husband was, what he was doing, and whether he was thinking of her and the baby they were expecting. Having witnessed a number of problems that other wives were having, she noted, "I've seen many marriages fall apart due to the stress that deployments put on Soldiers and their families. Life in the Army is hard, and you have to be truly committed to the other person and the life you've built together in order for it to last."[12]

Licensed counselor and retired Navy chaplain David A. Thompson works with the Minnesota National Guard in the Beyond the Yellow Ribbon Program, which assists Minnesota National Guard and reservists and their families. The program focuses on reintegrating guard personnel and reservists into their civilian and family life after extended deployments to Iraq and Afghanistan. After witnessing the dissolution of many marriages following 12-month deployments or longer, he has no doubts about how relationships can be harmed or dissolved because of multiple long-term deployments. He maintains, "If couples have good communication skills, strong support networks, and skills in being resilient, they have a good chance of weathering the 'storm of deployment.' If they lack these tools in their toolbox or don't know how to use them, they are high risk candidates for marital problems at the end of a deployment."

The Yellow Ribbon Program, conceived by Major General Larry Shelito and Chaplain John Morris, trains personnel and families to deal with deployments through—

● Family prep academies—60 days before deployment.

● Family readiness academies for family members—30-60 days before service members return from deployments.

● Reintegration training events after deployments for service personnel and their families.

Programs to Help

With the accelerated operational tempo following the 2001 terrorist attacks, all of the military services have developed both predeployment programs that assist personnel and families preparing for the stress associated with deployments and post-deployment programs to help personnel make a smooth transition back and overcome the challenges of reintegration.

To be successful, programs need to help service and family members express their feelings. *The Survival Guide for Marriage in the Military*, used in the Beyond the Yellow Ribbon Program, provides topics that stimulate discussion among married couples. This program is highly successful in reducing relationship problems following deployments. It has become the national model throughout the military.

Although the military has chaplains and licensed counselors who offer partnership programs that can strengthen relationships and develop important skills, many people in the military community do not use these services. For example, when a marriage enrichment retreat was scheduled for a major naval installation that hosts over 100 tenant commands and employs some 19,000 personnel, only two couples attended the all-expenses paid weekend event. Unfortunately, only a very small percentage of married and single service members attend chaplain-sponsored retreat programs, and many of those that avail themselves of counseling services only do so when their problems have reached a critical and often incurable stage.

> *…those that avail themselves of counseling services only do so when their problems have reached a critical and often incurable stage.*

Proactive Marketing Strategy

In an effort to encourage personnel and couples to make early use of counseling services and support programs, the chiefs of chaplains and family support directors might consider employing a marketing strategy similar to that used to sell commercial products. For an example, a department or grocery store offers shoppers sample products. Whether it is perfume or a new food item, if the sample is pleasing, the customer may purchase the product. As another example, movie

previews online, in a theater, or on a DVD often entice people to watch the movie in a theater or rent or purchase the DVD. This sales technique requires offering a training presentation to all personnel, during which dynamic speakers would offer salient "samples" or "previews" of beneficial relationship programs participants could register to take. If participants are exposed to a "preview" of the program, a number of them will participate who otherwise would not have. Such a proactive approach could not only increase participation in programs and services offered by chaplains, family support agencies, and Military OneSource, but also get professional assistance to personnel for addressing problematic issues before they reach the critical and irreparable stage.

Similar to the sales approach used by those selling time-share properties, it is critical that participants sign up for the programs that interest them immediately, before departing the training session. Those who signed-up should receive a personal follow-up phone call or email within a week from the sponsoring program representative. If the "sample" presentation at the training session is dynamic, if the sign-up process is immediate and simple, and if contact with interested service members is timely, then one should expect a 50 percent participation increase in programs designed to mitigate the effects that youth and immaturity, inexperience with

financial management, and deployments have on personal relationships, particular those of married personnel and their loved ones.

Those who work to strengthen relationships need to take steps to increase the use of services provided by chaplains and family support counselors. To improve military family life, we need to evaluate programs that are designed to strengthen the relationship between family readiness and mission readiness and market them better to reduce problems that stem from troubled relationships and multiple long-term combat deployments. **MR**

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AMBUSH AND AFTERMATH

Contractors and Bureaucracy on the Interagency Battlefield

Lieutenant Colonel Paul Christopher, U.S. Army, Retired, Ph.D.

LTC Paul Christopher, U.S. Army, retired, lived for two years in Baghdad, Iraq, and is currently a business consultant for an Iraqi-owned company. After graduating from Norwich University in 1972, LTC Christopher served 10 years in Army light infantry units before receiving his Ph.D. from the University of Massachusetts and becoming the director of the philosophy program at the U.S. Military Academy. He is the author of The Ethics of War and Peace: An Introduction to Legal and Moral Issues *and numerous articles on domestic and international humanitarian issues.*

PHOTO: Burnt convoy escort vehicle, August 2004.

(All photos courtesy of the author)

WHEN CONFRONTING BUREAUCRATIC OBSTACLES, common sense should override formal procedures that are in place to serve military missions. Standard procedures are not ends-in-themselves and cannot account for everything. When they get in the way of effective operations, they become liabilities. Soldiers and leaders can foster more synergy and effectiveness by knowing when to override procedure. The people and the mission have to be fundamental in such decisions.

The following narrative describes the aftermath of an ambush on a private logistics convoy supporting the Iraqi Army in August 2004. As a private military contractor, my company was responsible for the security of the convoy. What occurred demonstrates some of the challenges that contractors encounter on the interagency battlefield. This discussion is not an indictment of anyone—it is a description of events from which we can extract lessons. I believe such lessons may help both private military contractors and those in the military who work with them on the common battlefield.

The ambush occurred about 2:00 p.m. on a hot August afternoon. I found out about it at around 5:00 p.m. via cell phone from a colleague who received an email from his friend at a military base in Mosul, about 600 kilometers (400 miles) north of Baghdad. His friend had heard about the attack from some U.S. military personnel stationed there.

My company had 12 American security guards and four Iraqi drivers performing escort for a convoy of 10 flatbeds, driven by Iraqis and loaded with refurbished medium trucks bound for the newly reconstituted Iraqi Army training base at Al Kasik. Al Kasik was the first training base reopened for the newly reconstituted Iraqi military, and there was intense pressure to get it operational as soon as possible. Since my company teamed with an Iraqi company to provide the perimeter security for this base, I knew the desolate nature and danger of the area. The challenge of trying to cobble together the details of an ambush that allegedly occurred somewhere along a 500-kilometer stretch of uninhabited desert highway was intensely frustrating.

In the hours following the first notification, the nightmare began to reveal itself piece by piece: an improvised explosive device detonated along the

highway, at least one American dead, some wounded, trucks burning on the side of the road, no status on the location of the convoy transport trucks, whereabouts of the Iraqi company's convoy drivers unknown.

Sometime in the early morning, exhausted and frustrated, we received word that the injured had been evacuated and the survivors were near Mosul at a military airbase called Diamondback. My driver (Ahmed), his brother (Hussein), a close Lebanese friend (Johnny Haddad), and I jumped in a sedan and headed north. Our plan was to get to all the survivors as a show of corporate support, recover the killed in action (KIA), and come back to Baghdad the same day.

We had computer-generated road maps, but they did not indicate military bases, none of which are marked with road signs because the locations are classified. Nevertheless, all the locals know exactly where the bases are. However, in Iraq, one doesn't stop and ask locals for directions to an American military base. Finding our destination added several hours to our travel time.

Camp Diamondback is an enormous base located around what was once the Mosul International Airport, and my people were housed in trailers adjacent to the combat support hospital. They soon provided the details of what had occurred. My team leader and the Iraqi driver in the lead vehicle were killed, the driver decapitated by the blast—both Americans

Truck hit by IED during the ambush.

in the back seat sustained serious head injuries and were evacuated to military hospitals— the driver of the first transport vehicle was killed—both vehicles were completely destroyed in an inferno. The remaining nine Iraqi transport drivers had disconnected their cabs from the flatbeds and headed back toward Baghdad when the explosion occurred, or so we thought.

My newly promoted team leader also gave me the incredible news that when the survivors limped into the safety of the base following the ambush, all bloody and bearing the seriously wounded, the commanding general of the base had them restricted to their rooms for the night and ordered a lengthy interrogation of the team leader. The team leader had been told, "No one takes military vehicles through my area of operations without my knowledge."

