NEWSLETTER
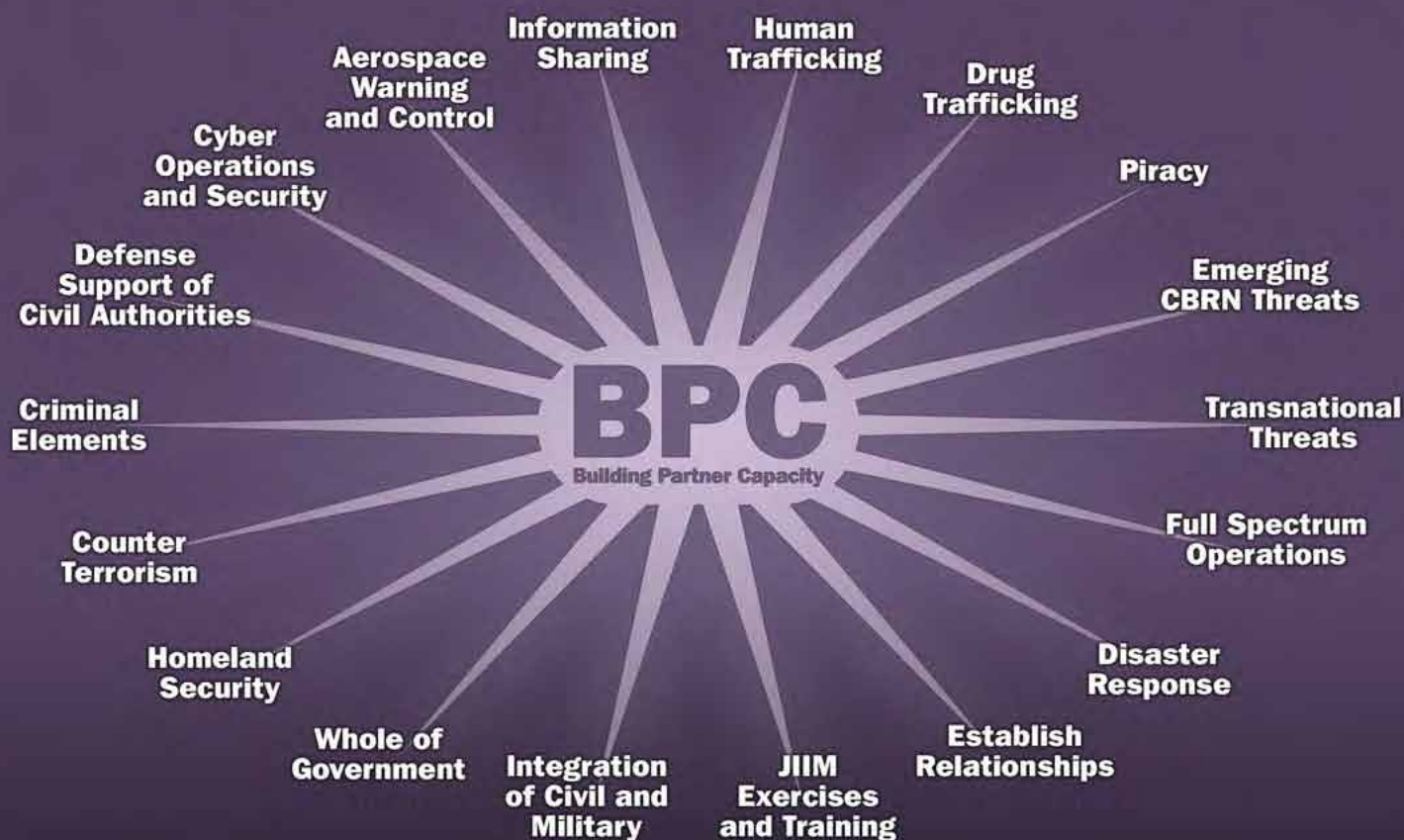
NO. 11-23

MAR 11

JIM

Joint, Interagency, Intergovernmental, and Multinational

Challenges in the Geographic Combatant Commands

Information Sharing

Human Trafficking

Aerospace Warning and Control

Drug Trafficking

Cyber Operations and Security

Piracy

Defense Support of Civil Authorities

Emerging CBRN Threats

Criminal Elements

BPC
Building Partner Capacity

Transnational Threats

Counter Terrorism

Full Spectrum Operations

Homeland Security

Disaster Response

Whole of Government

Integration of Civil and Military

JIIM Exercises and Training

Establish Relationships

Observations, Insights, and Lessons

Joint Interagency, Intergovernmental, and Multinational (JIIM) Challenges in the Geographic Combatant Commands	
Table of Contents	

Center for Army Lessons Learned	
Director	COL Thomas H. Roe
Division Chief	Larry K. Hollars
CALL Analyst	Ken Teasdale, CALL Contractor
Editor	Karen Blakeman
Graphic Artist	Dan Neal, CALL Contractor

The Secretary of the Army has determined that the publication of this periodical is necessary in the transaction of the public business as required by law of the Department.

Unless otherwise stated, whenever the masculine or feminine gender is used, both are intended.

Note: Any publications (other than CALL publications) referenced in this product, such as ARs, FMs, and TMs, must be obtained through your pinpoint distribution system.

Introduction

The following collection of articles focus on U.S. joint, interagency, intergovernmental, and multinational (JIIM) activities, challenges, issues, and operations in the six U.S. geographic combatant commands (GCCs). Today, stability operations in Afghanistan and Iraq rightfully receive the lion's share of attention, priority, and media coverage. There are, however, many other challenges, potential dangers, and future threats in the other five GCCs that merit attention and continuous observation and evaluation. The GCCs operate in challenging and complex environments, tackling a vast array of JIIM challenges and issues each day. The intent of the Center for Army Lessons Learned (CALL) is to illustrate some of the current challenges in this newsletter and highlight operations at the strategic or theater levels.

This newsletter contains three overview JIIM articles. The remaining articles highlight challenges or issues specific to one of the GCCs; several were written by the GCC commanders. These articles cover a wide range of issues with the specific intent of informing the reader and sharing challenges, best practices, and lessons learned. The articles should not be considered all-inclusive. Topics include:

- Building partnership capacity.

- Full-spectrum operations.

- Planning for potentially failing states.

- Integrating civilian and military activities.

- JIIM exercises and training.

- Drug and human trafficking.

- Piracy.

- Transnational threats.

- Chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear threats.

- Disaster response.

- Homeland security.

- Establishing professional relationships.

The articles in this newsletter — drawn from recent issues of professional journals or CALL and other joint archives and websites — were selected to capture current, relevant, JIIM articles that will inform Soldiers and leaders on challenges and issues and provide a useful document for personnel assigned to JIIM positions in the future. Many JIIM challenges are unique to a particular geographic region; others are shared challenges. If there is an overriding priority or theme to this collection, it is certainly the goal of building partnership capacity. This appears to be the top priority in each of the GCCs.

Many ideas presented in these articles are personal opinion, and some may not be approved Army doctrine. The recommendations in these articles should always be validated with the latest approved joint and Army doctrine.

CALL acknowledges and thanks the authors, professional journals, managing editors, and public affairs personnel who assisted in obtaining and reprinting these articles.

Minor modifications to format were made to support the CALL newsletter format. In some instances, pictures that were not referenced in the narrative were deleted to save space and detailed biographies were removed to avoid the release of personal information.

Integrating Civilian and Military Activities

Colonel Richard A. Lacquement, Jr., Ph.D.
Director of Military History and Strategy, Department of National Security and Strategy, U.S. Army War College

Americans have a predilection for neat categories of activity and clear divisions of labor. One manifestation of this tendency is emphasis on a clear division between military and political realms and a related belief in a clean separation of military and civilian activities. But war is a complicated and messy human phenomenon that defies easy categorization. The fundamentally political core of war admits to few natural limits. The stakes of war are usually profound, and therefore the effective remedies can be no less intense.

The deliberately contested allegiance of the local population pulls all aspects of societal functioning into the ambit of a counterinsurgency. Denying success to insurgents demands comprehensive solutions that cut across the political, economic, and cultural elements of the afflicted society. In stable, mature social systems, efficient arrangements develop to meet agreed needs. Insurgents use violence to deliberately target these neat and optimized arrangements to tear apart the sinews of society. They often seek to undermine social delivery mechanisms. This behavior is why it is not sufficient (albeit still necessary) for counterinsurgents to simply counter the violence of insurgents; they also strive to defeat the population-centered insurgent strategy. The unequal utility of violence to affect societal frameworks, which are much easier to destroy than to create, requires counterinsurgents to take an expansive approach to the instruments of conflict. Counterinsurgents work to sustain, rebuild, or even strengthen societal structures in the midst of violence. This program of work requires both civilian and military efforts directed toward a comprehensive solution. It has been widely noted that the solution to an insurgency is more political than military; but make no mistake, violence defines the environment within which the instruments of counterinsurgents are brought to bear. In such a milieu, military forces are crucial to thwarting both the insurgents' violence and the effects the insurgents seek to generate from that violence.

Although conventional military efforts are necessary and important in counterinsurgency (COIN), they are only effective if integrated into a comprehensive strategy that addresses all relevant societal needs. This requirement is frequently expressed in terms of applying the appropriate instruments of national power. The logical relationship of agency to effort, however, is secondary to the necessary societal outcome. Put another way, solving a problem is more important than who solves it. Ideally, a society's needs will be met by those organizations having the most appropriate expertise or comparative advantage in a particular task. Realistically, the counterinsurgents will have to rely on whoever can perform a particular task when and where it is needed rather than standing on formality about who should perform it. Quite frequently, the representatives of the counterinsurgents who are present and can act are the armed forces. Sheer capacity and the logic of one of the most fundamental aspects of warfare, the control of physical space (and the people and material in it), will often place members of the armed forces at crucial societal nodes.

This article presents a framework to assist military and civilian leaders to comprehensively meet counterinsurgency challenges.[1] It consists of four sections. The first section provides elaboration on the comprehensive nature of counterinsurgency efforts and the concomitant imperatives for integrating military and civilian efforts. This section lays out the COIN imperatives with emphasis on desired effects or outcomes. The second section provides a summary of counterinsurgency participants and their roles and interests. The third section addresses how to integrate military and civilian activities in COIN. It addresses some common principles for unifying civilian-military efforts. The fourth section offers analysis and recommendations aimed at improving American approaches to counterinsurgency with respect to current challenges.

The Counterinsurgency Integration Imperative

A successful counterinsurgency meets the contested population's needs while protecting the people from the insurgents. Political, social, and economic programs are usually more valuable than conventional military operations as a means to address fundamental causes of conflict and undermine an insurgency. COIN is fought among the population, and the counterinsurgents bear responsibility for the people's well-being in all its manifestations. These include security from violence and crime; provision of basic economic needs; maintenance of infrastructure; sustainment of key social and cultural institutions; and other aspects that contribute to a society's basic quality of life. The COIN program has to address all aspects of the local population's concerns in a unified fashion. Insurgents succeed by maintaining turbulence and highlighting local costs due to gaps in the COIN effort. COIN forces succeed by eliminating turbulence and meeting the population's basic needs.

To eliminate turbulence and provide for the population's needs, counterinsurgents need to control the level of violence. The insurgents often benefit from a high level of violence and societal insecurity that discourages or precludes nonmilitary participants' efforts on behalf of the local population. The higher the level of violence that defines the operational environment, the less likely it is that nonmilitary organizations, particularly external agencies, can work with the local population to address social, political, economic, and other challenges. The more benign the security environment, the more likely it is that civilian agencies can provide their resources and expertise and relieve the burden on the military forces.

In COIN, military forces are called on to apply their combat skills in the effort to protect the population. Military forces should be particularly careful, however, not to be goaded into imposing excessive costs on the local populace through the use of violence. Combating and killing insurgents, harming bystanders, and destroying local property provide an equation of costs and benefits in the application of force that can never be ignored by the counterinsurgents. Military force is not the sole means to provide security or to defeat insurgents. Indeed, a dilemma for military units engaged in COIN is that they frequently have greater potential to undermine policy objectives through excessive emphasis on military methods than to achieve the overarching political goals that define success. This dilemma places tremendous importance on the measured application of coercive force by COIN operators.[2]

Durable policy success requires balancing the measured use of force with an emphasis on nonmilitary programs. Although political, social, and economic programs are most commonly and appropriately associated with civilian organizations and expertise, the salient aspect of such programs is their effective implementation, not who performs the tasks. COIN programs for political, social, and economic well-being are essential elements for supporting local capacity that can command popular support. The military can and should be engaged in using

4

its capabilities to meet the local population's fundamental needs, mindful that these needs vary by society and historical context. The military performs a crucial role in creating the security conditions to permit a society to function normally. Principally, security forces should seek to prevent intimidation and coercion by the insurgents.

In COIN, the performance of military and nonmilitary activities is interdependent. Facilitating active support for the host-nation government by the local population deprives an insurgency of its power. To accomplish this, "some of the best weapons in counterinsurgency do not shoot."[3] Similarly, the best organizations to employ such "weapons" are often not in the military. But nonmilitary organizations are very vulnerable to the violence of insurgents. The dilemma of which should come first, efforts to address physical security or to address the societal causes of insecurity, is a false one. Both have to be addressed concurrently. Military forces cannot afford to be drawn into battle with insurgents at the expense of protecting the population or its civilian servants. Furthermore, those seeking to serve the needs of the local population cannot afford to put such efforts aside until security is assured.

Understanding Counterinsurgency Participants

The nature of policy conflicts that lie beneath an insurgency is little different from the myriad of concerns that animate political discourse in any society. But the admixture of organized violence, the facet giving insurgency its war quality, adds a grave dimension to such discourse. The violence easily overshadows other dimensions of conflict. This fact requires that counterinsurgent leaders be intensely aware of the roles and capabilities of participants who are likely to play a key role in counterinsurgency operations. In addition to describing key participants and their roles, this section also addresses common expectations about the division of labor among participants. Counterinsurgency leaders are obligated to understand the realistic limitations of COIN participants. Such limitations are most pronounced among civilian agencies. This factor leads, in turn, to reliance on the largest and most capable participant, the armed forces.

Civilian organizations bring expertise and capabilities that complement those of military forces engaged in COIN operations. At the same time, civilian capabilities cannot be brought to bear without the security provided by the military. The interdependent relationship of all these groups has to be understood and orchestrated to achieve coherent results. External military forces engaged in COIN, like those of the United States in many conflicts past and present, should be acutely aware of the roles and capabilities of US, international, and host-nation partners.

Military Counterinsurgency Participants

The role of military forces in COIN operations is extensive. COIN is one of the most demanding and complex forms of warfare. It draws heavily on the broad range of joint force capabilities. Military forces should be prepared to conduct offensive, defensive, and stability operations in a manner significantly different from conventional combat operations (which has been the proclivity of the American military in recent history).[4]

US military forces are vastly capable. Designed predominantly for conventional combat against the organized military forces of other states, they nonetheless have the essential components to successfully prosecute COIN.[5] The most important asset in COIN is disciplined military personnel with adaptive, self-aware, and intelligent leaders.[6] There are also organizational aspects of the military forces that are particularly relevant to wide-spread COIN challenges. For

example, COIN often requires dismounted infantry, human intelligence, language specialists, military police, civil affairs, engineers, medical units, logistical support, legal affairs, and contracting elements.