> *…in Iraq, one doesn't stop and ask locals for directions to an American military base.*

Although I needed to visit the general, the mission to find the bodies of the KIA drivers was of greater urgency, and it was getting late. I debriefed my people, got them organized for the drive back, and was about to send them on their way when three of them refused to go. I checked with the health center to ensure they had a place to stay, reorganized my team members so they could get started, and headed to the morgue to find the two drivers—the trucking company's and mine.

"They weren't brought here," the captain at the desk told me. "I suggest you check at one of the military bases nearer the ambush."

"Any suggestions as to where they are or which one I should check with?"

"I have no idea; I have never been outside this base."

Ahmed, Hussein, Johnny Haddad, and I jumped back into our sedan and headed south toward the ambush sight. There are about a dozen military bases along Highway 1 between Mosul and Baghdad, and I figured that we would head south and

knock at the door of each of them, if we could find them. I would need to notify families, and I wanted to have their bodies with me when I did so.

The first base we came to was a place nicknamed "LSA Florida Keys," a logistics supply annex (LSA) about five kilometers east of the highway. It wasn't marked, but Johnny Haddad had been there on a security detail previously, so he knew the turnoff. As soon as we drove inside the gate, Johnny spotted three flatbed trailers with a single military truck loaded on each located inside a fenced cantonment area. Here were three of the Iraqi company's delivery trucks with the cabs attached, so not all had dropped their cargo and returned to Baghdad.

It was getting dark and we had to find a nest for the night. Unfortunately, there were no transient facilities on LSA Florida Keys, so we turned back north to Mosul and Diamondback to find a place to sleep. At night, the highways in Iraq belong to the crazies, so it is prudent for sane people of all nationalities to find a safe place after dark. We would have to return to the Keys in the morning.

We got back to Diamondback about 10:00 p.m. and we soon discovered that finding a cot to sleep on at this base would not be easy, especially for the two Iraqis with me. About midnight, I finally cajoled a young Air Force Airman from Tennessee who was on duty to let us have the last two bare bunk beds in a 12-person, windowless trailer by the flight line. We tried to sleep—two to a bunk—in our clothes without pillows, sheets, or blankets, and with the constant roar of planes landing and taking off a couple of hundred meters away. To make it worse, this was indeed a flight line transient cabin, and the other eight occupants went in and out all night long and had to turn on the single overhead light each time, but at least it was safe.

The next morning we zipped the 100-plus kilometers back along the highway to LSA Florida Keys to recover our trucks and drivers. When we arrived, the three drivers were there checking on their trucks. They provided more bad news. Yes, after the explosion, the drivers of the six other transport trucks had dropped their trailers and headed back to Baghdad. Additionally, the truck that was in the ambush, the one in which the inferno engulfed the driver, also had had an assistant driver, who was thrown from the vehicle by the blast. While my security team drove away with their dead and wounded, they were

The author with his Iraqi bodyguard.

unaware that a seriously wounded Iraqi was in the shrubbery on the side of the road. Not all vehicles have assistant drivers, so they had no way of knowing that he was there. My people should have stayed to check on those they were hired to secure, but 12 people securing ten 18-wheelers on a desolate highway in Iraq, without communications, medical evacuation, or even the potential for reinforcements, makes reactive decision making challenging. Their failure to account for the other driver is a lesson my company took to heart.

There was still more bad news. The base commander at LSA Florida Keys had quarantined the Iraqi drivers and vehicles in a fenced lot and forbidden their departure. The Iraqi transport drivers, none of whom could speak English, had no idea why the Americans were holding them under guard in an open parking lot, they only knew that they were on their second day in restriction and had no food, water, or sleeping accommodations. I left my people with the 18-wheelers and their drivers, flagged down a passing military vehicle, and asked the sergeant driving to take me to the base commander.

The base commander at LSA Florida Keys had quarantined the Iraqi drivers and vehicles in a fenced lot and forbidden their departure.

My meeting with the base commander started unpleasantly enough, with me asking in somewhat impolite terms if these drivers were under arrest, and if so, by what authority. Furthermore, I explained, their cargo consisted of recently refurbished trucks destined for the Iraqi Army at Al Kasik, that a private Iraqi trucking company secured by my company was taking them there, and that the top U.S. military headquarters in Baghdad initiated and paid for the mission. They were *not* U.S. military vehicles and, therefore, of no concern to him. Fortunately, his demeanor softened as did mine.

The base commander explained that he had no alternatives regarding the drivers, because he was under orders from his higher headquarters to hold them until his commander could ascertain why military vehicles were being transported through his area of operations without his knowledge. But he said he would help me locate the KIA drivers. He directed his operations officer to get me maps and locations of all the military bases, to call each of them, and to find out where the KIA from the ambush had been taken. Then he directed another staff officer to bring food, water, and ice to the drivers while I was waiting for the information. With his help, it seemed as if things were starting to happen.

I then found out from his S-3 that the remains of two drivers were at Forward Support Base (FSB) Speicher, just north of Tikrit, and I was provided with maps, locations, and the names of all the military bases between Mosul and Baghdad. I learned that an Army unit had recovered six flatbeds with their loads intact, which had been taken to FSB Tinderbox, also along Highway 1. The meeting ended on good terms. I had had the good fortune to run into an officer who understood that the people and the mission were fundamental priorities.

When I got back to the holding area, my people had gleaned more information from the Iraqi company's truck drivers. We learned that when they could not see the assistant driver in the burning truck, they searched the area and found him beside the road. He was alive, but they had a hard time getting him into one of their cabs (which are six-plus feet off the ground). He probably died in the process of this effort. They had turned the body over to an Iraqi police checkpoint, so I planned to recover his body as well.

I figured that if the general was concerned about U.S. Army trucks moving through his area, I would just leave the trucks on his base and the let the drivers go home. My focus had to be on recovering the drivers' remains, and I was eager to get back on the road and recover the three drivers. As we sped back onto the highway, we encountered more trouble. A bracket that supports the fan belt on our vehicle broke. We were on the side of a highway between Mosul and Tikrit, it was 140 degrees outside, the battery on my satellite phone was dead, and there was not a service station for 100 kilometers in any direction. This is precisely why I like to travel with my Iraqi drivers: they flagged down a vehicle, disappeared for most of the day, returned with the necessary part, and soon had us up and heading south. However, by then it was getting dark again, and I had no hope of finding FSB Speicher at night, much less finding someone on base to help me, so we returned to Baghdad.

The next morning, I sent one driver with a pickup truck into downtown Baghdad to buy three wooden coffins, while the other driver (Ahmed), Johnny Haddad, and I prepared to head to Camp Speicher. I had not anticipated that the family of the deceased driver that worked for my company would be waiting for me in front of my house.

Mohammed Faick was married with two daughters, ages five and six. His family had come to claim his body so that they could give it a final bath and proper burial. I assured them that I was on my way to find Mohammed, and that I would be back later the same day. The plan was to locate the remains of the three drivers, call Hussein, and tell him to bring the coffins while Johnny and I located some ice on base to pack the remains in for the drive back to Baghdad.

I also called the Iraqi truck transport company for which the other two drivers had worked and told them that I planned to be back in Baghdad with the remains. The three of us jumped back into our old Mercedes and sped north past Tikrit to Camp Speicher, another sprawling base located

> *His family had come to claim the body so that they could give it a final bath and proper burial.*

around an airfield. It seemed to take us forever to find the morgue.

The officer at the morgue told me, "Yes, we did receive two very badly burnt corpses from an ambush a few days ago, but we thought they might be Americans, so they have been evacuated to the United States."

"Only two?" I asked.

"Correct."

"They weren't American; they were Iraqis," I said.

"We couldn't tell; they were badly burned," he responded.

"Can I get the bodies returned?"

"I'll see what I can do."

"The families are waiting at my residence in Baghdad for me to bring them today."

"Well, you certainly won't get them today," the officer said with finality.

"Can you give me any idea as to when," I asked.

"I don't know if I can even find out where they are. I'll try. I think they might have been taken to Kuwait."

We exchanged email addresses, and I started for home to face the families.

The father-in-law of my deceased driver was a sophisticated businessman who could speak some English, but he had brought his own translator anyway.

"When can my daughter get her husband's body back?" he asked politely.

"I am trying."

"After 30 years, Americans are still searching for bodies in Vietnam, so you must know how important this is to us."

"Yes."

"I won't believe my husband is dead until I see the body," his wife said. Both she and the translator were crying.

The next day I headed for what was the headquarters of the U.S. Coalition Provisional Authority to ask for help (it is now the Embassy). Everyone seemed concerned and promised speedy resolution.