US forces can help a host nation's military, paramilitary, and police forces conduct COIN operations, including area security and local security operations. In addition, they can conduct full-spectrum operations to disrupt or destroy insurgent military capabilities. Land forces use offensive combat operations to disrupt insurgent efforts to establish base areas and consolidate their personnel. They conduct defensive operations to provide area and local security and conduct stability operations to thwart insurgent efforts to disrupt people's lives and routine activities.

Most valuable to long-term success in winning the support of the population are the contributions military forces can make through stability operations. Stability operations is "an overarching term encompassing various military missions, tasks, and activities conducted outside the United States in coordination with other instruments of national power to maintain or reestablish a safe and secure environment, provide essential governmental services, emergency infrastructure reconstruction, and humanitarian relief."[7] Forces engaged in stability operations establish, safeguard, or restore basic civil services. They act directly and in support of governmental agencies. Success in stability operations enables the local population and government agencies of the host nation to resume or develop the capabilities needed to conduct COIN operations and create the conditions that will permit US military forces to disengage. Importantly, stability operations activities are the ones for which integrated and complementary civilian expertise, advice, and assistance are vital.

Military forces also can use their capabilities to enable the efforts of nonmilitary participants. Logistics, transportation, equipment, personnel, and other assets can support interagency partners and other civilian organizations as they strive to meet basic societal needs.

US military forces rarely operate alone. They normally function as part of a multinational force. In a COIN operation, US forces usually work alongside the security elements of the local population or host nation. As part of a coalition, the strengths of different national capabilities and capacity can be brought to bear. Other countries' military forces often bring cultural backgrounds, historical perspectives, and other unique capabilities that can be particularly valuable to COIN efforts (for example, among foreign armed forces, paramilitary and constabulary units offer capabilities generally absent from the US armed forces). Moreover, the expertise and experience of host nation forces are often the most salient and valuable to understanding local dynamics.

Understanding military differences and working out ways to integrate diverse capabilities to support COIN efforts is a significant challenge for military and civilian leaders. Nations join coalitions for varied policy aims. Although objectives may be ostensibly similar, rules of engagement, national policies, and sensitivities will differ among multinational partners. US military leaders require a strong cultural and political awareness of host nation and other multinational military partners.

Nonmilitary Counterinsurgency Participants

The nonmilitary participants in COIN are as diverse as society in general. As an external participant in COIN, the American military is usually but one among many external

organizations working on behalf of a host nation. External governmental, nongovernmental, and business organizations are common. Such external participants usually have counterparts in the host nation.

In addition to the military, counterinsurgency leaders have to be familiar with other US government organizations and aware of the capabilities they can provide. During planning, all forces should determine which organizations are working in their area of operations and supporting the counterinsurgent outcomes. Commanders and leaders of US government organizations should collaboratively plan and coordinate actions to avoid conflict or duplication of effort.

Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) are another common presence in the COIN environment. Many NGOs are in place before military forces arrive and remain long afterward. They can support lasting stability. To the greatest extent possible, the military should balance and not override their capabilities. Building a complementary and trust-based relationship is vital. Some NGOs, however, maintain strict independence from governments and other belligerents in a conflict and do not want to be seen directly associating with military forces.

The most prominent and ubiquitous international organization is the United Nations (UN). In its many organizational manifestations, the United Nations is active in conflict zones and other turbulent areas to help bring peace and stability to local populations. The United Nations commands widespread respect, legitimacy, and authority as it works to meet the collective challenges of the international community. The UN has many subordinate or affiliated agencies that are active around the world, such as the World Food Program, UN Development Program, Department of Peacekeeping Operations, and the recently established peace-building commission. Likewise, there are major regional organizations such as the Organization of American States and the European Union that may be involved in some key aspects of COIN operations.

Multinational corporations and contractors also are frequent participants in key elements of COIN. Multinational corporations often engage in reconstruction, economic development, and governance activities. At a minimum, counterinsurgent leaders should know which corporations are present in the area affected by insurgency and where those corporations are conducting business.

Host-nation civil authorities are crucial and often-overlooked participants in counterinsurgency programs. COIN rests on the ultimate success of local authorities to establish stable and successful mechanisms for serving the local population. Sovereignty issues are among the most difficult for external participants to support without compromising local legitimacy. Leaders should acknowledge political sensitivities and be prepared to pursue coordination, communication, and consensus in the absence of a clear hierarchy or chain of command within the local government.

Ideal and Real Division of Labor

In an ideal COIN environment, the preference is for civilians to carry out civilian tasks. Civilian agencies or individuals with the greatest expertise for a given task should perform it, with deference to local civil authorities. Although there are many US and international civilian agencies that possess greater expertise than military forces for meeting the fundamental needs of a population under assault, the ability of such agencies to deploy to foreign countries in

sustainable numbers and with ready access to necessary resources is usually limited. The degree of violence in the COIN environment affects the ability of civilian agencies to operate. The more violent the environment, the more difficult it is for civilians to operate effectively. Thus, in COIN, the preferred or ideal division of labor is frequently unattainable.

In reality, the problem is frequently much messier. As Clausewitz noted, " . . . war is not a mere act of policy but a true political instrument, a continuation of political activity by other means."[8] Conversely, when war or combat ends, politics continues. US government and international agencies rarely have the resources and capabilities needed to address all tasks required in a COIN environment. By default, US and other military forces often possess the only readily available capability to meet many of the fundamental needs of local populations. Human decency and the law of war require military forces to assist populations where they live. Military leaders at every level should be prepared to address civilian needs. Optimally, military units would be structured to include competence in key areas such as:

- Knowledge, cultural understanding, and appreciation of the host nation and its region.

- Functional skills for interagency and host-nation coordination (for example, liaison and negotiation).

- Language skills enabling more effective coordination with the host nation, NGOs, and multinational partners.

- Knowledge of the civil foundations for infrastructure, economy, governance, or other lines of operations being pursued as part of the COIN effort.

More commonly, units optimized for combat operations are organized with a differing set of functional imperatives. Conventional or general-purpose military units frequently lack appropriate capabilities to address typical COIN challenges. Although training and organization offer possible improvements to meet such challenges, leaders should identify people in their units with regional expertise, interagency know-how, civil-military competence, and other critical skills that can usefully support a local population and host-nation government. Similar qualifications should apply to civilians operating in a COIN environment. For civilians, previous military experience and familiarity are valuable adjuncts to the functional skills they bring to bear on the key problems of an insurgency.

Integrating Civilian and Military Counterinsurgency Efforts

When the United States commits to assisting a host nation against an insurgency, success requires the application of national resources along multiple lines of operations, such as security, economics, governance, basic services, and humanitarian needs. The fact that efforts along one line of operations can easily affect progress in others means that uncoordinated actions are frequently counterproductive. Lines of operations in COIN focus primarily on the population. Each line is dependent on the others. Their interdependence is similar to factors in a multiplication equation; if the value of one of the lines of operations is zero, the overall product is zero. Many of these lines of operations require the application of expertise usually found in civilian organizations. These civilian organizations include US government agencies other than the Department of Defense; international organizations (such as the United Nations and its many suborganizations); nongovernmental organizations; private corporations; and other groups that wield diplomatic, informational, and economic power.

Where possible, formal relationships among groups should be established and maintained for unity of command. For all elements of the US government engaged in a particular COIN mission, formal command and control using established command relationships with a clear hierarchy should be axiomatic. Unity of command should also extend to all military forces supporting a host nation. The ultimate objective of these arrangements is for local military forces, police, and other security units to establish effective command and control while attaining a monopoly on the legitimate use of violence within the society.

As important as the principle of unity of command is to military operations, it is one of the most difficult and sensitive issues to resolve in COIN. US and other external military participation in COIN is inherently problematic, as it influences perceptions of the capacity and legitimacy of local authorities. Although unity of command of military forces is desirable, it may be impractical due to political considerations. Political sensitivities regarding the perceived subordination of national forces to those of other states or international organizations often preclude strong command relationships. The differing goals and fundamental independence of NGOs and local organizations frequently prevent formal relationships. In the absence of formal relationships governed by command authority, military leaders seek to persuade and influence other participants to contribute to attaining COIN objectives. Informal or less authoritative relationships include coordination and liaison with other participants. In some cases, direct interaction among various organizations may be impractical or undesirable. Basic awareness and general information sharing might be the most that can be accomplished.

Although unity of command may be more desirable and readily attainable among some COIN participants, unity of effort is a more comprehensive framework that reflects the maximum feasible integration of COIN efforts. Informed and strong leadership is a foundation of successful COIN operations. The appropriate focus of leadership is on the central problems that affect the local population. All elements supporting COIN should strive for the highest unity of effort. Given the primacy of political considerations, military forces often support civilian efforts. The mosaic nature of COIN operations, however, means that lead responsibility often shifts among military, civilian, and host-nation authorities. Regardless, military leaders should be prepared to assume local leadership for COIN efforts and remember that the organizing imperative is to focus on what needs to be done, not on who does it.

Countering an insurgency begins with understanding the complex environment and the numerous competing forces acting upon it. Gaining an understanding of the environment—to include the insurgents, affected populace, and disparate organizations attempting to counter the insurgency—is essential to an integrated COIN operation. The complexity of resolving the causes of the insurgency and integrating actions across multiple and interrelated lines of operations requires an understanding of the civilian and military capabilities, activities, and vision of resolution. Just as soldiers and Marines use different tactics to achieve an objective, so the various agencies acting to reestablish stability may differ in goals and approaches. When their actions are allowed to adversely impact each other, the population suffers and insurgents identify gaps to exploit. Integrated actions are essential to defeat the ideologies professed by insurgents. A shared understanding of the operation's purpose provides a unifying theme for COIN efforts. Through a common understanding of that purpose, the COIN team can design an operation that promotes effective collaboration and coordination among all agencies and the affected population.

A vast array of organizations can influence successful COIN operations. Given the complex diplomatic, informational, military, and economic context of an insurgency, there is no way for military leaders to assert command over all elements, nor should they try to do so. Among

interagency partners, NGOs, and private organizations, there are many interests and agendas that military forces will be unable to control. Additionally, local legitimacy is frequently affected by the degree to which local institutions are perceived as independent and capable without external support. Nevertheless, military leaders should make every effort to ensure that actions in support of the COIN effort are as well-integrated as possible. Active participation by military leaders is imperative to conduct coordination, establish liaison (formal and informal), and share information among various groups working on behalf of the local population. Influencing and persuading groups beyond a commander's direct control requires great skill and often great subtlety. As actively as commanders may pursue unity of effort, they should also be mindful of the visibility of their role and recognize the wisdom of acting indirectly and in ways that allow credit for success to go to others, particularly local individuals and organizations.

Local leaders, informal associations, families, tribes, private enterprises, humanitarian groups, and the media often play critical roles in influencing the outcome of a counterinsurgency but are beyond the control of military forces or civilian governing institutions. Involved commanders remain aware of the influence of such groups and are prepared to work with, through, or around them.

Meeting Contemporary Challenges

Today, the United States confronts insurgencies in Iraq and Afghanistan. Some observers have noted that the common element of these operations is their relationship to a larger insurgency within the Muslim world.[9] Furthermore, the conventional wisdom declaring that the United States cannot effectively prosecute counterinsurgency has the potential to degrade America's image of its own capacity and foster potential adversaries' views of American vulnerability. Such an assertion, one of the supposed meta-lessons of Vietnam, contributes to the widespread support this conventional wisdom garners. But the United States and other nations have a fairly strong record of triumph by counterinsurgents. Most insurgents fail. Insurgencies that succeed usually benefit from extensive outside support, sanctuary, and the shrewd exploitation of important divisions within the counterinsurgent coalition (domestically and internationally).

Understanding ideal and realistic divisions of labor in counterinsurgency supports two complementary proposals captured in one fairly simple principle; work toward the achievement of the ideal solution while enhancing the capabilities and performance of the agencies most likely to engage in such efforts. In short, while doing more to build the civilian capabilities widely understood to be more appropriate to the challenges that bear on a counterinsurgency, we also need to do more to enhance the capacity of the military individuals and organizations that have routinely, and quite logically, been called upon to conduct key portions of counterinsurgency. This requirement also relates to another key point regarding command and control. The discrete divisions of labor that make civilian and military realms attractively separate in peace are unlikely to hold up in the midst of an insurgency. Hence, it is not a matter of figuring out whose inbox the challenge belongs in; it belongs to both. This circumstance requires more sophisticated organizational mechanisms that allow the amalgamation of military and civilian efforts toward coherent integrated effects. The successful Civil Operations and Revolutionary Development Support program in Vietnam is an excellent example of integrated military and civilian activities. More recent efforts to establish Provincial Reconstruction Teams in Afghanistan and Iraq reflect similar intent but with much smaller size and less organizationally intertwined. The civil-military structure of the nascent US Africa Command headquarters and changes to the US Southern Command are promising but immature initiatives for better civil-military integration.

There are many programs that can support both military and civilian improvements. A key approach is to do more to educate the leaders of both communities to be better prepared for insurgency and other complex security challenges. Among the means that can help accomplish this are education, training, development, and assignment policies that do more to share the relevant expertise of civilian and military leaders across their respective domains. This is not to refute the undeniable value of specialization but to recognize that a quintessentially important aspect of meeting the types of comprehensive challenges posed by counterinsurgencies is to ensure that the ranks of civilian and military leaders include generalists who can make such complex operations work.

Effective, comprehensive counterinsurgency requires both more effort to build appropriate civilian capacity and better preparation of military forces to fill gaps that will inevitably appear by conducting or participating in political, social, informational, and economic programs that are crucial to counterinsurgency success. Even a dramatic increase in civilian capacity will not eliminate the armed forces' need to participate as well-integrated partners in counterinsurgencies' most relevant activities.

Contests for the allegiance of local populations are conflicts of ideas. A critical aspect of such contests is the degree to which perceptions of a population's well-being can be affected either by word or deed. To the insurgents' advantage, minimal success is often simply measured as a matter of survival and not losing. Counterinsurgents, on the other hand, have to win. Moreover, insurgents frequently benefit from a lack of accountability regarding truthfulness. The counterinsurgents, however, are hamstrung in some respects by the mere fact of their official accountability. Insurgents can spin idealized versions of life in the aftermath of their victory. They are free to declaim as they wish about a supposed future that they will not have to deliver if in fact they are able to exercise effective, forceful coercion of a population. Counterinsurgents, on the other hand, have the onus of a record of governance and, paradoxically, responsibility for the failure to prevent disruptions caused by insurgents. This fundamental asymmetry of public communication places a premium on the counterinsurgents' informational programs. Distinctively, it requires painstaking adherence in word and deed to high standards of restraint in the face of the insurgents' brazen taunting, calculated deception, and hard-to-refute assertions.