No one ever contacted me. For several days, I tried to get more information without luck. Either excessive regard for procedures or a lack of concern was slowing the process and getting in the way of a quick resolution for the victim's families. Weeks passed.

In early September, the owners of my company had flown to Florida to notify the family of the

> ## "After 30 years, Americans are still searching for bodies in Vietnam, so you must know how important this is to us."

deceased American, and they were present at his memorial service and funeral. The injured Americans were taken to a hospital in the United States. (One has since been released, the other had serious brain injuries.) The nine trailers and cargo trucks were waiting for us at FSB Tinderbox and Florida Keys for delivery to Al Kasik.

The whereabouts of the dead Iraqi drivers was still unknown at this time. My best efforts to wade through the U.S. bureaucracy and get them returned to their families quickly had failed. The families and loved ones of my driver, pleading for at least a death certificate, waited every day for me in front of my office for information.

In mid-October, I found out that the deceased Iraqis were possibly at a morgue in Maryland. I was told I would eventually need to provide DNA samples from parents and offspring to the morgue for positive identification before anything could be done and that, if the remains were in fact there, they would be transported back to Baghdad if the samples matched.

In January 2005, DNA samples from the parents and children of the deceased were sent back to the morgue in Maryland so the remains might be identified.

Five months later, in June, the spouse of one of the deceased was still waiting in front of my house. She had been there daily since January to ask me if there was any word on the remains of her husband. I could only tell her that we were trying.

While the whereabouts of the remains was still unresolved, I was involved in a mission to deliver ammunition to a U.S. military base in central Iraq. When we arrived at the base, the guard at the gate would not let us in. We were informed that the base commander had prohibited any non-military vehicles on base. Despite my pleading and showing my U.S. military ID card to several military police at the gate, our three 18-wheelers and four security trucks were halted on the road in the middle of a huge clearing while the gate keepers stayed on the

radio trying to get permission for us to enter and deliver *their ammunition.*

After three hours of sitting in the open, the insurgents had time to organize and set up, and we started taking mortar rounds. I ran to the guards and told them we were sitting ducks with trucks loaded with ammo in the open and that they had to let us onto the base. They immediately locked the gate, raised the "dragon's teeth" barriers and explained that standing operating procedures were to close everything down whenever they were attacked either by small arms or indirect fire. As I ran back to tell the drivers to turn around and get out of there, the mortar rounds started landing on both sides of our convoy. The bad guys were adjusting fire. We got the trucks turned around and made the six-hour drive back to Baghdad, arriving late at night, never having delivered our ammunition. When I reported to the logistics management control center the next day to brief them about what happened, they just shrugged their shoulders and went back to drinking coffee. No one cared that we came close to being killed because of bureaucratic apathy.

Later, my company decided to bid on a contract to provide security for oil pipeline rehabilitation. The contracting officer (an Air Force captain), stipulated in her request for a proposal that all proposals for a multi-million dollar "Emergency Oil Pipeline Repair" contract be printed on both sides of recycled paper in five separate volumes, and each volume put into a three-ring binder.

My staff spent hours and hours writing our proposal, but despite numerous attempts via email, I could not get her to waive the submission requirements on the two-sided printing, the recycled paper, or the three-ring binders. Using our little portable desktop printer and printing one page at a time, we finally managed to print the 90-page submission

> *…we came close to being killed because of bureaucratic apathy.*

on both sides of some very low quality paper that I was sure would pass for recycled. But we could not find any three-ring binders.

My Iraqi staff informed me that office supplies in Iraq come from Europe, which uses two-ring binders, and that three-ring binders are only found in the United States. We purchased a bunch of two-ring binders, and I sent them to the motor pool with instructions for them to make me some three-ring binders. It did not work, and we could not get three-ring binders from the United States in time.

After this setback, I wrote the contracting officer and explained the situation to her, and asked if she would accept our submission in five volumes on recycled paper, printed on both sides, in two-ring binders. She wrote me back that any proposals submitted that were not in accordance with the specified format would not be reviewed, including the requirement for three-ring binders. The contract was never awarded to anyone. She rotated out of country, and the security job for pipeline repair went to the U.S. military, using troops who probably would have been better deployed elsewhere.

While I was dealing with this, I continued to pursue the return of the bodies of the convoy drivers to their families in Iraq. Fourteen months after the date of the ambush—thanks to the caring and determined intervention of Vickie Wayne, the deputy in the Project and Contracting Office, U.S. Embassy, Baghdad—the remains (small bags of charred unidentifiable material) of the deceased Iraqi drivers were finally returned to their families.

Understanding that standard procedures are not ends in themselves can help to avoid problems, large and small. My company's experiences are just a sample of the frustrations encountered in wartime. If we do not air these frustrations, there is no chance of minimizing them. The wars in which we now find ourselves are fraught with social complexities that pose challenges with potentially strategic ramifications—and these complexities are all too often avoidable. Avoiding a bureaucratic mind-set that allows us to be lax in our regard for others is something that should command our attention for practical reasons. *MR*

ᴹᴿBook Reviews

THE FOURTH STAR: Four Generals and the Epic Struggle for the Future of the United States Army, David Cloud and Greg Jaffe, Crown Publishing, New York, 2009, 336 pages, $28.00.

At what is arguably the most significant crossroads in recent military history, *The Fourth Star* is a roadmap that guides its readers from the ghosts of the recent past to the promise of America's future. In the most basic terms, it chronicles the journeys of four iconoclastic leaders, men who emerged from the last days of the Vietnam War to assume prominent, influential roles in reshaping the Army into a "flexible, modest, and intellectually nimble force" confronting the uncertainties of 21st century conflict. This is a book for the modern age of conflict, decidedly focusing on the human dimension in recounting a tale that is universally appealing.

The Fourth Star is also a remarkable study in contrast and parallel. Each man—Generals George Casey, John Abizaid, Peter Chiarelli, and David Petraeus—followed a uniquely individual path to success and rose through decades of service to transform the Army together. They came from different backgrounds, had different leadership styles, and possessed vastly different opinions on how best to combat an insurgency amid mounting sectarian violence in Iraq. Ironically, these differences were instrumental in shaping a new direction for the Army when it mattered most.

In sharp contrast to their predecessors at the height of the Vietnam War, these men accepted, even encouraged, intellectual dissention among their staffs, a trait that ensured a vibrant and powerful dialogue over key issues. Their beliefs and ideas often stirred intense debate, but in true iconoclastic fashion they were able to build rapid consensus and achieve unheralded success. They were leaders cut from different molds, but they were ideally suited to the unique challenges posed by a generational conflict that could span decades.

With *The Fourth Star,* authors David Cloud and Greg Jaffe offer an epic of intertwined careers, of four special leaders fighting a common enemy in an uncommon era. Together, the authors weave a captivating story of the ascension of four of the most influential men in modern military history. All four defy convention while at the same time defining a paradigm for contemporary wartime leadership. Equal parts candor and conscience, the book presents each man as a human being at the apex of his profession and as a leader in a modern mold.

What makes *The Fourth Star* unique is its intimate, revealing portraits. While many contemporary military biographies can seem sterile or even distant, Cloud and Jaffe introduce each leader in detail, drawing on extensive interviews, research, and analysis. The raw honesty with which the authors present these paragons of military leadership is at times provocative. *The Fourth Star* introduces these leaders not as stoic characters but as thinking, feeling men who faced the same adversity and personal challenges in life shared by other Army officers. The book is thus more a reflective study on the human condition than most other military biographical literature.

Cloud is a senior policy advisor to Ambassador Karl Eikenberry in Kabul. From 2005 to 2007, he served as the Pentagon correspondent for the *New York Times* and was a national security reporter for the *Wall Street Journal* from 1997 to 2004. Jaffe is the senior Pentagon correspondent for the *Washington Post* and previously held the same position at the *Wall Street Journal*. He shared a Pulitzer Prize in 2000 for his series on defense spending and won the Raymond Clapper Award in 2002 and 2005 for Washington coverage. In 2002, he won the Gerald R. Ford award for defense coverage.

For military readers, *The Fourth Star* is a book with great professional relevance.

**LTC Steve Leonard, USA,
Fort Leavenworth, Kansas**

WAR OF NECESSITY, WAR OF CHOICE: A Memoir of Two Iraq Wars, Richard Haass, Simon and Schuster, New York, 2009, 352 pages, $27.00.

Richard Haass accomplishes what he set out to do as per his title: he has written a memoir. His success in this regard is exactly what makes the book a disappointing read. The majority of this book is simply a record of Haass's personal observations of his service as a member of the National Security Council staff in the first Bush presidency and as head of the State Department's policy planning staff in the second Bush administration. As a memoir, the book succeeds. Haass dutifully recalls events from the two conflicts such as Bush Sr.'s administration's efforts to form a coalition against Iraq, the efforts by the United States to keep Israel out of the Gulf War, Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld's efforts to shape the plan for Iraqi Freedom in such a way that would bring about his own vision for the American military's transformation, intelligence errors regarding the existence of weapons of mass destruction in 2003 Iraq, and the difficulties the United States faced in occupying Iraq. All of this is recorded in clear prose that makes for an easy read.
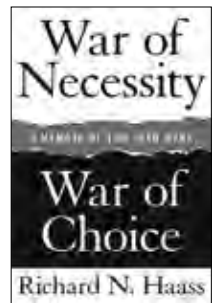
In fact, readers may find themselves nodding in agreement, not in support of anything Haass has written, but simply because they have heard it all before. This is the crux of the problem with this book; there is little in it that one hasn't heard before. In retelling events, Haass favors historical narrative over detailed analysis of the events he witnessed and played a part in.

As a historical narrative, the book's organization is unsurprisingly chronological. It moves from the lead up to and execution of the Gulf War, through the Clinton Administration (during which Haass worked at a number of Washington think tanks), the 9/11 attack, and ultimately the decision to invade Iraq in 2003. Within the narrative, there is little to no effort to compare and contrast the *War of Necessity* and the *War of Choice*. It is not until the final nine-page chapter entitled "Takeaways from Two Wars" that one sees a break from historical narrative and an attempt to provide analysis. Unfortunately, this is a matter of too little too late for readers who want more than a retelling of events they are likely familiar with.

The final chapter of the book brings out quite a few interesting points that are well worth thinking about. Among them are the distinction between preventative and preemptive war, a discussion of the correlation between the quality of the "process" and the quality of the foreign policy it produces, and the tension between realism and idealism in approaching foreign policy and international relations. Given Haass's experience, one is ultimately left wishing that he hadn't felt it a necessity to limit himself to historical narrative but instead had made a choice to develop these points in his book.

**LTC Brian Imiola, USA,
West Point, New York**

NATIONAL SECURITY DILEMMAS: Challenges and Opportunities, Colin S. Gray, Potomac Books, Washington DC, 2009, 334 pages, $60.00.

Challenges posed to the United States over the last two decades give rise to an ever-more complex security situation. In *National Security Dilemmas* Colin Gray provides a sound argument for the need for a coherent and inclusive national strategy that orchestrates power and political aims. In doing so, he correctly shows history as a reasonable, instructional guide for 21st century conflict. He shows the role of national power, its use and threat of use, and how to achieve its desired aims.

Gray has collected and retooled *National Security Dilemmas* from his U.S. Army War College's Strategic Studies Institute publications between 2002 and 2007. With new opening and closing chapters, the book presents a view of the current era in regard to the dominant dilemmas, challenges, and opportunities associated with strategy and policy.

Much of the book's discussion centers on current conflicts with terrorist networks and other nonstate actors and, it highlights the imperative for strategy to link policy to action when the battlegrounds are in the midst of populace. Through this backdrop Gray tackles a series of related topics including identifying "decisive victory," modern roles for deterrence, the role of strategic surprise as a condition to be managed, what constitutes a revolution in military affairs, regular and irregular warfare's strategic implications, preemption and prevention and what they imply, and the role of morality or ethics in developing strategy. Each topic is addressed in detail and in context, creating a clear picture of the global security situation and the challenges strategists and policymakers face.

Gray provides a historical record of America's traditional voids in strategy development and claims a number of reasons for these shortcomings in "Irregular Enemies and the Essence of Strategy" where he introduces the characteristics of the American way of war. He discusses American historical traits in the development of strategy and conduct of war. Gray articulates 13 well-

resourced points and the fact that in order to overcome the strategic void, America must acknowledge the existence of these preconditions and move beyond them.

On reading *National Security Dilemmas*, perhaps the greatest questions are those that arise from the level of understanding Gray provides. His arguments make it clear there are definitive strategic possibilities in countering current and future challenges, not through technological advancement or superior firepower, but through cognizance of their true nature and our ability to adapt to meet them. That being said, it may not be in the best interest to solve each problem, diffuse each conflict, or assist whenever the perceived need arises. As the author points out, "there will be so many dangers anticipated for the future that the United States may well find itself engaged in more wars than it can afford or conduct effectively."

For military readers and policymakers, *National Security Dilemmas* provides a complete view of the roadblocks to crafting an effective, coherent strategy in light of current challenges and discusses how the challenges may be met. The book's arrival coincides with the pending release of "design" in Army doctrine. Gray's comments strike at the heart of the reason for the inclusion of design in terms of problem identification and concept development, linking guidance to action.

For policymakers, the book provides insight into the difficult question of what the role of military power *should* be in the 21st century. The answer may be much different than what it *can* be.

**MAJ Matthew Eberhart, USA,
Fort Leavenworth, Kansas**

POLICING POST-CONFLICT CITIES, Alice Hills, Zed Books Ltd, New York, 2009, 262 pages, $36.95.

Two hundred years ago, only three percent of the world's population lived in cities. Today, nearly half of the globe's seven billion inhabitants live in urban areas, and the rate of urbanization is rapidly increasing.

Much of the growth is occurring in the developing world, and as much as we may wish to avoid it, a significant portion of the fighting in the 21st century will occur in and around these urban areas. Baghdad and Kabul are the most obvious examples, but cities like Mogadishu, Kinshasa, and Monrovia have likewise seen their share of conflict in the past decade. In *Policing Post-Conflict Cities*, Alice Hills, professor of conflict and security at the University of Leeds, attempts to unravel the complicated relationships between order, security, and policing in urban areas wracked by recent violence.

Although the terms order, security, and stability are often used interchangeably, Hills explains that there are key, if subtle, differences. While the West often sees security as the most vital public good to be provided in post-conflict cities, Hills argues that order is really the more significant factor. Security, while important, is only one of several variables that influence the order that emerges after violence subsides. Western attempts to improve security in post-conflict cities inevitably focus on reforming indigenous police according to Western models of democratic policing, even though these models are often inappropriate for the circumstances. These reform models, according to Hills, frequently ignore such important factors as the influence of culture on police behavior, differing notions of the value of life and property, and the social roles that police traditionally play in the developing world.

If Hills is right that Western-style policing is often unsuited for post-conflict cities, then organizations like the UN may be wasting billions of dollars on security sector reform that will ultimately fail. Indeed, Hills points out that there is little empirical evidence to suggest that democratic policing in such environments produces the desired results. Those reform programs that manage to produce some limited success generally see only temporary gains, and long-term change generally requires more than a generation to

effect. In Hills's analysis, security sector reform programs frequently fail to acknowledge the specific needs of post-conflict cities, and unsurprisingly often produce disappointing results.

Policing Post-Conflict Cities is a well-considered and comprehensive look at the ways in which urban order reemerges after periods of violence. It is, however, an academic work intended for academics. Its narrative is theoretical and descriptive, rather than practical and prescriptive, and its dense, scholarly style makes for slow reading. Few military professionals will find it to be a page-turner, although the case studies will strike a familiar chord with those who have served in Iraq or in urban areas of Afghanistan. Despite these minor cautions, Hills's work provides a strong and welcome intellectual challenge to our assumptions about how urban order and security are reconstructed following conflict.
MAJ Jason Ridgeway, USA, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas

MORE FREEDOM, LESS TERROR? Liberalization and Political Violence in the Arab World, Dalia Dassa Kaye, Frederic Wehrey, Audra K. Grant, and Dale Stahl, RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, CA, 2008, 176 pages, $39.00.

The format for this RAND study, familiar to anyone who has read or written a research thesis, conducts a thorough review of the existing literature, covers in painstaking detail the definitions used, and explains the parameters of the study, outlining what it is and is not. This differentiation is necessary to avoid confusion between measures of political liberalization, which the study examines, and actual democratic government, which the authors readily admit does not exist among any of the six case studies reviewed.

The meat of the research covers Egypt, Jordan, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Algeria, and Morocco. While military readers might have an interest in their analysis of Iraq, Lebanon, or Palestine, the authors clearly explain that those areas have

been excluded precisely because their situations are considered ongoing and still unresolved. The authors use Freedom House (www.freedomhouse.org) ratings to gain an objective measure of political freedom among the nations considered, and compare them with acts of political violence in those countries over the time periods examined. They make a bold attempt to empirically analyze this topic and are able to draw some interesting and valuable lessons from the nations studied.