For both recommendations, the primary obstacles to success are the well-established bureaucratic standards that account, often beneficially, for the divisions of labor that exist in the first place. Large organizations work hard to establish their core professional jurisdictions and associated expertise. Hence, the virtues of expertise and efficiency that have made large civilian and military organizations the effective servants of society also can impede success in the domains, such as counterinsurgency, that fall uncomfortably across the seams of well-established organizational habit.[10]

Conclusion

As President John F. Kennedy eloquently noted, "You [military professionals] must know something about strategy and tactics and logistics, but also economics and politics and diplomacy and history. You must know everything you can know about military power, and you must also understand the limits of military power. You must understand that few of the important problems of our time have . . . been finally solved by military power alone." [11] Nowhere is this insight more relevant than in COIN. But it also runs into a conceptual dilemma that often bedevils Americans, the tendency toward simplistic association of particular organizations with particular categories of problems. The historical problem for the United States is the propensity

to focus on counterinsurgency as a form of war and therefore to try to place it in the notionally discrete organizational inbox of our military establishment. But this is a mistake. Although all wars are complex political conflicts that defy exclusive reliance on any one element of national power, in countering an insurgency, the perils of over-reliance on the military instrument are particularly pronounced.

As President Kennedy rightly counseled, military professionals are best prepared when they understand the nonmilitary aspects that define the full meaning of the national policy aims they serve. But civilian leaders have an attendant responsibility as well. They can never abdicate responsibility for war's ultimate aim in meeting national policy objectives with the full range of instruments derived from military and civilian capabilities. In a counterinsurgency, this stipulation requires a unity of effort that is uncommonly difficult to achieve. Enemies know this and constantly seek to exploit precisely such weakness. French Premier Georges Clemenceau noted in 1918 that "it is easier to do war than to do peace."[12] But it is even harder in the midst of an insurgency to build the necessary foundations for peace when those organizations best capable of such feats, including the military, fear or fail to tread where they are needed. Neither military nor civilian efforts alone can succeed. Only comprehensive programs pursued through well-integrated military and civilian activities provide reasonable prospects of counterinsurgency success.

Endnotes

1. Many elements of this article benefited from the input of other individuals who assisted or guided the author in the drafting and revision of Chapter 2, "Unity of Effort: Integrating Civilian and Military Activities," in Field Manual 3-24/Marine Corps Warfighting Publication 3-33.5, *Counterinsurgency* (Washington: Headquarters Department of the Army, 2006).

2. It is important to note that this is a strategic principle and not necessarily a tactical one.

3. Field Manual 3-24, *Counterinsurgency* (Washington: Headquarters Department of the Army, 2006), 1-27.

4. For a description of the relationship between offense, defense, and stability operations, see Field Manual 3-0, *Operations* (Washington: Headquarters Department of the Army, 2008), especially Chapter 3, "Full Spectrum Operations", 3-1 to 3-22

5. Richard Lacquement, "Building Peace in the Wake of War: Appropriate Roles for Armed Forces and Civilians," in Paul J. Bolt, Damon V. Coletta, and Collins G. Shackelford, Jr., eds., *American Defense Policy* (8th ed.; Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 2005), 282-94.

6. The quality of leaders themselves is also a function of strong professional military education and training systems, particularly for officers and noncommissioned officers.

7. Joint Publication 1-02, *Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms* (as amended through 17 March 2009) (Washington: Joint Chiefs of Staff, 2001), http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/dod_dictionary/, 511.

8. Carl von Clausewitz, *On War,* trans. and ed. by Michael Howard and Peter Paret (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1976), 87.

9. David J. Kilcullen, "Countering Global Insurgency," *Journal of Strategic Studies,* 28 (August 2005), 597- 617.

10. This was the major theme of the Vietnam War critique of American government by R. W. Komer, Bureaucracy Does Its Thing: Institutional Constraints on U.S.-GVN Performance in Vietnam (Santa Monica, Calif.: RAND, 1972). Komer described the significant difficulty the US government faced in addressing the challenges of the counterinsurgency in Vietnam that cut against the grain of bureaucratic habits.

11. John F. Kennedy, "Remarks at Annapolis to the Graduating Class of the United States Naval Academy," 7 June 1961, John T. Woolley and Gerhard Peters, *The American Presidency Project* (Santa Barbara: University of California, Santa Barbara), http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=8181.

12. Alexandre Ribot, *Journal d'Alexandre Ribot et Correspondances Inedites,* 1914-1922 (Paris: Plon et Nourrit, 1936), 255 as quoted in Roland Paris, *At War's End: Building Peace After Civil Conflict* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2004), xi.

Partner Nation Capacity Building: Setting Conditions for Success

Colonel Kenneth J. Crawford, U.S. Army

Reprinted with permission from the January–February 2010 issue of *Military Review.*

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 Figure 2-1, 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 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.
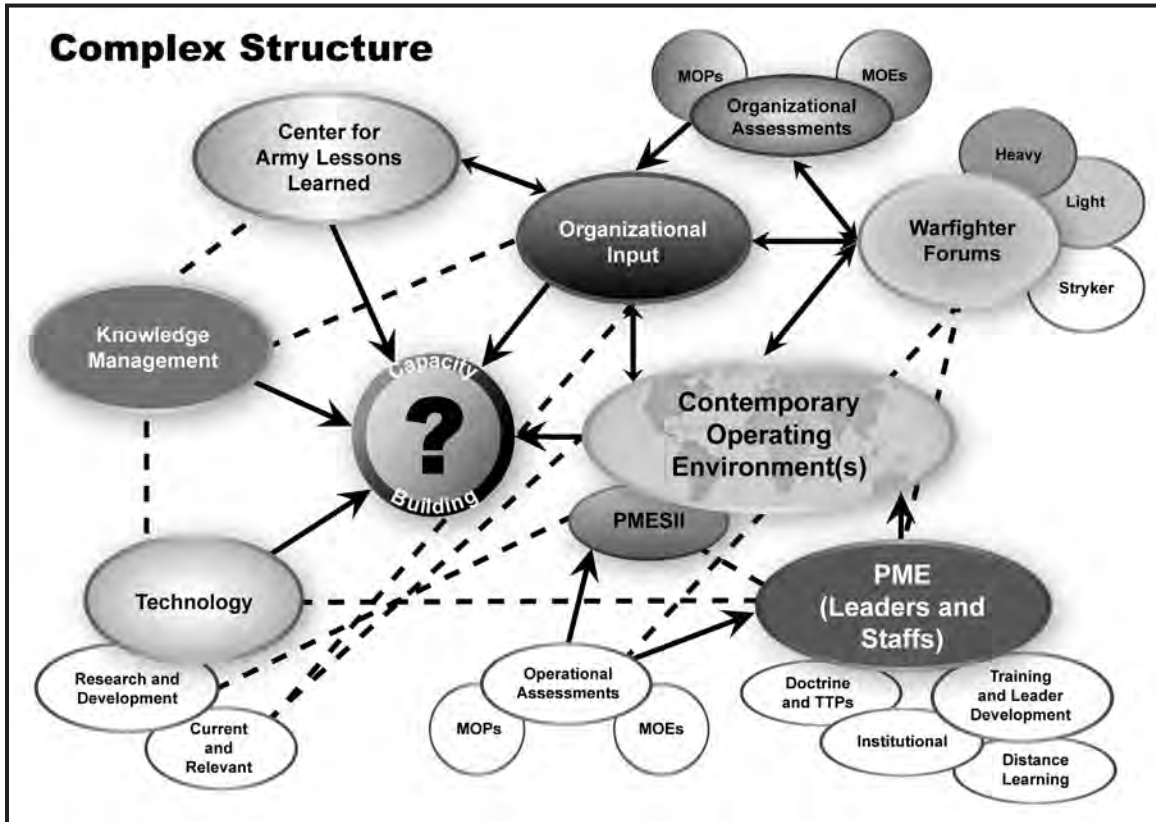
Figure 2-1

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 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.

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 a 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 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

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 pre-deployment 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 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 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 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 environment, 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. Pre-deployment 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.

Endnotes

1. U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command Pamphlet 525-5-500, *The U.S. Army Commander's Appreciation and Campaign Design,* ver. 1.0 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office [GPO]), 28 January 2008

2. Department of Defense Directive Number 3000.05, *Military Support for Stability, Security, Transition, and Reconstruction Operations* (Washington, DC: GPO, 28 November 2005).

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).

4. Office of the Under Secretary of Defense for Personnel and Readiness Director, Readiness and Training Policy and Programs, *Strategic Plan for Transforming DOD Training* (Washington, DC: GPO, 8 May 2006).

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.

6. Ibid., 51.

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/>.

Guiding Principles for Stability and Reconstruction: Introducing a Roadmap for Peace

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

Reprinted with permission from the January-February 2010 issue of *Military Review.*

If 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 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 3-1). 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 bubbles signify interconnectedness across all five end states; the central bubble suggests that the seven crosscutting principles apply in all five end states.

Figure 3-1. Strategic framework for stabilization and reconstruction

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

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 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 3-2.
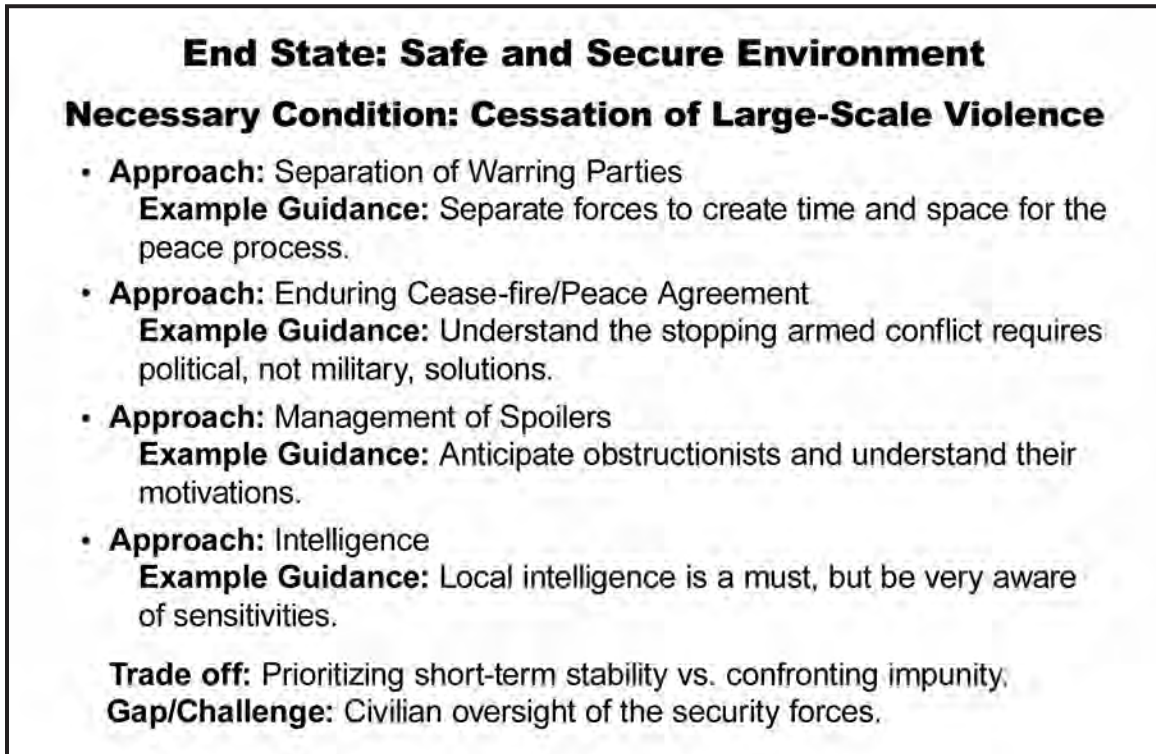

End State: Safe and Secure Environment

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 Cease-fire/Peace Agreement
  Example Guidance: Understand the 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 3-2

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.

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 3-3).
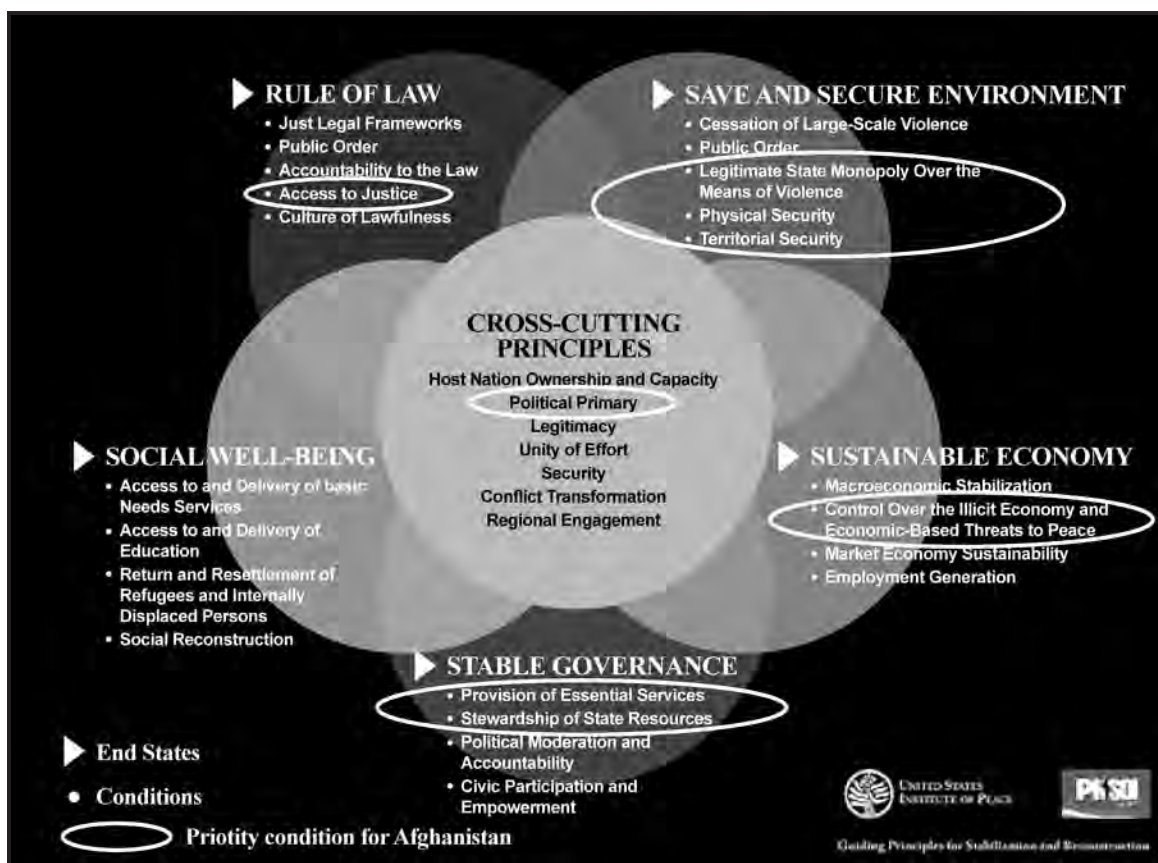

Figure 3-3. Strategic framework with priority conditions for Afghanistan

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 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 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 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, delegitimizing 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 sub-national 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.