The six nations vary in their level of authoritarianism, but they all use varying degrees of accommodation and repression to ensure the survival of the regime and to control the dissenting elements of their populations. The study reveals that accommodation through political liberalization measures can co-opt extremists and give voice to genuine political dissent. It also expresses some surprising, counterintuitive conclusions. Increased political freedom through reforms can exacerbate tensions between political groups instead of promoting tolerance. Conflict between the Muslim and Coptic communities in Egypt and the Sunni and Shi'a communities in Bahrain are cited as prime examples. The study finds that political liberalization can be effective in the short term in reducing political violence but that tangible, long-term benefits must be seen by the people, or returns to violent expression become more likely. Further, reversals of freedoms can result in swift returns to violence.

The study gives due credit to rule of law and strong security services for preventing political violence. Perceptions matter, however, and disrespect for human rights in the execution of law enforcement can serve to motivate extremists. The perceived legitimacy of the regime by the populace is a determining factor in the level of violence.

The study is valuable for anyone deploying to the current theaters of operation and involved in the building of civil society and the management of political dissent. Political liberalization can be an

effective tool to provide nonviolent outlets for dissent and some degree of self-determination. It can be a double-edged sword if implemented improperly.
MAJ Joseph G. Edwards, USA, Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri

OUT OF CAPTIVITY: Surviving 1,967 Days in the Columbian Jungle, Marc Gonsalves, Keith Stansell, and Tom Howes with Gary Brozek, HarperCollins Publishers, New York, 2009, 457 pages, $26.99.

Out of Captivity: Surviving 1,967 Days in the Columbian Jungle explores the extraordinary endurance and tenacity of three men motivated by survival, friendship, love of family, and a resolve to maintain dignity in the face of adversity. Americans, Marc Gonsalves, Keith Stansell, and Tom Howes, recount the harrowing story of their capture, survival, and repatriation following five and a half years as hostages of one of the world's most notorious criminal terrorist groups, the *Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Columbia*. More than a story of survival, the book is important because it provides an example of how these men continuously adapted to their ever-changing environment while remaining steadfast in their commitment to each other and loyalty to America. Further, it describes an often overlooked aspect of conflict, the hierarchy and psyche of child soldiers, and provides a firsthand account of the Columbian Army's rescue mission.

Written in a chronological, alternating, three-part narrative, Gonsalves, Stansell, and Howes begin by progressively introducing members of the Northrop Grumman team, tasked with conducting aerial surveillance missions in support of joint U.S. and Columbian counternarcotics operations. Next, they describe the crash of their Cessna Grand Caravan aircraft and subsequent capture on 13 February 2003. The rest of the book focuses on examining details of their daily fight for survival, their rescue, and repatriation in July 2008.

All three men discuss aspects of the physical, emotional, and spiritual challenges they endured during captivity highlighting significant events including the numerous forced marches and camp moves, proof of life interviews, and hostage group "integrations." Acknowledging their breaking points, different approaches to situations, and disagreements, these men learned and gained strength from each other.

Throughout the book, the authors provide interesting perspectives on the *Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Columbia* and the other hostage groups. Their descriptions of the exceptional endurance and ability to live off the land demonstrated by the young male and female guerrillas is balanced with descriptions of surreal moments like yo-yo and peashooter contests and "popcorn and movie nights" under the jungle canopy. All three men describe how captivity strips away all the layers to reveal the essential nature and character of a person. Each man offers a perspective on how this "effect" manifested itself in the behavior of some of the political prisoners, especially, Ingrid Betancourt.

One of the most illuminating parts of the book focuses on how the Columbians took advantage of the *Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Columbia's* deteriorating leadership structure, infiltrated their communication network, and set up a hostage exchange using a team of highly trained volunteers posing as humanitarian aid workers and reporters. Gonsalves's description of what went on inside the helicopter during the rescue on 2 July 2008 highlights the audacity and courage of the rescue team.

Out of Captivity offers a unique opportunity for both the general reader and military professional to examine not only the extremes of human endurance, but adds new elements to the body of knowledge on the insurgency in Columbia—the continuing growth and use of child fighters, and American hostage perspectives during Columbia's Operation Checkmate. The book contains a useful reference list of select *Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Columbia* guerrilla names,

numerous photos of the authors, their primitive living conditions, as well as various terrorist equipment and weapons that enable the reader to better visualize the harsh jungle environment and the visible physical changes of these men.

The story provides a great example of how resilient individuals can survive adversity, learn from the experience, and continue to lead a productive life. This is especially relevant for today's Army leaders continuing their efforts to educate the operational force and their families on aspects of the U.S. Army's Comprehensive Soldier Fitness Program.
LTC Edward D. Jennings, USA, Retired, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas

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THE LINE: Combat in Korea January-February 1951, William T. Bowers, ed., University Press of Kentucky, Lexington, 2008, 376 pages, $40.00.

The Korean War is all but forgotten even though 20 members of the United Nations sent troops and medical contingents to fight invading North Koreans and Chinese Communists alongside the United States and South Korea. There were dramatic reversals of fortune in its first year before it settled into a stalemate in the vicinity of the 38th parallel. William T. Bowers narrates the events of January to February 1951 from a foot Soldier's perspective using U.S. Army historian post-combat interviews.

General Matthew Ridgway had just taken command of Eighth Army after General Walton Walker's death in an automobile accident. General Douglas MacArthur told the Joint Chiefs of Staff it might be necessary to evacuate Korea in light of the Chinese intervention. Ridgway's ability to restore Eighth Army's morale, using his personality and self-confidence shows how strong leadership can affect a situation, but January was too early for Ridgway's influence to be felt. The desperate situation was saved by his commanders' resourcefulness and his Soldiers' stubborn courage.

Bowers concentrates on the fighting in the Hoengsong—Chipyong-ni area; east–west and north–south road junctions. If the enemy seized the area he could move south to capture Taejon, Taegu, and Pusan, drive the UN off the peninsula and unite Korea under Kim Il-Sung. The Eighth Army stopped the Chinese offensive.

Although the book's interviews deal with the experiences of individuals, platoons, and companies, Bowers uses division and regimental command reports to explain the larger tactical situation. As he compares the interviews with other primary sources he shows that the confusion of combat is still there after the fighting ends. He highlights the crucial shortage of experienced noncommissioned officers and the apparent reluctance of American troops to engage in close action with the enemy.

Bowers' reconstruction of events summarizes the difficulties of waging war in a combined environment as he deals with operations of Republic of Korea divisions and French and Dutch contingents. He shows how UN forces used artillery and air power to overcome manpower shortages. China and North Korea emerge as skillful and tenacious adversaries who exploit every possible advantage. The centerpiece of Bowers' account is the siege of Chipyong-ni, held by the 23d Infantry Regimental Combat Team and its attached French battalion. UN forces relied on air power and concentrated artillery fire to destroy enemy forces.

The 23d Infantry Regiment was ordered to hold its position on 12 February, after skirmishing for two weeks with the Chinese in the area. Wonju and Chipyong-ni were held against overwhelming odds until relieved by Eighth Army units and marked the first time UN forces halted a Chinese offensive. These two months of fighting caused a change in the American Soldier's attitudes. After Chipyong-ni and Wonju, talk of evacuation and abandoning Korea ended as UN troops defeated a hitherto unbeaten enemy.

Although strong leadership was exerted on the operational and tactical levels, important UN advantages lay in firepower, especially air power. Strategic and tactical air support was an important part of these victories, logistically starving the Chinese and killing them in the open. UN air power might isolate the battlefield, but only ground troops could destroy the enemy. UN troops who fought in Korea in January through February 1951 overcame bitter cold weather, rugged terrain, poor training, leadership failures at the highest levels of government, and a formidable enemy to achieve battlefield success. The actions described here changed Eighth Army from a defeated force to one determined to destroy the enemy.

Weaving together the account of the fighting at different tactical levels gives the reader a new account of a particular military aspect of the Korean War, casting new light on a hitherto neglected part of a forgotten war. It is well worth reading.

**Lewis Bernstein, Ph.D.,
Seoul, Korea**

WORDS TO MEASURE A WAR: Nine American Poets of World War II, David K. Vaughan, McFarland, Jefferson, NC, 2009, 196 pages, $35.00.

David K. Vaughan has written a highly accessible and enlightening study of wartime poetry. Coming under his purview are poets Karl Shapiro, Randall Jarrell, John Ciardi, William Meredith, Howard Nemerov, Louis Simpson, James Dickey, Richard Hugo, and Lincoln Kirstein. His erudite and enthralling commentaries make for incisive interpretations as he couples his own ample piloting experience with his knowledge of wartime aviation history to enhance his expositions in ways almost unique among poetry expositors. His interviews with those who served with the poets during the war provide unique perspectives that redouble our understanding not only of the poems, but the poets themselves. Vaughan's work will be of interest to historians as well as students of wartime literature.

Vaughan's purpose is to review the "circumstances that brought these men into the war and examine the most important poems . . . through the perspectives of their tasks, experiences, and attitudes," while comparing their achievements "through an assessment of their overall success in representing the American wartime experience." He denotes two broader groups emerging when looking at the lives and works of these poets. The first group focuses on the failures of wartime societies, the second focuses on individual survival and the creation of myths to explain survival in the face of mass destruction.

Karl Shapiro became known as the poetic voice of the American fighting man. He found himself attacking rigidities of the military system in which he participated, using a freedom of style and imagination to describe both combat and noncombat situations. One of his main concerns was for disintegration of the individual during combat—the ultimate damage of war.

Randall Jarrell developed an intense sense of the blind forces of war in his writing. He affected the individual serviceman through "sardonic, ungenerous poems, with their insistent messages of waste and futility." Yet his lines were evocative and memorable, as he often spoke to the lost childhood of his wartime subjects and the moral conundrums war thrust them into, like the bombing of civilian populations.

Poet Jon Ciardi often places himself as the central figure in his masterful collection of poems, *Other Skies*. A heightened sense of the casualties suffered reigns throughout his poems. His verse is keenly informed by the knowledge of real combat losses. As with other wartime poets, Ciardi's primary focus was the gunner—his own aircrew position on the B-29 bomber. He weaves belligerency and wit through classical literature and common experience of wartime to write eloquently complex and disturbing poems.

William Meredith did not enter the war as an established poet. Like Ciardi, he served in the Pacific theater and often wrote of the vast region's geographical and emotional

strangeness. Thus evident throughout his poems is the consuming affect of overwhelming sublimity—the terror of the natural world. He did not just speak to his own experiences in his poems, but spoke vicariously through other servicemen, often accomplished through the juxtaposition of natural beauty with a store of literary heritage.

Howard Nemerov wrote personal and compelling poetry of the war, particularly from the stance of aviation, though he likely didn't grasp the significance of the war until it was well behind him. The ironic stances of his early poems were later configured through personal visions of war, mistrust of war's leadership, and the damages of war upon other servicemen.

Louis Simpson was a paratrooper who witnessed close-in combat. He suffered combat fatigue and once stated he used poetry to restore a sense of mental balance. He often wrote in ballad style of the shock, panic, and violence of combat. One of Simpson's most studied poems is "The Runner." Vaughan spends considerable time providing an expanded exposition of this monumental poem that chronicles the deleterious effects of tactical-level combat.

James Dickey served in the Pacific theater as a radar observer in a night-fighter. Dickey often wrote about his wartime experiences from the contemporaneous perspectives of the post-war day. This often meant focusing on isolation of the individual in combat. As with other wartime poets he struggled to articulate the vast impact of war. His monumental poems, "The Firebombing," a poem Vaughan explicates at length, and "The Liberator Explodes," underscore that for this reviewer. To accomplish this, Dickey often drew from contrasting elements of combat flying, employing various comparative literary tropes.

Richard Hugo served as a bombardier aboard an Italy-based B-24 bomber. As with other poems in this work, Vaughan offers extended commentary on key poems, and in this case, Hugo's *opus magnum*, "Mission to Linz." As such, Hugo

attempts to relay the incomprehensible through visual details of horrific aspects inherent in bombers engaging flak and enemy fighters. Most of Hugo's wartime poetry is in his 1969 compilation, *Good Luck in Cracked Italian*, an eloquently emotional retelling of wartime Italy, where he juxtaposes the war-torn country with a renewed and rebuilding one. That is, he must see post-war Italy against the backdrop of his wartime experiences there.

Although Lincoln Kirstein was not a combatant, the war became intellectually refracted through his Harvard-educated mind, one that produced a comprehensive book of World War II verse, *Rhymes of a PFC*. It became a popular collection because the poems were expressed from the view of the common Soldier. As such, he wrote from the perspectives of a variety of participants in the war. He moved freely behind the front lines of Europe, encountering Soldiers who formed the focal story lines of *Rhymes*. By doing this, wartime sensations of combatants were relayed in a highly accessible manner. In sum, Kirstein reaffirmed poetry as a valuable mode of expressing wartime experience. But his most valuable contribution may be in illustrating, as his other fellow war poets did, the Soldier's inability to comprehend his wartime experiences. In the course of that apperception, Kirstein began to include the effects of war's destructiveness in his verse, something man is singularly ill-equipped to deal with.

The book's conclusion strikes this reviewer as a bit superfluous. Nonetheless, Vaughan makes valuable summations. This book comes with the highest recommendation of any this reviewer has evaluated. **Jeffrey C. Alfier, USAF, Retired, Tucson, Arizona**

WOLFRAM VON RICH-THOFEN: Master of the German Air War, James S. Corum, University Press of Kansas, Lawrence, 2008, 428 pages, $34.95.

Wolfram Von Richthofen: Master of the German Air War is not a book

about Manfred von Richthofen, known as the "Red Baron." Rather it's about his cousin, Wolfram, also a World War I aviator who rose to the rank of Field Marshal of the Luftwaffe during World War II. Wolfram, a brilliant air tactician and operator, was instrumental in working out and fine-tuning the air-ground coordination that made Blitzkrieg possible.

Many biographies have been written about World War II German ground commanders Rommel, von Manstein, von Rundstedt, Kesselring, Student, Keitel, Model, and Guderian, but little has been written about German air commanders other than Goering and Milch, and neither of them was a field commander. Jim Corum is correcting this lapse. With his open access to the von Richthofen family records, papers, letters, and journals, he was able to combine these resources into a comprehensive, balanced account of the life of a leading air commander. His background as a Germanist and an air power historian (as author of *The Luftwaffe: Creating the Operational Air War, 1918-1940* and *The Roots of Blitzkrieg: Hans von Seeckt and German Military Reform*) also give Corum an informed perspective.

The book is as much a history of the Luftwaffe as it is the history of von Richthofen. The histories entwine when the young lieutenant of the 4th Silesian Hussars learns to fly. He was an ace with eight kills in World War I. He received a doctorate in mechanical engineering from the Technical University of Hannover (which played a key role in the development of German air power).

As a general staff officer who spoke Spanish and Italian, he was chief of staff and commander of the Condor Legion during the Spanish Civil War (whose name is forever linked with the bombing of Guernica). He commanded the same aviation division during the attack on Poland, the battle for France, the battle of Britain, the battle for Greece, and the battle for Crete. He commanded two separate aviation fleets on the Eastern Front and unsuccessfully tried to stave off the

defeat at Stalingrad, which he lost because he failed to convince Hitler that the Luftwaffe could not resupply a surrounded Stalingrad. Wolfram's last hurrah was as commander of an aviation fleet in Italy, where he tried to stem the allied invasion of Sicily and Italy and their advance up the peninsula. Von Richthofen died of a brain tumor while in U.S. captivity. He was buried with military honors.

Wolfram made vital contributions to the Luftwaffe and was a pioneer in developing air-ground cooperation and coordination. He pushed forward air controllers to the point of contact in armored vehicles so they could accurately coordinate close air support. He integrated air liaison officers into army planning staffs. He convinced the German Air Force and Army to work from map sheets with a common grid for ease and accuracy during battle–something U.S. armed forces still do not do. He pioneered the use of aviation to resupply fuel and ammunition to army panzer units. In all of this, he was central to the development of blitzkrieg tactics.

This is a good book and a good read, but it needs a bibliography and a better index. With that aside, I recommend it for military historians and ground and air military practitioners.

Lester W. Grau,
Fort Leavenworth, Kansas

DANGER'S HOUR: The Story of the USS *Bunker Hill* and the Kamikaze Pilot Who Crippled Her, Maxwell Taylor Kennedy, Simon and Schuster, New York, 2008, 515 pages, $34.99.

America is acutely familiar with suicide bombers of the 21st century, from New York to Iraq to Madrid to London to Afghanistan. Increasingly though, stories and memories of the World War II Japanese *Kamikaze* (*Divine Wind)* are being lost or superseded by this century's horrors. Maxwell Kennedy is bringing back the memory of the *kamikaze* within the context of the May 1945 attack on the Essex class aircraft carrier, USS *Bunker Hill*, which killed 363

American Sailors and Marines. Aside from telling the story of the carnage of the *Bunker Hill*, Kennedy tells the story of the Japanese pilot who flew his plane into the U.S. ship.