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 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*.

Endnotes

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-recon-struction>.

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.

"Africa's Future Is Up to Africans:"
Putting the President's Words into Action

General William E. "Kip" Ward and Colonel Thomas P. Galvin

President Barack Obama's address in Accra, Ghana, in July 2009, signaled a pivotal moment for U.S. policy toward and priorities in Africa. Many in the United States increasingly recognize the growing importance of Africa in global affairs. With the President's address, U.S. leadership demonstrated this view publicly and laid out its priorities clearly and directly to an African audience.

Our national interests lie in a stable Africa, with the peoples of its continental and island nations living in relative peace, being governed relatively effectively, and enjoying relative economic and social advancement. Seeing Africa's populations able to provide for themselves and contribute to global economic development is good for America, as is access to African resources and markets in free, fair, and competitive ways.

The most significant theme of the address was that our nation's approach would start from the "simple premise that Africa's future is up to Africans."[1] While this may have been implied by previous U.S. National Security Strategies since the 9/11 attacks, much of the national security language was suggestive of the United States seeking to help fix problems and correct conditions in Africa that might foster transnational threats directed at the homeland. Even though the statement had been made that "overcoming the challenges [that] Africa faces requires partnership, not paternalism,"[2] African perceptions of increased U.S. attention were very different, as shown in the strategic communications short-falls brought on by the establishment of U.S. Africa Command (USAFRICOM) in 2007.[3]

President Obama laid out his five priority areas where the United States can contribute to a brighter future in Africa—democracy, opportunity, health, peaceful resolution of conflict, and addressing transnational challenges[4]—and alluded to how this should be done. With respect to democracy, he stated, "America will not seek to impose any system of government on any other nation. The essential truth of democracy is that each nation determines its own destiny."[5] The President also noted the extent to which Africans have been dependent on international aid, saying, "The purpose of foreign assistance must be creating the conditions where it's no longer needed." This theme of pursuing self-reliance was resonant throughout the speech and was well received.

But how should this new policy be implemented from a U.S. national security perspective? Achievement in each of these priority areas requires long-term engagement and can be prone to occasional setbacks. While the President praised Ghana's history of peaceful transfer of power, there have been recent extra-constitutional changes of power in Guinea and Madagascar. African opportunities for economic growth and development are being shackled by longstanding corruption that will take many years to remove. Conflict and the threat of conflict due to longstanding border disputes, unresolved ethnic tensions, large refugee populations, arms trafficking, and endemic poverty are complex and difficult problems, providing fodder for extremism. Progress against these challenges has been measurable. But to Americans concerned about threats emanating from Africa, the pace of transformational change seems unacceptably slow.

Making matters even more complex is the unfortunate fact that some within the United States, in Africa, and around the world have come to equate USAFRICOM with the main African effort of our nation. Those who have worked with the command know that it acts in support of U.S. foreign policy objectives and that its activities only occur with the input and approval of U.S. Chiefs of Mission. But the level of resources and high visibility that come with the U.S. military contribute to a perception of the geographic combatant command, rather than the Embassy, being the "face of the franchise," so to speak.

Operationalizing these priorities, each of which involves diplomacy and development, places a premium on all U.S. agencies working collaboratively among the so-called 3Ds of diplomacy, development, and defense. From a security and stability perspective, it is more than what we contribute to the effort: it is how we contribute and whether the ultimate goal is achieved—Africans determining their own future.

Five Priorities for Africa

The priorities listed in the President's speech are straightforward and did not, in and of themselves, signal anything new. After all, the United States has been globally promoting democracy and opportunity in one form or another since the early days of the Cold War. But it was the words behind the priorities that were significant, and where the policy direction for the U.S. military comes from.

Democracy. The President made clear that democracy was "more than just holding elections. It's also about what happens between elections."[6] He described the importance of good governance, implemented through stable and effective institutions such as "strong parliaments, honest police forces, independent judges, an independent press, a vibrant private sector, [and] a civil society."[7] While some African nations have these, others are hampered by corruption driven by money and ethnicity, or by an inability or unwillingness to extend governance outside the capital and major economic centers of activity.

The impacts on African militaries are staggering. Lacking the means and institutions to provide for effective and ready forces, several nations have difficulties providing basic equipment to their soldiers or even paying them. As a result, good order and discipline suffer. Furthermore, the influence of corruption erodes the professional sense of ethics that is well understood and taken for granted among developed nations.

Opportunity. Although this priority mostly concerns economic development, there are two areas with clear security implications: infrastructure and protection of vital resources.

Views from space of Africa at night clearly depict the current inadequate state of infrastructure development across the continent. Most of the development is concentrated on the coasts, while vast interior spaces lack adequate roads, railroads, airports, power, or communications. Insufficient access to food or reliable water sources is a stressor on the people, stunting economic growth and sowing the seeds of conflict. Meanwhile, the continent is being robbed blind of its abundant natural resources. Illegal fishing is an excellent example, with nearly $1 billion in lost revenues and food supply in sub-Saharan Africa in 2009.[8]

Public Health. Unquestionably, this is a concern for Americans, as Africa is home to several dangerous pandemic diseases. HIV/AIDS garners much attention, but malaria and tuberculosis are also major concerns. A lesser known factor is the impact of disease on the readiness of the

security sector. United Nations (UN) Resolution 1308 was declared because of the impacts of HIV on UN peace-keeping missions. Meanwhile, poorly manned and equipped public health facilities leave both civilian and military populations vulnerable to illness.

Prevention of Conflict. President Obama stated, "For far too many Africans, conflict is a part of life. . . . There are wars over land and wars over resources. And it is still far too easy for those without conscience to manipulate whole communities into fighting among faiths and tribes."[9]

While many of Africa's bloody civil wars are over, not all of them have been resolved to the point of assuring no return to hostilities. Meanwhile, several known major hotspots remain. Somalia is foremost in many people's minds because of piracy in the Gulf of Aden and east Indian Ocean, while the Transitional Federal Government is fighting Islamic extremist groups. The Lord's Resistance Army continues its horrendous assault against the peoples among five central and eastern African nations of the Great Lakes region. Southern Sudan may pursue a referendum to secede from Sudan, which could be very contentious, while insurgent activity continues to affect the Darfur region. Tensions in the Niger Delta remain high, as does north-south friction across several nations in the Sahel.

Imposing peace from the outside through military force or coercion is not a recipe for success; in fact, many of the embattled nations would resist. Life under colonialism is still well remembered and leaves a bitter aftertaste. Instead, keeping the hotspots cool is better left to the Africans, although they need assistance in the form of training and equipping their military peacekeeping units, as well as planning and sustaining operations.

Addressing Transnational Challenges. Similarly, challenges such as terrorism, drug and arms trafficking, illegal migrations, and the spread of extremist ideologies must be addressed in order to prevent the onset of new tensions or exacerbation of existing ones. The borderless nature of these challenges must be met by solutions based on regional cooperation, which is itself a conundrum given that many neighboring nations in Africa have long histories of conflict. Building trust among them involves developing capabilities to share information and intelligence and operate under common sight pictures.

What Africans Are telling Us

The good news is that these priorities were consistent with the expressed desires of many African political and military leaders with whom we have engaged since our 2007 inception. They told us they also desire African solutions to African problems, especially in providing for their own security and stability in ways that serve to prevent future conflicts and promote the full resolution of existing ones. They recognized the post-independence legacy of some African militaries that served as protectors of the regime first or that have succumbed to corruptive influences, and instead want their armed forces to be seen as protectors of the people and legitimate representatives of the best values of their nations. As they provided us their views and perspectives, four common themes emerged, consolidated below as a shared security vision for Africa.

> 1. We are all striving for an Africa whose military elements perform professionally and with integrity. Africans want their militaries to serve as protectors of the people, not oppressors. They want effective and honorable armed forces that are sufficiently trained, equipped, and sustained to contribute to stability and that are free from corruption and indiscipline.

2. We are all striving for an Africa that bolsters and promotes legitimate and professional security institutions. Africans want their militaries to generally conform in roles and purposes to other militaries around the world. They want an end to irregular militias or forces loyal to the executive at the expense of the population. They want civil authority over the armed forces, under capable institutions that ensure the training, equipping, and sustaining of the units and the readiness and well-being of the servicemembers and their families.

3. We are all striving for an Africa that has the will and means to dissuade, deter, and defeat transnational threats. The African countries uniformly express a strong desire to have the capacity to deal with their own security issues, including greater abilities in peacekeeping and exporting security across the continent. This is true at the national level and theater-wide.

Lowering dependence on external assistance is contingent on the demonstrated ability to properly and proportionately employ security capabilities when and where needed. This is true at the national, regional, and theater levels, such that nations facing these threats can turn to neighbors, the Regional Economic Communities, or the African Union (AU) for support when needed.

African countries have been increasingly demonstrating the political will to over-come these challenges and take ownership of their security domain. For example, several nations banded together to dismantle significant elements of the Lord's Resistance Army. The partnership developing among the Gulf of Guinea nations to improve maritime security is another. The AU and its five Regional Economic Communities are growing and maturing rapidly and are pursuing the formation of an African Standby Force of five brigades to respond in times of crisis.

4. We are all striving for an Africa whose militaries and governments increasingly support international peace efforts. Africans prefer to resolve conflicts and sustain peace in partnerships with fellow Africans, with or supported by the international community. Over time, they believe they can address underlying conditions that cause conflict. They also know that supporting peace efforts on other continents is good for Africa and for the world.

Stability: The Overarching Need

Turning this vision into a reality requires stability in the short term that can be self-sustaining for the long haul. Nations must be generally free from the threat of violence such that economic development can continue, as seen with the continent's overall 2008 growth of 6 percent and 2009 growth of 1.75 percent, despite significant impacts from the global downturn.[10] The private sector needs encouragement to invest in African infrastructure, which can only happen if tensions can remain calm.

Stability is not a static condition; it will come about only through measurable progress in the development of African security capacity across the spectrum: military, police forces, border security, customs, and the institutions that recruit, train, equip, sustain, and support them. It also comes about through the changes in attitudes and perceptions toward security forces among the

people, through building trust and demonstrating capability, consistency, and proportionality when dealing with a threat.

Stability must come together at multiple levels—nationally, regionally, and across the whole continent, its island nations, and surrounding waters. As national governments build trust with their own people, nations must band together to confront common threats, lest the enemies of peace exploit the seams. Meanwhile, the AU is a young but growing organization that is increasingly playing a stronger political role on the continent, especially involving itself in the adjudication of crises. A strong AU keeps an African face on solutions in situations that are beyond the nations' abilities to address. The development of the AU African Standby Force (ASF) is an important step toward self-sustaining stability, as it provides a rapid reaction force for the continent, although this is a long-term endeavor to develop full capability. The Regional Economic Communities, which will each contribute a brigade to the ASF, are themselves in different stages of development and representation of their constituencies.

This form of stability fosters an environment that encourages Africans to deter the enemies of peace, safeguard innocent civilians from violence and theft, cause violent extremist ideologies to be repudiated, and build mutual trust and respect between defense establishments and the people they are defending. Such an environment would facilitate the achievement of their security vision.

If we are to support the African pursuit of stability, we must embrace the commonalities while listening and learning about the differences. We readily agree that the scourges of violent extremism, kidnapping, piracy, narcotics, arms and human trafficking, and corruption are cancers that are holding African societies back from their fullest potential. We recognize that the perpetrators are merciless and cannot be appeased.

However, Africans see their environment differently than we do. In the recent past, terrorism was the chief U.S. concern. The current administration is equally concerned about ensuring the protection of innocent populations against genocide. Our African partners often have different priorities. We have found continuously that listening to and learning from our partners are vital to resolving differences in perspective and in our ability to provide support to African stability until they have the means to provide it for themselves.

Pursuit of the Vision

Building partner security capacity is the primary role that USAFRICOM performs on a day-to-day basis. It is clear from the vision and stated national priorities that the traditional focus of security force assistance—the training and readiness of units—is but a very small part of the requirement. Our capabilities to build capacity must touch all domains (for example, ground, air, and maritime) and functions (for example, combat forces, logistics, intelligence, command and control, and medical). The outcomes are trained and ready forces that are capable across the spectrum of conflict, but are concentrated on those capabilities the Africans are requesting: peacekeeping, counterinsurgency, and maritime security rather than conventional warfare. And the processes must be unobtrusive to ensure that African ownership of newfound capacity is instilled from the beginning, when activities are being planned. This means that most of our activities are necessarily small in scale, yet their impact is tremendous.

Our exercise series Africa Endeavor is a good example. Begun as a multinational communications interoperability exercise, the 2009 iteration hosted by Gabon involved 26 African countries, the greatest number of participants to date. Although the exercise is facilitated by USAFRICOM, it is governed by the participating nations. The Africans formed a steering committee that determines the locations of the exercise and all its planning conferences, along with the parameters and objectives. This ensures a steady progression in interoperability and cooperative spirit with which the participants are comfortable. It also avoids political challenges should the United States and any key participating nation experience differences that would lead others to question the exercise's true motivation.

Another example was Natural Fire, a combined tabletop and crisis response exercise involving 650 soldiers from five African nations plus 550 U.S. Servicemembers led by U.S. Army Africa (USARAF). The lead African nation was Uganda, which established the locations and parameters of the tactical portion with USARAF assistance. The other four nations—Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, and Tanzania—faced common challenges in dealing with major regional humanitarian crises, and the exercise was tailored to help them through the process of formulating plans and conducting relief operations.

The following are some of the areas where we are concentrating our efforts.

Building Effective Noncommissioned Officer Corps. The noncommissioned officer (NCO) corps of the U.S. military provides critical small-unit leadership to Soldiers and units, and is the direct link to the senior leadership. Several African nations have NCO[11] corps that either are underdeveloped or are more vulnerable to corruptive influences. Some nations have NCOs with limited professional experience due to turmoil or transformational efforts. Our African partners, recognizing that stable NCO corps lead to more effective and sustainable units and security institutions, have turned to us for assistance.

By helping partners train and develop their NCOs, we have a greater chance of instilling the qualities that help those NCOs train and guide their own units. Such an approach is welcomed by many partners, including those with more mature NCO corps, as it requires fewer U.S. personnel than efforts to train whole units, and the results are longer lasting.

Building Support Capabilities. Just as the U.S. military places its core competencies, such as training combat skills, first among all priorities, so do our partners. Yet as we know, our success has come from the development across our battlefield operating systems. We have won many wars through our supremacy in logistics, intelligence, fire support, command and control, and other areas. We have placed a premium on caring for our Servicemembers, providing them with top-notch medical, dental, financial, legal, religious, and family support that directly improves their readiness.

Many of our African partners have only rudimentary capabilities and must rely on outside assistance. For example, while African nations are receiving peacekeeping training through the Africa Contingency Operations Training Assistance program, American or other international partners are still relied upon to deploy to and sustain peacekeeping operations they conduct.