Kennedy juxtaposes the story of the *Bunker Hill* with that of Kiyoshi Ogawa, a young Japanese college student who would soon be a *Kamikaze* pilot. Based on extensive first-hand accounts and personal interviews, the book tells an all-too-familiar story of the young men who were taught to hate Americans, promised eternal glory, and then sent on one-way missions of death. What is striking is that these young Japanese men accepted their fates, even though some had doubts of the sacrifice their leaders and country were asking of them.

From the American perspective, the *Bunker Hill's* story is compelling, not only for the horror of the attack itself, but for the heroism that was common among the ship's crew. Kennedy takes the *Bunker Hill* from design to launch to transit to its initial operational missions in spring 1945. American forces in Iraq and Afghanistan will understand the stress of the *Bunker Hill's* unending missions, punctuated with monotony and terror against Japanese forces on Okinawa, Iwo Jima, and the Japanese home islands.

Kennedy's book reminds us that what is old is new, not only for suicide bombers, but also for the horrors experienced by the victims and the valor they showed in the face of such dangers.

James Burcalow,
Fort Leavenworth, Kansas

THE BRUSILOV OFFENSIVE, Timothy C. Dowling, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 2008, 240 pages, $24.95.

As World War I British Major General Alfred Knox observed, the Imperial Russian command for some unknown reason always seemed to choose a bog to drown in. Indeed, this is the case for most of the war. Timothy C. Downing's *The Brusilov Offensive* explores one of the few successful Russian ventures of the

Great War that did not follow the "swamp" pattern. Surprisingly little is written about the Eastern Front of the war. This book helps reduce the deficit in World War I literature by focusing on probably the worst combat crisis faced by Austria-Hungary and Germany on the front with Russia.

Dowling's well-written book gives insight into Imperial Russia's most outstanding World War I commander, Alexsei Brusilov, and chronicles the successful, albeit bloody, offensives in 1916 that bear his name. Brusilov pioneered a crude form of combined arms operations and stressed proper planning and training for his troops. His performance and advanced thinking stand in stark contrast to the incompetence and desultory results of his fellow army commanders and superiors—many of whom were palace appointees with little merit. While his offensive almost threw the Austro-Hungarian Empire out of the war until strong German intervention prevailed, the longer-term impact was to hasten the decline of the Imperial Russian Army and relegate Austria-Hungary to a fully subordinated ally of the German High Command. Although not a biography, the book sheds insight into the personality and character of Brusilov—a man of both honor and integrity.

The author holds a Ph.D. from Tulane University and a specialization in modern German and Russian history, so he is well qualified to write this gem. He uses extensive sources and is objective in his handling of all involved parties. One major flaw is the book's insufficient maps. Given the mammoth scale and movement in this theatre, I struggled to link a critical corps movement to its objectives or direction of attack. The book wholeheartedly deserves a place on the shelves of those interested in great commanders as well as all students of World War I and the Imperial Russian Army.

Kevin D. Stringer, Ph.D.,
Zurich, Switzerland

PUNITIVE WAR: Confederate Guerrillas and Union Reprisals, Clay Mountcastle, University Press of Kansas, Lawrence, 2009, 202 pages, $29.95.

Punitive War merits discussion on several levels. Mountcastle disagrees with recent works on the Civil War that take exception to the view that Northern military actions in the South consisted of rape, pillage, and indiscriminate destruction. They argue the Union Army waged hard war, not total war, on the South. Mountcastle thinks Union attacks on the Southern population were brutal and too-often indiscriminate, and he provides examples from the Kansas-Missouri border war, fighting in the Mississippi valley, General William Sherman's march, and General Philip Sheridan's Shenandoah campaign. Mountcastle develops the historiography of the Civil War in a narrow way. He cannot go back to scorched earth tactics or call it total war, so he makes the case for *harder* war. However, he calls it *punitive war*, which goes to another angle on the book.

Mountcastle argues that guerrilla warfare waged by Confederates frustrated Union soldiers, which in turn led to attacks on Southern property and civilians. On this point, *Punitive War* becomes less convincing as it goes. The fighting in Kansas and Missouri manifests the anger of the border region where Union reprisals, especially localized ones, were driven primarily by the desire to punish anyone in the area of guerrilla activities. The antagonism of the Mississippi Valley campaign was not as clear, and the causes of retaliatory destruction were more complicated than Mountcastle suggests. Guerrillas did harden General Ulysses Grant's attitude toward the Southern population, but those activities were not the only motivator. The bloodshed of the Battle of Shiloh and intransigent civilians in places like Memphis also led Grant to believe he was engaged in a war with a people, not just armies, and that he would have to adjust accordingly.

That is not how it happens in *Punitive War*. The punitive war Mountcastle describes is unthink-ing, like a fighter blindly swinging in response to a stinging blow. The problem is that labeling a tactic punitive does not necessarily separate it from a coherent strategy. Even if it felt good to soldiers frustrated by guerrilla tactics, punishment of civilians for supporting guerrillas clearly went alongside other tactics as part of a larger strategy to win the war. To call either Sherman's march or Sheridan's campaign in the Shenandoah valley blindly punitive would be to pretend Sherman never made a case for how his march would support Grant's efforts in the east or that Grant never made clear to Sheridan that the romp through the Shenandoah was to cut off the valley as an invasion route to the north and as a breadbasket for the south.

Finally, *Punitive War* makes assumptions about the nature of counterguerrilla warfare. Mountcastle does not believe the harsh measures he describes ever could be effective in quelling rebel guerrillas. In this, he is in line with the current view in the U.S. Army that population security trumps force in counterinsurgencies. However, the Union Army won this war, harsh measures and all. Perhaps that victory says something about the role of force in a full-spectrum or hybrid fight, but I introduce such thoughts only to question the soundness of drawing a strict boundary around Confederate guerrilla war and Union operations against the Southern homefront. As Clausewitz wrote, the nature of every war is defined by more than the perspective and experiences of the troops who do the actual fighting. *Punitive War* would have been more convincing if it had remembered that truth.

Thomas A. Bruscino, Jr., Ph.D., Fort Leavenworth, Kansas

CAUTION AND COOPERA-TION: The American Civil War in British-American Relations, Phillip E. Myers, Kent State University Press, Kent, OH, 2008, 332 pages, $55.00.

America's international relations during the Civil War remain some-thing of a void. The war was fought in North America using technological innovations such as the railroad, the telegraph, and the ironclad ship. So it is easy to understand why historians have lost sight of events that took place outside a primarily American, military context. The awareness many have of the relations between America and Europe (especially Britain and France) focuses mainly on the prospect of European mediation and intervention.

Phillip E. Myers takes an entirely different view of Anglo-American relations. In *Caution and Cooperation*, he writes that in the decades before the Civil War, Great Britain and the United States developed a modus operandi that involved cooperation and a deep reluctance to take advantage of the other's adversities and distractions. (In Myers' view, the War of 1812 was a sad anomaly in the midst of a friendly, though not always affectionate, relationship.) Moreover, the Civil War saw the bilateral spirit of cooperation continue; both sides needed peace and trade with the other and would go to extreme lengths, to the point of appeasement, to maintain them.

Myers' command of diplomatic history is a strong one. He extends his analysis to the domestic politics of Great Britain and America, showing equal familiarity with cabinet dynamics and party politics. The personalities and policies of Lincoln and Seward and Lords Palmerston and Russell come through clearly.

Myers contrasts cooperation between the United States and British governments with ineffective and often counterproductive diplomacy of the Confederacy, which was led by a prickly and inflexible Jefferson Davis and executed by a singularly unsuitable representative, James M. Mason. Mason, who authored the Fugitive Slave Act while a United States Senator, entered a heavily abolitionist Britain with a tarnished reputation that further declined through his tactlessness and generally incompetent diplomatic career. Myers concludes that, like Mason, the South never had a real hope of gaining respectability in Britain, let

alone recognition, and the chances of British intervention were virtually nil.

Furthermore, *Caution and Cooperation* extends the Anglo-American relationship to a still larger stage. He demonstrates that British military withdrawal from Canada, and the dawn of confederation there, took place with an awareness that not only was Canada largely indefensible, but also there was little probability that the United States would invade it.

As for the other European power upon which the South placed its hopes, France was not about to intervene unless Britain did so first, especially as many of its own forces were tied up in Mexico.