Building Special Staff Capabilities. An important component of the U.S. military includes the functions performed by its special staffs that support the chain of command in enforcing standards and ethics. Many African partners have limited (if any) inspectors general, legal counsels, public affairs or strategic communicators, or chaplain programs.

Establishing these functions can have stabilizing effects on forces facing challenges or pressures from corruptive influences, internal ethnic divisions, or distrust from the civilian population. The USAFRICOM Office of the Inspector General develops its own capabilities that help increase transparency without sacrificing operational security and provides an additional voice for Servicemembers to address problems. The USAFRICOM Office of the Legal Counsel helps partners establish and improve their military justice systems; ensure that their activities follow the rule of law; and effectively, fairly, and judiciously prosecute crimes by military members. The USAFRICOM Office of the Chaplain helps partners bridge gaps across faith groups and promote diversity within the partners' forces.

Our special staff also promotes regional cooperation by encouraging counterparts to establish relationships with each other, whether through conferences or direct contact. This enhances interoperability and regional cooperation among the militaries as a whole.

Building and Improving Military or Dual-use Infrastructure. Some of our African partners are saddled with old or dilapidated training facilities or bases that were sufficient for a conscription force focused on basic combat skills but are now inadequate for professional forces operating across a wider spectrum. Through programs such as Exercise-Related Construction (ERC), we leverage planned activities to improve our partners' military infrastructure. ERC is military construction that supports overseas joint exercises through building or improving infrastructure in locations with no permanent U.S. presence. It provides great benefits for later conduct of joint and combined exercises, enhances the morale and quality of life among troops, and trains our military engineers. In fiscal year 2009, seven projects were performed at a cost of $2.4 million, including runway construction and improvement and upgrades to training ranges.

Promoting Formal Regional Cooperation. Without question, our partners are growing more accustomed to working together at levels not seen before. Two Africa Partnership Station deployments in the Gulf of Guinea have both enhanced maritime capacity and encouraged intelligence and information-sharing among those partners at unprecedented levels. The threats of the Lord's Resistance Army in central Africa and al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb in the north have similarly drawn nations together in response, including states that once warred against each other.

Regional solutions is a relative term that means different things to different people. For some, the tendency is toward the Regional Economic Communities. For others, it is a simple collective of one's immediate geographic neighbors. There are other manifestations. If the response matches the challenge rather than a broader abstract ideology or vision, it will reduce stronger and more lasting partnerships, and we should encourage them.

Promoting African-led Strategic Dialogue. Our experience is showing that the African people are growing more aware of their security challenges and feeling more empowered to address them. While not all will have the opportunity to contribute equally to the solution, the fact that the dialogue is taking place is important. We need to encourage and sustain this dialogue by expanding strategic communications opportunities and ensuring our actions and effects are consistent with what both our partner militaries and the people they serve are saying. This is also another way to foster regional efforts, built on shared trust, shared understanding, and shared responsibility.

Reinforce Success

Naturally, the small scale of such activities means that follow-up is essential to help our partners turn the short-term gains into self-sustaining capabilities. This is more than a follow-up for its own sake; it is about helping ensure that the short-term benefits of our activities translate into progress toward the vision. Some of our approaches include:

Leveraging the "Demonstration Effect." Although tailoring to our partners' needs is a must, successful programs and activities can often be applied elsewhere. We have found that word spreads when things go well, which helped lead to the expansion of some of our successful programs early on.

The Africa Partnership Station (APS) is an excellent example. Stemming from regional concerns about maritime security, two U.S. ships traveled up and down the Gulf of Guinea coast from late 2007 through early 2008, providing tailored training, exercises, education, and partnership opportunities based on the requests of participating nations. Additionally, APS brought along international staff and observers from European and African countries and nongovernmental organizations needing transportation to access populations they otherwise might not reach. This deployment was so successful that our partners wanted another one, and then another. Other nations saw the benefits and decided to participate. By the end of 2009, five APS deployments had been conducted, with one led by the Netherlands. In fiscal year 2010, we are hosting two more APS deployments, one each in east and west Africa, while the Belgian navy is also conducting APS in the Gulf of Guinea.

Demonstrating African Ownership

Although it seems counterintuitive, touting U.S. successes can sometimes be counterproductive. While we are clearly proud of the programs and activities we are performing, the stronger messages come from the successes the Africans themselves realize. Our role is instead to enable.

A recent example is what happened during an African Maritime Law Enforcement Program (AMLEP) deployment to a West African nation. AMLEP is a cooperative effort with the Department of Homeland Security, Department of Transportation, and U.S. Coast Guard that builds partner maritime law enforcement capacity and detects and deters illicit activities within partner nation Economic Exclusion Zones. It involves institution-building, as some nations lack the necessary judicial and legal processes to determine disposition of captured sailors and ships, and processing of evidence. As it turned out, the participating Coast Guard cutter, with embarked partner nation naval and law enforcement officials, found a foreign trawler stealing fish from unpatrolled waters. The illegal vessel was seized by host nation authorities, who took possession of the trawler and its contents and prosecuted its crew. Information gathered during the AMLEP rotation subsequently helped the nation make more effective use of its limited patrolling assets.

Matching Actions with Words. There remain concerns and perceptions of the USAFRICOM role in U.S. activities on the continent being greater than that of other U.S. agencies. Rather than countering words with words, which does little to assure our partners, we act by example. Because USAFRICOM is not the lead for our nation's foreign policy, we do not act until we garner concurrence and approval from the U.S. Ambassadors and Country Teams before

implementing a program, and we reinforce this relationship when consulting with partners. They find this reassuring, as it shows them the benefits of proper civilian authority that ensures unity in pursuing national policy objectives and transparency that fosters trust. Thus, our partners have been comfortable working with us to pursue their long-term goals.

The U.S. Africa Command approach supports the defense aspects of the President's priorities by fostering the development of defense establishments—formations, facilities, and institutions—that serve its people in ways supportive of African goals. In turn, this helps grow stability that facilitates other priorities, such as opportunity and public health. Much of what we do is "under the radar," but, as the above shows, it is for a purpose. The President stated it best: "Africa's future is up to Africans." As a supporting partner in the U.S. Government effort in Africa, we ensure our actions are in keeping with that premise. By so doing, U.S. national interests are achieved in this important part of the world.

Contributors: Vice Admiral Robert T. Moeller, USN, Major General Michael A. Snodgrass, USAF, and Ms. Christina K. Dall.

Endnotes

1. Barack Obama, "A New Moment of Promise in Africa," remarks at Accra International Conference Center, Accra, Ghana, July 11, 2009; available at <www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Remarks-by-the-President-to-the-Ghanaian-Parliament/>.

2. *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America* (Washington, DC: The White House, March 2006).

3. Robert T. Moeller and Mary C. Yates, "The Road to a New Unified Command," Joint Force Quarterly 51 (4th Quarter 2008), 67–73.

4. Obama. President Obama specified the first four, while alluding to the fifth.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

8. David Agnew et al., *The Global Extent of Illegal Fishing* (London: Marine Resources Assessment Group, 2008), 2.

9. Obama.

10. International Monetary Fund (IMF), *World Economic Outlook 2009: Sustaining the Recovery* (Washington, DC: IMF Publication Services, October 2009), 89.

11. Among nations following the British system, the noncommissioned officer corps also includes warrant officers.

Forward in Africa: U.S. Africa Command and the U.S. Army in Africa

MAJ GEN William B. Garrett III, COL Stephen J. Mariano, and MAJ Adam Sanderson

Reprinted with permission from the January-February 2010 issue of *Military Review.*

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 5-1), 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 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.
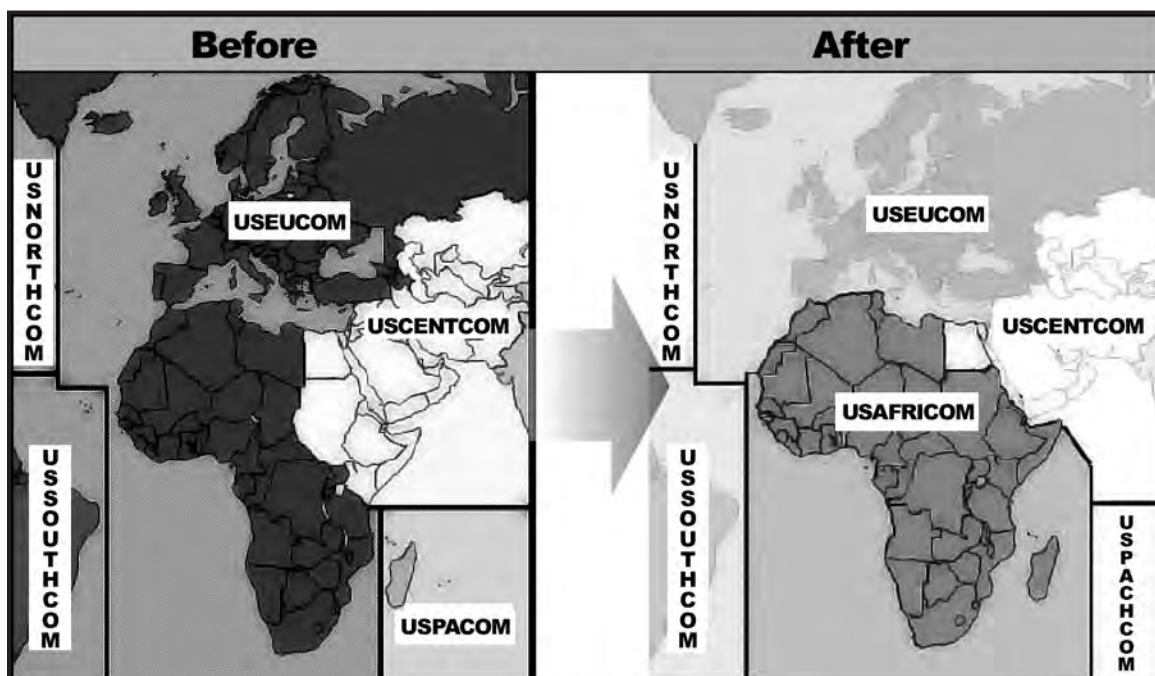
Figure 5-1. A changed world—Unified Command Plan 2008

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 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 conficts."[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 5-2 depicts conflict prevention in Joint Publication 3.0 during Phase 0 activities.)
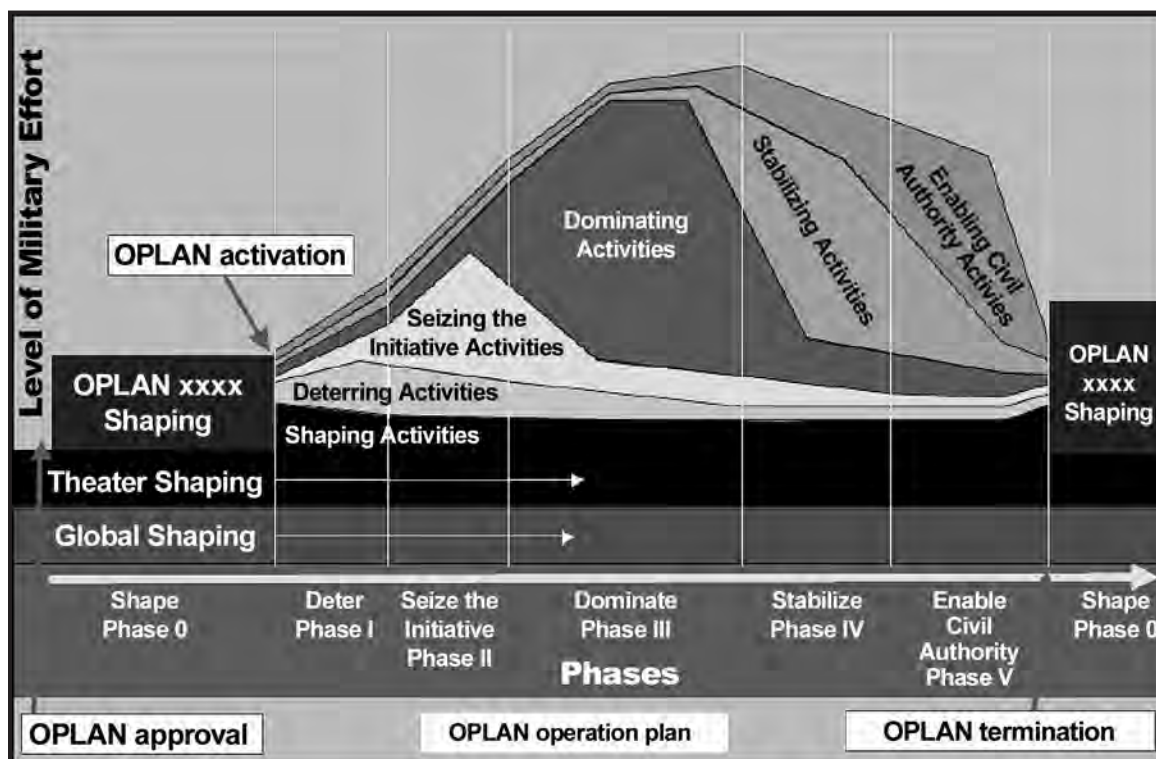
Figure 5-2. Notational operation plan phases versus level of military effort

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.

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 assistance 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 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 5-3 shows the regions, brigade names, headquarters locations, and six scenarios against which the units train. 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.
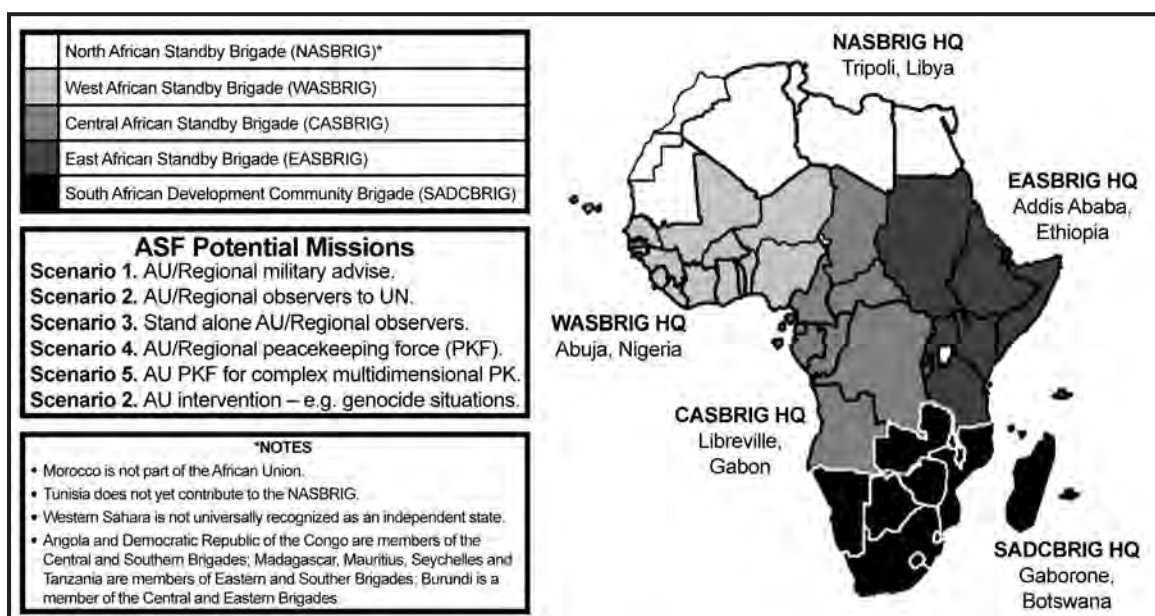

Figure 5-3. The African Standby Force

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 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.

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.

Endnotes

1. Patrick Smith, "People, Power and Numbers," *The Africa Report 19*, October-November 2009, 3.

2. G. Tucker Childs, *An Introduction to African Languages* (Amsterdam: John Benjamin, 2003).

3. International Monetary Fund, World Economic Outlook Database, April 2009.

4. Andrew Mack, *Human Security Brief 2006,* Human Security Centre, University of British Columbia, Canada, 7-13, < www.ligi.ubc.ca/sites/liu/fles/Publications/HSBrief.pdf> (24 Oct 2009).

5. United Nations, official website, <www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/contribu-tors/2009/aug09_4.pdf> (29 September 2009).

6. Ibid.

7. Steven Metz, "Refining American Strategy in Africa," Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle Barracks, PA; February 2000, 2, <www.questia.com/PM.qst?a=o&d=109338988> (1 November 2009).

8. The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, remarks by the President to the Ghanaian Parliament, Accra International Conference Center, Accra, Ghana, 11 July 2009, <www.america.gov/st/texttrans-english/2009/July/200 90711110050abretnuh0.1079783.html&distid=ucs> (24 October 2009).

9. Statement of Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton, Nominee for Secretary of State, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 13 Jan 09, <http://foreign.senate.gov/testimony/2009/ClintonTestimony090113a.pdf> (27 October 2009).

10. Hillary Rodham Clinton, U.S. Secretary of State, remarks with reporters in the correspondents' room, Washington, DC, 27 January 2009, Department of State website, <www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2009a/01/115450. htm> (24 October 2009).

11. Max G. Manwaring, Defense, Development, and Diplomacy (3D): Canadian and U.S. Military Perspectives, U.S. Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, 21-23 June 2006; www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/ pdffiles/PUB732.pdf

12. U.S. Army Field Manual 3-0, Operations (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, October 2008)

13. Sean McFate, "U.S. Africa Command: A New Strategic Paradigm?" Military Review (January-February 2008): 18.

14. Reuben E. Brigety II, "Humanity as a Weapon of War: Sustainable Security and the Role of the U.S. Military," Center for American Progress, June 2008, 4, <www.americanprogress.org/issues/2008/06/pdf/sustainable_security2. pdf> (7 April 2009).

15. Robert M. Gates, "A Balanced Strategy: Reprogramming the Pentagon for a New Age," *Foreign Affairs,* January-February 2009, 29-30.

16. Department of Defense Instruction 3000.05, Stability Operations, 16 September 2009, <www.dtic.mil/whs/ directives/corres/pdf/300005p.pdf>.

17. Ibid.

18. See for example, Edward Marks, "Why USAFRICOM," *Joint Force Quarterly*, 1st Quarter, 2009, 148-51; and Moussa Diop Mboup, Michael Mihalka, and Douglas Lathrop, "Misguided Intentions: Resisting USAFRICOM," *Military Review* (July-August 2009): 87-92.

19. William E. Ward and Thomas P. Galvin, "U.S. Africa Command and the Principle of Active Security," *Joint Force Quarterly,* 4th Quarter 2008, 62.

20. U.S. Department of Defense Directive 5100.1 (November 13, 2003), 13.

21. This paragraph was drawn from a previous article, Stephen J. Mariano and George L. Deuel, "Crisis Prevention, USAFRICOM, Partnerships and the US Army," *On Track 14*, no. 3, Autumn 2009, 31, <http://cda-cdai.ca/cdai/ uploads/cdai/2008/12/ontrack14n3.pdf>.

22. U.S. Army Africa Operations Order 09-87, SETAF Transformation to U.S. Army Africa, 28 July 2009, 9.

23. The combined SETAF MTOE and TDA were around 168 authorizations. The current MTOE and TDA authorize 428 military and civilians. Under the ASCC Design 5.4, U.S. Army Africa will total 745 military and civilian personnel, still smaller than the standard 900-person design.

24. Brigety, 2.

25. Lawrence J. Korb, "Assessing the Debates: Development, Diplomacy, and Defense as a Policy Framework," 2; see USASAC Directory, <www.usasac.army.mil/Contact/Countries.pdf> and Defense Security Cooperation Agency (DSCA) Historical Facts Book, <www.dsca.mil/programs/biz-ops/factsbook/FactsBook08.pdf>.

26. This includes the 53 countries in the USAFRICOM area of responsibility (AOR) and Egypt, which is technically in the USCENTCOM AOR, but will be invited.

27. Robert M. Gates, Speech to United States Corps of Cadets, U.S. Military Academy, West Point, New York, 21 April 2008.

28. Headquarters, Department of the Army, G 3/5/7, Briefing on Security Force Assistance,

29. March 2009. 29. James M. Dubik, "Building Security Forces and Ministerial Capacity: Iraq as a Primer," Report 1, Best Practices, (Institute for the Study of War, Washington D.C., August 2009), 24.

Setting—and Capitalizing on—Conditions for Progress in Afghanistan

General David H. Petraeus, U.S. Army
Commander, International Security Assistance Force / U.S. Forces Afghanistan / and North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Afghanistan

The past 18 months have been a time of significant change in Afghanistan. During this period, we have seen a renewed national and international commitment to preventing Afghanistan from once again becoming a safe haven from which al Qaeda and other transnational terrorists can launch attacks on our lands. We have also seen an increased sense of urgency to accomplish that difficult mission. Consequently, amplified commitment and urgency now characterize our effort to implement the comprehensive civil-military counterinsurgency campaign that is required to achieve our critical national security objectives here.

The International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) and U.S. Forces-Afghanistan—in partnership with our Afghan counterparts and members of the U.S. Embassy in Kabul, the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan, and other embassies and key elements of the international community—have implemented significant changes to set the conditions for moving forward in Afghanistan. As a result of those changes and amid tough ongoing fighting, we are beginning to see progress in the security, governance and development arenas, though that progress has been uneven and varied from location to location. The year ahead will be a critical period during which we can help our Afghan partners further their gains and work toward long-term security and economic opportunity in their country.

Setting the Conditions for Progress

Over the past 18 months, coalition leaders have worked hard to set the conditions for progress in Afghanistan by "getting the inputs right." Critical to this effort were the leadership, vision, energy and expertise provided by GEN Stanley A. McChrystal during his time as the ISAF commander.

Getting the inputs right began with building the organizations and structures needed to carry out a comprehensive civil-military counterinsurgency campaign. The ISAF commander, for instance, is now dual-hatted as both a NATO commander and the commander of U.S. Forces-Afghanistan, thereby allowing greater unity of effort. A three-star headquarters, the ISAF Joint Command is now responsible for the near-term planning and conduct of our operational campaign, which allows the four-star ISAF headquarters to focus more on the strategic level. We also now have a joint task force to help develop Afghan rule of law and corrections capacity, several interagency fusion cells, an information operations task force, and an ISAF element that assists the Afghan government with reconciliation and reintegration efforts. Another new organization, the NATO Training Mission-Afghanistan, now heads the critical effort to develop Afghan security forces.

Ensuring that the right people are in charge of these organizations was just as important. All of the nations involved in Afghanistan have sent their most talented leaders, from U.N. Special Representative Stefan di Mistura, NATO Senior Civilian Representative Ambassador Mark Sedwill, and U.S. Ambassador Karl Eikenberry to ISAF Joint Command commander LTG David M. Rodriguez, NATO Training Mission-Afghanistan commander LTG William D. Caldwell IV, and ISAF Reintegration Cell chief British Maj. Gen. Phillip Jones, among many others. These

and many other senior leaders have brought to Afghanistan important experience from having served in Afghanistan before or having held key positions in Iraq. As a result, the decisions now being made in Afghanistan are informed by a deep appreciation of counterinsurgency principles; a growing, granular understanding of the situation on the ground in Afghanistan; and increasingly strong relationships with Afghan leaders at all levels, from local tribal and religious leaders to those at the highest levels of the Afghan government.

Adjustments to the inputs in Afghanistan also included developing the appropriate guiding concepts for a comprehensive civil-military counterinsurgency campaign. From pushing to achieve greater civil-military unity of effort and aggressively pursuing the mission of partnering with Afghan security forces to issuing appropriate tactical guidance designed to reduce the loss of innocent civilian life, GEN McChrystal implemented several important changes as the ISAF commander. We continue to build on those initiatives and to refine our guiding concepts, particularly with regard to ensuring that tactical guidance is implemented in ways that provide our troopers all the support they need when they are in a tough situation while continuing our efforts to reduce to an absolute minimum the loss of innocent civilian life in the course of our operations. We also continue to ensure that all involved are focused on the Afghan people. After all, the human terrain is the decisive terrain. In addition to our kinetic operations, we also pursue numerous nonkinetic efforts to support our Afghan partners as they strive to improve governance, reduce corruption and foster economic growth.

Getting the inputs right also required deploying the necessary resources. As a result of various national decisions, substantial additional resources of all types have flowed into Afghanistan over the last 18 months. The most obvious of these is the increase in U.S. and coalition forces. We have, for example, tripled the number of U.S. troopers in Afghanistan since early 2009, and nearly all of the final 30,000 additional U.S. forces committed in December were on the ground as of early August. Significantly, our NATO allies have committed some 13,000 additional troopers to the effort since last year as well. Complementing the force buildup has been an increase in civilian personnel, with an ongoing "civilian surge" of nearly 1,000 additional civilian officials. Most important, though, has been the further growth and professionalization of the Afghan National Army and Police, which were authorized to grow by an additional 100,000 last December and are now ahead of their growth goals to achieve their new authorizations by fall 2011.

Capitalizing on the Conditions for Progress

Having set the conditions for progress over the last 18 months by putting in place the proper organizations, people, concepts and resources, we are now working to capitalize on what those changes are making possible. Indeed, despite innumerable remaining challenges on the security, governance, economic and anticorruption fronts, we have seen some important improvements—albeit slow and uneven—in each of these areas. Over the coming months, we will work closely with our Afghan partners to forge further progress on each front even as we support Afghan capacity growth in each area.

Improving Security

In terms of security, the changes of the last 18 months have enabled new operations in key districts of Afghanistan. To be sure, as we and our Afghan partners have fought to take back insurgent sanctuaries in the central Helmand River valley and elsewhere in the traditional insurgent heartland of southern Afghanistan, the enemy has fought back, as expected. The tough

fighting and elevated levels of violence will likely continue for some time as our troopers and their Afghan partners clear more insurgent strongholds, support establishment of legitimate governance structures and help implement development projects.

We have begun to see some encouraging progress, however, amid the tough fighting. From just early April through early August, more than 375 middle- and upper-level Taliban and other extremist element leaders were killed or captured, and some 1,500 of their rank-and-file were taken off the battlefield. At the same time, adherence to ISAF's tactical guidance has helped reduce civilian casualties in the course of our operations—a notable achievement given the increase in our numbers and the launching of numerous offensive operations. In addition, operations in Central Helmand Province have wrested several key strongholds from Taliban control, including Nad-i-Ali and Marjah, which had been a critical sanctuary for the Taliban and the home to improvised explosive device factories, headquarters, medical facilities and the illegal narcotics industry. As holding and building operations gradually expand in Central Helmand, our troopers and their Afghan partners have increasingly begun to focus their efforts on Kandahar City, where they are working to provide the Afghan people with a "rising tide of security" that will expand over time and serve as the foundation upon which local governance can be built, basic services can be improved and economic opportunities can be created. Checkpoints have been established around the city and are now jointly staffed by Afghan National Civil Order Police and ISAF forces. Additional U.S. military police are partnering with a growing number of Afghan uniformed police in the city, and troopers from the 2nd Brigade, 101st Airborne Division (Air Assault), are working with Afghan police and soldiers to clear and hold critical districts to the northwest and west of the city. The impending deployment of the 525 Battlefield Surveillance Brigade to the border area southeast of the city will also help to interdict the flow of fighters and explosives across the border.

Along with these encouraging developments, significant security challenges do remain. Helping our Afghan partners overcome these challenges will require continued progress on several fronts, including Afghan security forces development, local citizen involvement in security, reintegration efforts and reduction of sanctuaries in Pakistan.

A critical aspect of improving security is increasing the size and capability of the Afghan national security forces (ANSF). The past 18 months have seen significant progress in this regard. During that time, the ANSF have added nearly 90,000 soldiers and police to their ranks, bringing the total number to more than 241,000. In fact, by the end of this year, they will have equaled in 18 months the growth of the previous seven years. Just as important, ISAF has implemented several changes to better develop ANSF quality and capacity. Training capacity has expanded significantly, with a 400 percent growth in Afghan police training and with the density of trainers to trainees increasing from one trainer per 79 trainees to one trainer per 30 trainees. Partnership efforts have been dramatically expanded, with embedded U.S. and coalition forces now partnering with the ANSF at all levels to provide mentorship and leadership. Today Afghan military headquarters typically are co-located with ISAF unit headquarters, and nearly 85 percent of the Afghan National Army is now fully partnered with ISAF forces in the field. As a result of these efforts, we are beginning to see improvement in ANSF capability, with Afghan forces now in the lead in all but one district of Kabul and in a number of other areas as well. Despite this improvement, however, Afghan forces are still challenged by retention issues in certain units, insufficient experienced leadership and a host of other issues. The coming year will see continued efforts to help our Afghan partners in uniform work toward taking increased responsibility for security in their country.

Even with more coalition forces and more capable Afghan forces, achieving greater security in Afghanistan will require involving local Afghan citizens in their own security. To enable this, President Hamid Karzai recently approved the creation of Afghan local police as a new element of the Ministry of Interior's forces. These elements will be recruited and vetted locally to help provide security in their own villages and will allow local Afghans to work with the ANSF to help protect their communities from the Taliban's oppressive practices, indiscriminate violence and extremist ideology. As Afghan leaders move forward in implementing this initiative, Afghan local police will be an important force multiplier in the critical effort to improve security.

Another important factor in reducing violence in Afghanistan will be continued efforts to reintegrate reconcilable insurgents back into Afghan society. The past year has seen the beginning of momentum on this front, with Afghan leaders recognizing that they cannot kill and capture their way out of the insurgency they face. After convening an important National Consultative Peace Jirga this May, President Karzai approved the Afghan peace and reconciliation program in June. This program provides a vehicle through which Taliban fighters who renounce violence and accept the Afghan Constitution can return to Afghan society as fully enfranchised citizens. Relying heavily on the Afghan tradition of conflict resolution (*jirgas*) to ensure insurgent reintegration, the program will also provide important job training to help insurgents resume productive lives. We will work closely with our Afghan partners in the coming months to help them ensure that this program is implemented equitably as provinces and districts throughout Afghanistan begin forming their peace and reconciliation committees.