Caution & Cooperation is a well-documented and equally well-reasoned work on an aspect of the Civil War that is crucial yet misunderstood and neglected. Going against the grain of accepted wisdom, it is a revelation, and well worth attention.
Jim Werbaneth,
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

WITH ZEAL AND WITH BAYONETS ONLY: The British Army on Campaign in North America, 1775-1783, Matthew H. Spring, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 2008, 352 pages, $34.95.

In this well-researched and perceptive history, Matthew H. Spring puts paid to the hoary myth of the British army fighting in Revolutionary America. Popular imagination conjures well-dressed lines of pipe-clayed, red-coated automata advancing elbow-to-elbow, led by elegantly dressed, but amateurish fops fit only for dining and dying well, or by sadists whose cruelty presaged that of the Waffen SS and its ilk. Reinforced by simplistic morality plays like *The Patriot* (2000), the British army becomes little more than a caricature in the common American memory. In truth, the British army was an adaptive and formidable institution led by tactically astute and imaginative officers seeking to provide the battlefield successes that might translate into a political solution.

With Zeal and with Bayonets Only examines the mechanics of infantry combat. The story is of army leaders who believed battlefield success was the key to swaying popular loyalties. Significantly, senior leaders recognized that their ability to prosecute the war was constrained by the realities of domestic, imperial, and international politics, economics, logistics, and demography. Thus the army's ability to project and maintain power over any great distance or for any appreciable length of time was limited by a host of factors beyond the army's scope or ability to control.

Strategic and operational limitations imposed by imperial overreach forced the army's adaptation to the American environment. While King George's small professional army fought in a theater that was stretched thin, it was rarely bested by its enemies. Nonetheless, successive British commanders were unable to gain a decisive victory. Britain's small numbers translated into an overriding but necessary concern with force preservation.

The need to preserve their limited manpower forced the redcoats into a reliance on the bayonet to decide the contest more quickly than the attrition associated with a close-ranged, damaging, firefight. Given the short effective range of the musket, the time it took to reload, and the ability of advancing infantry to close that range quickly, bayonet charges became the favored means of British commanders—an irony given their preference for firepower over cold steel in the Seven Years' War.

In the end, Britain's overstretched army proved incapable of winning the peace in a struggle that was fundamentally a people's war, both within the empire and within the colonies. Spring notes the "resilience of the Continental Army was central" to British failure, but while "British military successes impressed the undecided, they did not intimidate inveterate rebels." In short, British political and military leaders "appear simply to have overestimated the political worth of military success" in such a contest. Over time American forces improved, even to the occasional point of equaling or besting British regulars. Rarely outdone in battle, the British army was the sharp edge to an otherwise dull imperial policy.

With Zeal and with Bayonets Only is a welcome and important addition to Revolutionary American and early-modern military history. It deserves to be read by historians and those interested in imperial ventures.
Ricardo A. Herrera, Ph.D.,
Fort Leavenworth, Kansas

ᴹᴿLetters

Empathy: A True Leader Skill

COL George M. Schwartz, *Harrisburg, Pennsylvannia*—LTC(R) Garner has started to fill an important void in our leadership doctrine with his piece, "Empathy: A True Leader Skill" (November-December 2009 *Military Review*). There is no doubt that empathy should be an essential attribute of our leadership model. In the series of books Daniel Goleman has published on Emotional Intelligence—which has strongly influenced our current leadership doctrine—empathy is frequently touted as an emotional domain to be mastered.

However, I submit that the focus in FM 6-22 *Army Leadership* and Garner's article is too narrow. It is critically important that our leaders possess empathy when leading their subordinates, but in the contemporary operating environment, our leaders should utilize empathy when dealing with members of the

local populace too, especially in a counterinsurgency fight.

Empathy should be recognized as a critical skill for Stability Operations, particularly when utilizing the Stability Mechanisms of Influence and Support. To function effectively with people of other cultures, it is not only important to acquire some understanding of those cultures, leaders with cultural empathy are able to understand what people from a different culture are feeling and then better identify with their thoughts and behaviors. In *Primal Leadership* (2004), Goleman describes empathy in action as taking another's feelings into thoughtful consideration and then making intelligent decisions that work those feelings into a response.

Samuel Huntington wrote, "The great division between mankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural." Empathy beyond the boundaries of one's unit furthers cross-cultural understanding, builds resonance between military and local leaders, and helps provide insights into the motivation of those fighters we now consider to be "accidental guerrillas." Efforts to develop empathy in our leaders deserve much more effort.

MR We Recommend

BOMBER BOYS: Heroes Who Flew the B-17s in World War II, Travis L. Ayres, New American Library, New York, 2009, 267 pages, $16.00.

During World War II, there were many ways to die. But no theater of operations offered more fatal choices than the skies about Nazi-occupied Europe. Inside a B-17 bomber, thousands of feet above earth, death was always a moment away. From the hellish storms of enemy flak and relentless strafing of Luftwaffe fighters, to mid-air collisions, mechanical failure, and simple bad luck, it was a wonder any man would volunteer for such dangerous duty. Yet many did. Some paid the ultimate price. And some made it home. But in the end, all would achieve victory.
From the Publisher
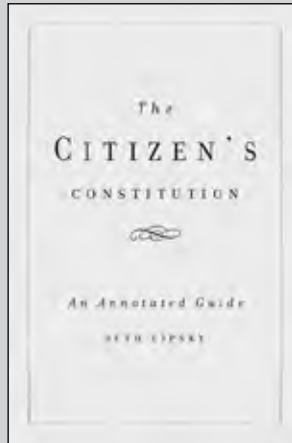
THE CITIZEN'S CONSTITUTION: An Annotated Guide, Seth Lipsky, Basic Books, New York, 2009, 336 pages, $25.95.

The Citizen's Constitution draws on the writing of the founders, case law from our greatest judges, and current events in more than 300 illuminated annotations. Seth Lipsky provides a no-nonsense, entertaining, and learned guide to the fundamental questions surrounding the document that governs how we govern our country. The Constitution is every American's birthright. Rarely has it glinted so brightly.
From the Publisher
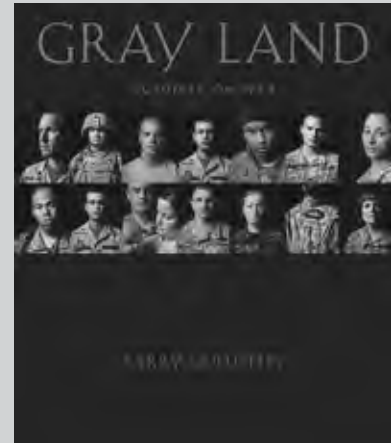
GRAY LAND: Soldiers on War, Barry Goldstein, W.W. Norton, New York, 2009, 128 pages, $39.95.

No one indicts war more powerfully than experienced professional soldiers, and no one else can speak more eloquently about the reasons for serving. *Gray Land* is a moving collection of photographic portraits of Iraq War veterans accompanied by excerpts from candid, unsupervised interviews with each Soldier and images documenting the stress of daily life in a war zone.
From the Publisher

Retired Army Colonel Robert L. Howard, the only Soldier in our nation's history to be nominated for the Medal of Honor three times for three separate actions within a thirteen month period, died on 24 December. Although it can only be awarded once to an individual, men who served with him said he deserved all three. He received a direct appointment from Master Sergeant to 1st Lieutenant in 1969, and was awarded the Medal of Honor by President Richard M. Nixon at the White House in 1971. His other awards for valor include the Distinguished Service Cross—our nation's second highest award, the Silver Star—the third highest award, and numerous lesser decorations including eight Purple Hearts. He received his decorations for valor for actions while serving as an NCO (Sergeant First Class). (http://rlhtribute.com)

**COLONEL
ROBERT L. HOWARD**

1939 – 2009

MEDAL OF HONOR

Top Photo: Colonel Howard (on the left) when in 5th Special Forces Group, at a compound in the Central Highlands of South Vietnam, March or April 1969, a couple of months after his Medal of Honor operation. Beside him is Specialist George Bacon III. (credit Dan Lindblom)   Center Photo: Then-Major Howard at the Vietnam Wall Dedication (credit John L. Plaster)   Bottom Photo: COL Howard at the March 2009 Medal of Honor Day ceremony at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, with 29 other MoH recipients, along with President Obama. (DOD)

Soldiers of the Afghan National Army prepare soup outside the ruins of a Soviet-era barracks at Lake Qargah, near Kabul, February 2008. (U.S. Army, COL John J. Smith)