Also integral to the security of Afghanistan is the security situation in Pakistan. In light of this, Pakistani leaders' efforts over the last 18 months to take on violent extremists within their country's borders have been heartening. Backed by a growing consensus among Pakistan's government officials, religious leaders and people who believe that violent extremism poses an existential threat to Pakistan, the Pakistani military has been involved in nearly continuous operations against extremist elements in the regions bordering Afghanistan. Pakistani civilian and security force losses have been substantial; nonetheless, the Pakistani military has continued to expand its operations against the elements that threaten its very writ of governance. Also encouraging has been the establishment of a tripartite commission to further cooperation between Afghanistan, Pakistan and the United States, as well as the establishment of additional coordination centers on the Afghanistan-Pakistan border. Still greater cooperation and coordination are required, however, and we will continue to encourage and support our Pakistani partners in their efforts to counter extremism and extremists on their soil.

Progress in all of these efforts will be essential to forging greater security in the coming months as we approach July 2011, the target date to begin the conditions-based process of transferring tasks to Afghan forces and officials as well as to begin the gradual—and also conditions-based—withdrawal of U.S. "surge" forces. Even as we work with our Afghan partners to develop plans for that transition process, we are working to ensure that security gains are accompanied by gains in the governance, development and anticorruption lines of operation.

Supporting Governance Expansion

Security gains in Afghanistan will only be sustainable if the Afghan government can provide effective governance and deliver essential services to its people. Recognizing this reality, Afghan officials have taken important steps to expand governance capacity. Many of their initiatives have focused on the important issues of building human capital and connecting the national government in Kabul to provincial and district governments. These initiatives include developing

government in Kabul to provincial and district governments. These initiatives include developing a comprehensive plan to coordinate technical assistance, creating a strategy to increase inter-ministerial coordination of service delivery in select districts, and training thousands of government employees through the Afghan Civil Service Institute. From company commanders to ministerial advisors, ISAF leaders at every level actively mentor, advise and assist Afghan leaders as they pursue these and other capacity-building endeavors.

Planning for governance capacity building is now an increasingly integral part of operational planning. In preparation for operations in Kandahar, for example, President Karzai and his ministers held *shuras* and fostered other political initiatives focused on increasing the sense of inclusivity and transparency in the province. As we press forward in Kandahar and elsewhere, we will continue to help our Afghan partners empower governors and local leaders and establish viable social-organizing structures at the local level.

ISAF and its partner organizations have also supported the critical effort to develop rule of law and criminal justice capacity in Afghanistan. While the last 18 months have seen important developments, including the implementation of the Afghanistan case assignment system to track and report cases and to monitor judges, Afghan legal and justice systems remain underdeveloped. International and U.S. Department of Justice advisors continue to mentor and advise Afghan leaders in addressing the staffing and corruption issues in the judicial system. Also, to assist in the growth of the Afghan corrections system, we created a new task force responsible for overseeing U.S. detention operations and for facilitating partnered development of an Afghan-owned detention process. By integrating senior Afghan leaders, training corrections officers, and developing vocational, reintegration and rehabilitation programs, this task force is working with our Afghan partners to set the conditions for the eventual transition of detention operations to full Afghan control.

Promoting Economic Development

Though slow and uneven, economic and social service development in Afghanistan continues as well. For example, nearly 7 million Afghan children are now in school. Immunization rates for children are now in the 70 to 90 percent range nationwide. Cell phones are ubiquitous in a country that had virtually none during the Taliban days, though the Taliban does force the shutdown of some towers at night. Kabul is a bustling, busy city, as are Herat, Mazar-e-Sharif and Jalalabad. Roads and bridges and other infrastructure have been built, including 53 kilometers of railway in the north. Commerce is returning to those parts of Helmand where ISAF and Afghan forces are present. Even in places where governance remains weak, innovative efforts like the Afghan government's national solidarity program, supported by American and international donors and civilians as well as by our troopers, have helped enable local *shura* councils to choose their own development priorities and receive modest cash grants to pursue them.

Despite progress on the economic front, significant further growth is needed. Toward this end, U.S. and international civilians and troopers are working hard to support development of Afghanistan's agricultural sector, from implementing voucher programs for high-value crops and supplies and advising university and government officials on developing agribusiness to refurbishing canal and irrigation systems. We are also supporting Afghanistan's efforts to build the infrastructure that is so vital to linking agricultural and mining areas to domestic and international markets. As we have worked to assist with agriculture, infrastructure and basic

services expansion, last November's "Afghan First" initiative has led to a significant number of jobs for Afghan contractors; moreover, Afghan workers' participation in these projects is also helping to build their skills and the country's human capital.

These and other economic initiatives will continue to prove important in the year to come as we help our Afghan partners build on the foundations of improving security in southern and eastern Afghanistan and ultimately begin to take advantage of the extraordinary mineral wealth in Afghanistan.

Reducing Corruption

Corruption in Afghanistan is a cross-cutting issue that affects security, governance and economic progress. It undermines the rule of law, drains vast amounts of revenue from the Afghan economy and delegitimizes the Afghan government. We continue to work with our Afghan partners to help them turn President Karzai's stated commitment to combating corruption into reality and to protect the people from malign government actors—and this will be an increasing area of focus in the coming year.

Some limited progress in anticorruption efforts has been achieved in the last 18 months. Afghanistan has implemented several institutional and legal reforms, including establishing an anticorruption unit in the attorney general's office and an anticorruption tribunal under the supreme court; increasing the independence and expanding the capacity of these elements are essential next steps. In addition, the past 18 months have seen the removal from office and prosecution of a number of senior officials, including the former mayor of Kabul and a number of "flag-level" military and police officers. Clearly, more actions of this nature are necessary, and Afghan leaders have committed to them. Nonetheless, turning President Karzai's clear commitments in this area into reality will depend on Afghan political will and significant encouragement and support from the international community.

A particular area of concern in the anticorruption arena is the illegal narcotics industry. Opium trafficking continues to serve as a significant source of funding for the insurgency and of government corruption. In partnership with the ANSF and Counternarcotics Police of Afghanistan (CNPA), U.S. troopers and civilians made the transition last year to targeting drug traffickers and their networks rather than the farmers who grow poppy crops. Simultaneously, we and our civilian partners have continued providing agricultural assistance to farmers, working to help them switch to legal crop production. Recent ANSF and ISAF operations in southern and eastern Afghanistan have also targeted the narcotics industry, with traffickers moving out of those opium-rich regions prior to the start of clearing operations. ISAF has continued to work with other U.S. and international agencies to support the development of Afghan counter narcotic efforts, particularly with regard to specialized training for the CNPA and education programs for Afghan youth.

Even as we support Afghan development of programs and initiatives to reduce corruption, leaders and troopers throughout ISAF's ranks are working to bring networks of malign actors to the attention of their trusted Afghan partners and their chains of command. Our leaders are charged with supporting their partners in confronting, isolating, pressuring and defunding malign actors—and, where appropriate, with referring them to trusted Afghan counterparts for prosecution. Afghanistan has a long history of representative self-governance, and we continue to work with its leaders and people to revive those traditions and address government abuses where they are present.

Our Troopers: Carrying Out a Difficult Mission

The situation in Afghanistan remains exceedingly complex and very tough. While we now have the right inputs and are seeing incremental progress in all our lines of operation, we know that much hard work remains ahead. Success will take continued commitment, perseverance and sacrifice, and it will not be achieved quickly. Everyone in ISAF continues to press forward with determination, continuing the difficult work of helping our Afghan partners forge greater security and a more hopeful future for their country.

In all of this, the performance of our NATO and ISAF troopers has been nothing short of extraordinary. They have demonstrated themselves to be true "pentathletes," as adept at facilitating meetings between rival tribal leaders and helping spur local economies as at conducting patrols and undertaking kinetic operations. Their selfless commitment to continue serving despite the repeated deployments and other sacrifices it entails is truly inspiring. Because of their hard work, exceptional skill and indomitable will in soldiering together with our Afghan partners, we have achieved progress in a hugely important and hugely difficult mission. Those qualities in our troopers and in our Afghan partners will enable progress in the months and years ahead.

Operation New Dawn:
Building a Long-Term Strategic Partnership Through Stability Operations

General Raymond T. Odierno, Commander U.S. Forces-Iraq

Reprinted with permission from the October 2010 edition of *Army Magazine.*

The U.S. presence in Iraq, now into its eighth consecutive year, is undergoing a significant transformation as emphasis shifts towards fostering a long-term strategic partnership between the United States and Iraq. Rather than disengaging from Iraq, the United States is shifting focus from a military-led to a civilian-led presence in order to transfer the skills and expertise that will enable Iraqis to unleash their country's great potential. Correspondingly, U.S. Forces-Iraq (USF-I) has conducted a change of mission, ending Operation Iraqi Freedom and commencing Operation New Dawn on September 1, 2010. As its name implies, Operation New Dawn marks the beginning of a new chapter in the U.S. military's endeavor in Iraq. Through the end of 2011, USF-I will focus on conducting stability operations to achieve our national goal of a sovereign, stable and self-reliant Iraq.

Stability operations encompass the military component of our national strategy to address security threats spawned by the failure of nation-states to meet the basic needs and aspirations of their people. The goal of stability operations is to provide the foundations for enduring peace by securing the population, rebuilding government and economic institutions, providing essential services and restoring a sense of normalcy. For USF-I, stability operations are defined by three critical tasks: (1) advise, train, assist and equip the Iraqi security forces (ISF); (2) support provincial reconstruction teams, the United Nations and other nongovernmental organizations in their efforts to build civil capacity; and (3) conduct partnered counterterrorism operations and provide command-and-control and intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance combat enablers to help the ISF maintain pressure on extremist networks. Guided by our bilateral agreements—the security agreement and the strategic framework agreement—USF-I is enabling the Government of Iraq (GoI) to become a self-reliant strategic partner that contributes to peace and security in the region.

Since the ISF assumed control of security within the cities on June 30, 2009, overall security incidents in Iraq have continued to decline, reaching the lowest levels since 2004. All forms of violence—including improvised explosive devices (IEDs), indirect-fire attacks and civilian casualties—have decreased from 2009 levels. The significant improvement in the capabilities of the ISF, coupled with their improved public perception, paid great dividends during the March 2010 national elections, when record numbers of Iraqis exercised their right to vote. Through the period of uncertainty and vulnerability surrounding the elections, the ISF validated their role as an apolitical arm of the government, loyal to the Iraqi Constitution and not to a single candidate or political party. With the elections behind it, Iraq is now poised for a peaceful transfer of power while the newly elected politicians work to build consensus on the nature of the new government.

The continued progress of the ISF and improvements in the security environment allowed USF-I to deliberately reduce our force structure to 50,000 servicemembers on September 1, as outlined by the President. During the "surge,"the coalition force consisted of more than 170,000 personnel spread out over 600 bases. Since then, USF-I has withdrawn more than 120,000 servicemembers, returned more than 500 bases to the GoI, and retrograded more than 40,000 pieces of rolling stock wheeled vehicles and nearly 2 million pieces of non-rolling stock containerized equipment.

Over the last two years, USF-I has quietly but deliberately conducted the largest redeployment of personnel and equipment while simultaneously conducting operations since the Vietnam War.

As we make the transition to stability operations, the most important change to the composition of our forces is the shift to advise-and-assist brigades (AABs). USF-I is currently organized into six AABs with an additional AAB headquarters element, which fall under three division headquarters covering northern, central and southern Iraq. The AAB is an evolution of the brigade combat team concept, specifically tailored with additional personnel, equipment and training for the express purpose of conducting stability operations. In line with the change of mission, our AABs are primarily focused on partnering with their ISF counterparts and building civil capacity, yet they retain the combat power necessary to defend themselves and their interagency partners.

As we have reduced our force and changed our mission, our troops have also continued to evolve their mind-set. In the current operating environment, our troops understand that their success is no longer dependent on how much they accomplish, but on how much they enable their Iraqi counterparts to accomplish. Rather than focus on offensive and defensive operations, USF-I servicemembers now concentrate their efforts on further professionalizing the ISF and helping U.S. Embassy-Baghdad (USEMB-B) and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) build civil capacity.

As the ISF have taken the lead in day-to-day security, our forces have focused on improving the capability and capacity of the ISF. Throughout Iraq, our AABs are working shoulder to shoulder with members of the Iraqi army and federal police to build advanced capabilities such as precision targeting, intelligence fusion and counter-IED operations. USF-I servicemembers remain integrated in ISF units and regional operations centers in order to observe and advise their planning methods and improve upon command and control. USF-I special operations forces continue to conduct partnered counterterrorist operations in order to secure the population and disrupt violent extremist networks. Our AABs are using the expertise of their embedded law-enforcement professionals to improve Iraqi police investigative techniques, including the collection and analysis of forensic evidence. In the northern region of Iraq, U.S. forces conduct combined checkpoints and operations as a part of our trilateral security agreement with the GoI and the Kurdistan Regional Government in an effort to ease tensions and build trust and confidence. USF-I senior leaders also interface with the Ministry of Interior and Ministry of Defense in order to develop their administrative and budgetary capabilities. With the emergence of a non-commissioned officer corps and an institutional acknowledgement of the importance of logistics and sustainment, the ISF are clearly developing into a modern force.

Under Operation New Dawn, USF-I is supporting provincial reconstruction teams (PRTs), the United Nations and NGOs in their efforts to build civil capacity. Currently, USF-I is executing more than 60 medical engagement programs within population centers across Iraq. These engagements feature the refurbishment and reopening of clinics, the supply of medical aid, and the provision of emergency medical technician training. In addition, our AABs are partnering with PRTs to invest in vital infrastructure using Commander's Emergency Response Program funds. By utilizing the expertise of PRT specialists in conjunction with various ministries of the GoI, USF-I personnel are supporting many important civil-capacity initiatives such as the construction of plastic greenhouses and irrigation systems that extend the growing season and allow Iraqi farmers to grow crops where they normally could not. Furthermore, USF-I is continuing to use targeted microgrants to spur sustainable economic growth and provide employment opportunities for aspiring entrepreneurs. Our humanitarian and capacity-building

engagements are coordinated and conducted through the ISF, which improves their relationship with the Iraqi people. As a result of the goodwill garnered through these activities, the Iraqi populace has provided valuable atmospherics and intelligence, information that several years ago would have required considerable effort and risk to obtain. These examples of USF-I stability operations demonstrate how our AABs are remaining engaged with the Iraq population and setting the conditions for a long-term, strategic partnership with Iraq.

The Way Ahead

Future improvements in Iraq's security environment are dependent on the Iraqi government's ability to provide security, uphold the rule of law and deliver basic services. The ISF have come a long way but still rely on USF-I for combat enabler support. USF-I and senior Iraqi leaders have worked closely to determine the minimum capabilities required to sustain and establish foundational capacity for internal and external security. Through the end of 2011, USF-I must continue to advise, train, assist and equip the Iraqi security forces to ensure they meet these goals. In addition, USF-I will assist the ISF in establishing goals and plans to begin the transition to police primacy, which will entail the Ministry of Interior and Iraqi police assuming full responsibility for internal security. This will allow the Ministry of Defense and the Iraqi army to focus on training to deter or defeat external threats.

As we approach the expiration of the security agreement at the end of 2011, USF-I must manage the strategic transition of responsibility for enduring programs, projects and activities necessary for the long-term stability of Iraq. USF-I and the USEMB-B's charter is to set conditions conducive to establishing an enduring strategic relationship with the GoI as outlined in the strategic framework agreement. The U.S. government's plan to make the transition from a military-led to a civilian-led presence in Iraq is outlined in the Joint Campaign Plan. As we carry out the transition to a civilian-led effort, USF-I must continually assess our effectiveness at the macro and micro levels. Our goal is to ensure that enduring programs are transferred in time to allow USF-I elements to monitor, assess and support those organizations assuming responsibility. The strategic transition plan is not simply the passing of responsibility from USF-I to the GoI, USEMB-B and U.S. Central Command, but a whole-of-government approach that sets the conditions for a long-term strategic partnership between the United States and the GoI. As we move forward, the American presence must pursue a strategic partnership through close cooperation across the spectrum of government functions to help Iraq succeed and play a constructive role in regional stability.

With the end of the military mission in sight, USF-I must remain vigilant—our actions through the end of 2011 will set the tone for our long-term strategic partnership. USF-I's presence through 2011 provides the physical and psychological support necessary for the GoI to continue along its current trajectory as the United States makes the transition to a civilian-led presence. USF-I now faces an opportunity to solidify the progress that has been made over the past seven-and-a-half years. We must finish with honor and success to pay tribute to all the soldiers, sailors, airmen, marines and members of the Coast Guard who have served and sacrificed to bring peace and security to Iraq. They are the best that our country has to offer, and it is thanks to their adaptability, ingenuity and dedication that we have come this far.

Strengthening the Bridge: Building Partnership Capacity

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

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, 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. 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.

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

Table 8-1

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 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 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 "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 (filling 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.

Taming the Outlaw Sea

Admiral James G. Stavridis, U.S. Navy and
Lieutenant Commander Richard E. LeBron, U.S. Navy

Reprinted with the permission from the Autumn 2010 issue of the *Naval War College Review*.

The goods of the world move predominantly by sea. Across that broad global commons, trade generally flows freely and well. Yet there are places today where the term "outlaw sea" applies.[1] Piracy, sadly, flourishes in several key choke point regions of the world's sea-lanes of communications. We must tame this outlaw sea.

To many, the word "piracy" conjures images of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century swashbuckling rebels brandishing cutlasses and flintlocks under the ominous skull-and-crossbones flag, à la Walt Disney World's "Pirates of the Caribbean" attraction. But to those who have been victims of their blades and bullets, the word invokes a darker "profession"—and one that continues today.

Pirates and corsairs of the "Golden Age of Piracy"—feared mariners with names like Barbarossa, "Calico Jack" Rackham, "Black Bart" Roberts, and Anne Bonny—have captured imaginations since early-eighteenth-century periodicals chronicled their crimes. But piracy is more than theft, rape, and murder on the high seas. It is a systemic destabilizer of international norms of commerce, economics, and trade. Piracy is also intertwined with conditions ashore. In particular, piracy in the waters off the Horn of Africa today results from deep social, political, economic, and environmental problems in Somalia. It is the fruit of anarchy, extreme poverty, and the severe failure of the rule of law. At the pragmatic level, however, piracy is an illicit entrepreneurial pursuit whose main objective is to maximize profit.

In other words, Somali pirates are armed opportunists who stem from a permissive and enabling environment formed by a weak state and who engage in a business enterprise subject to risk-and-reward calculations that can be influenced by the international community. The international community, including various governmental and nongovernmental organizations, as well as private enterprises, has an opportunity now to work together and exert the necessary influence both at sea and ashore to shift the calculus of piracy from profitable enterprise to futile folly.

The United Nations, the European Union (EU), the African Union, the Arab League, and NATO are collaborating to influence the risk-and-reward analysis of Somali pirates. A wide range of countries—including Australia, China, Djibouti, Egypt, Ethiopia, Japan, Kenya, Malaysia, New Zealand, Pakistan, Russia, Singapore, Somalia, South Korea, and Ukraine—are cooperating to broadly address the issue as well.

Though piracy manifests itself most perceptibly at sea, it is a complex and persistent land-based problem with political, social, and economic dimensions requiring a long-term, comprehensive solution. To bring about a lasting cure to the cancer of piracy, particularly off the Horn of Africa, two endeavors must be undertaken in parallel. First, the risk of failure in hijacking a vessel at sea must be increased to the point where piracy is no longer seen as an attractive and lucrative endeavor. In other words, pirates' own calculations must yield deterrent conclusions. Second, governance, stability, and security within Somalia must be so improved that less risky yet

reasonably profitable alternatives to piracy can be fostered both at sea and ashore. The second task is a much more challenging proposition than the first, given Somalia's fragmented and unstable state.

Capturing the Lessons of the Past

Lawlessness upon the sea is nothing new. Piracy is an ancient profession. Its history dates back to antiquity, preceding even the ancient Egyptians. Nautical bandits have plied the waves for nearly as long as people have used the seas for trade. The Lukka raiders, for example, launched raids from the coast of Asia Minor as early as the fourteenth century BC; Thucydides mentions pirates in his *History of the Peloponnesian War;* and Herodotus writes of how pirates kidnapped the poet Arion of Methymna in an attempt to steal his riches.[2]

As is the case today in the Horn of Africa, piracy in the ancient Mediterranean world flourished when there was an absence of central control.[3] In periods when the empire du jour—Egyptian, Greek, or Roman—was unable to maintain a strong naval presence in the large inland sea, pirate communities spread along its shores. Before the middle of the first century BC, piracy was a significant problem in the Mediterranean.[4] As Rome's maritime trade of wheat and other commodities flourished, piracy expanded. At their height pirates exerted dominion and control over the Mediterranean to an extent that left little room for free navigation or commerce.[5] The economic impact was felt throughout the Roman Republic as prices of goods—particularly of wheat, vital for feeding the Roman people—grew out of control. Even young Julius Caesar was taken for ransom by Cilician pirates, around 75 BC.[6]

It was only when Rome's power expanded to claim the whole of the Mediterranean basin—and the littorals whence pirates sailed—that piracy was eradicated from the ancient world.[7] Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus, known to history as Pompey, was sent by the Roman people to wrest the seas from the pirates. In combating piracy, Pompey focused on the act and its source, not exclusively on the actor. Over a period of several months in 67 BC, with hundreds of ships and 120,000 soldiers, he swept the Mediterranean Sea and corralled the pirates in their strongholds ashore.

Most surrendered.[8] They did so because the risk of death or capture at sea in future piratical attempts exceeded the potential rewards to be gained. But they surrendered also because Pompey, understanding that piracy was bred in rootlessness and social disorder, offered attractive alternatives ashore. He admitted some into the small towns of the Cilicians in Anatolia, and others he planted in the city of the Solians, also in Anatolia; to the majority he granted land in the ancient Greek province of Achaea to call their own and cultivate.[9] With this land he afforded the former pirates an opportunity to pursue an enterprise with more acceptable risks and rewards and so helped turn the pirates into contributing Roman subjects.

Pompey, then, wiped out Mediterranean piracy by countering pirates at sea *and* by presenting former and would-be pirates with stakes in profitable and less risky enterprises ashore. Though Somali pirates are unlikely to be presented with land to call their own, Pompey's actions provide a valuable demonstration of the balanced application of hard and soft power both at sea and ashore, one that is no less relevant and wise in combating piracy today than it was more than two millenniums ago.

Control of the Sea is Vital

Though Pompey's strategic vision and his expedition against piracy were successful, not even the mighty Roman Empire ever extinguished piracy permanently. As civilizations and empires ebbed and flowed and control of what Alfred Thayer Mahan later called a "wide common" was exerted and relinquished, so too did the threat and impact of piracy fluctuate.[10] In the early Middle Ages, the Vikings raided and plundered their way across Europe, and later corsairs from the North African "Barbary Coast" terrorized the Mediterranean Sea. Piracy also waxed and waned in the Far East and in the Caribbean, as trade grew and the tides of profit rose and fell. As merchants ventured to sea and maritime trade expanded, pirates followed, ransacking vulnerable ships and cargo; they continue to do so to this day.

Today, however, pirates chase their prey not in galleys, sloops, or schooners but in fast, open skiffs. They brandish not cutlasses and flintlocks but AK-47s and rocket-propelled grenades and are aided by satellite phones, high-tech navigation gear, and competent and continually evolving networks ashore. The last few years have witnessed a rising trend in piratical attacks around the world. In 2009, the International Maritime Bureau (IMB) reported 406 attacks, compared to 293 in 2008, 263 in 2007, and 239 in 2006. In 2009, a total of 217 incidents carried out by suspected Somali pirates were reported to the IMB, making the area off the Horn of Africa the number-one hot spot for piracy in the world.[11] The attacks are becoming more violent, brazen, and sophisticated. The number of incidents where guns were used nearly doubled in 2009 from 2008 levels and has tripled since 2005.[12] Somali pirates have extended their reach, threatening not only the Gulf of Aden and the east coast of Somalia but also the southern region of the Red Sea, the strait of Bab el Mandeb, and the east coast of Oman.[13]

The attacks listed in the IMB report were wide-ranging; they included eighty attacks off the east and south coasts of Somalia, 116 in the Gulf of Aden, fifteen in the southern Red Sea, four off Oman, and one each in the Arabian Sea and Indian Ocean. In 2009, off the east coast of Africa alone, a total of 114 vessels were fired upon, forty-seven vessels were hijacked, 867 crew members taken hostage, four killed, and one missing.[14] By comparison, throughout the rest of the world six vessels were fired upon, two were hijacked, 185 crew members were taken hostage, four were killed, and seven were missing.[15] Since IMB figures are based on self-reporting and many attacks may go unreported, the actual figures may very well be much higher, particularly in areas where the level of international focus on piracy is lower than it currently is off the Horn of Africa.

The year 2010 started with a bang for the twenty-four seamen of the chemical tanker *Premoni*. The ship was attacked and hijacked, and its crew taken hostage by Somali pirates in the Gulf of Aden on 1 January. As of the second week of January a total of six vessels had been successfully attacked by pirates and bandits: *Premoni;* a liquified propane gas tanker in Côte d'Ivoire's Abidjan harbor; a vehicle carrier off the Horn of Africa; and a vehicle carrier, a chemical tanker, and a bulk carrier in Southeast Asia. As of mid-April, a total of forty-eight vessels had been attacked, or attacks had been attempted against them, off Africa's eastern shores. Globally, that number grows to a total of eighty-one vessels.

The annual cost of piracy is not accurately recorded, but it is not trivial, even setting human costs aside. Piracy is estimated to cost anywhere between a billion and sixteen billion dollars a year.[16] Some countries are investing to thwart piracy by increasing their military presences in high-risk areas. Some shipping companies are taking such measures as rerouting ships to bypass the Gulf of Aden, hiring private security guards, and installing nonlethal deterrence equipment. Examples of the latter are the Long Range Acoustic Device, which was employed against pirates attempting to hijack the luxury cruise ship *Seabourne Spirit* in late 2005, and Secure-Ship, an innovative electrified fence that surrounds the whole ship and uses a high-voltage pulse to deter boarding attempts.[17] But these actions all come at a price. For example, routing a tanker From Saudi Arabia to the United States via the Cape of Good Hope adds approximately 2,700 miles to the voyage and approximately $3.5 million in annual fuel costs.[18] According to the U.S. Maritime Administration, the cost of avoiding risk becomes more complex in the liner trades. If pirates were to become able to attack cruise liners successfully and regularly, the long bypass required to avoid them would result in the need for additional vessels to maintain scheduled service and capacity commitments. For example, routing from Europe to the Far East via the Cape of Good Hope rather than through the Suez Canal would incur an estimated additional $89 million annually—$74.4 million in fuel and $14.6 million in charter expenses—without considering the added costs associated with disruption of global supply chains.[19] Also, insurance costs have soared over the last few years. The cost of war-risk insurance premiums for vessels passing through the Gulf of Aden, about five hundred dollars in 2007, was twenty thousand dollars in 2008.[20] A ship owner with a vessel worth $100 million can now reportedly expect to pay about $150,000 to cover its payload—a cost that is ultimately passed on to the consumer.[21]

Not all is bad news, however. The rate of successful hijackings in the vicinity of the Horn of Africa dropped in the second half of 2009, to an average of one in nine vessels targeted by pirates, compared to one in 6.4 in 2008.[22] The decrease can be attributed to expanded control of the sea around the Horn of Africa established through increased international cooperation and naval patrols; expanded coordination of naval patrols through the use of the Mercury secure, Internet-based communication system; shared intelligence at the operational level; and willingness of potential target ships to respond to military guidance, comply with recommendations, and deploy effective protective measures. If continued, these measures, particularly self-protection by potential targets, will likely drive the rate of successful hijackings down further.

The Challenge Ashore

In Somalia, where nearly ten million mostly nomadic pastoralist people live with neither a permanent national government nor a formal economy and where pervasive and violent crime is an extension of the general state of insecurity, piracy is perceived pragmatically, as an opportunity for profit.

In a recent National Public Radio report, for example, a Somali pirate nicknamed "Boya" declared, "I'll be a pirate until I die. . . .We understand what we're doing is wrong. But hunger is more important than any other thing." Another pirate acknowledged that "sometimes doing a bad thing is the only way to improve the situation for yourself and the people you love." That same pirate also described how he had "worked his way up" from indigent lobster fisherman to

pirate and then, having made enough money to get his siblings out of southern Somalia and into neighboring Kenya, had quit. He would, he asserted, never go back to being a pirate.[23]

Though just two examples, the above vignettes offer a glimpse of the factors influencing individuals to shoulder Kalashnikovs, board open skiffs, and head to sea in search of easy prey. It also brings into focus a fundamental fact of piracy: that at its core, piracy is a land-based challenge.

Even so, piracy is most often looked at as a waterborne problem. In fact, article 101 of the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) defines piracy as, in part, "any illegal acts of violence or detention, or any act of depredation, committed for private ends by the crew or the passengers of a private ship or a private aircraft, and directed (i) on the high seas, against another ship or aircraft, or against persons or property on board such ship or aircraft; against (ii) a ship, aircraft, persons or property in a place outside the jurisdiction of any state."[24] This definition, though adequate for the framing of law-enforcement and antipiracy activities on the high seas, does not account for the dual challenge that characterizes piracy. UNCLOS article 101 is focused on the symptom, the crime at sea, and not the cause, the deplorable conditions ashore. To address the challenge of Somali piracy, the UN Security Council has approved resolutions 1816, 1838, 1846, and 1851—all containing authority to use "all necessary means" to counter piracy. Broadly speaking these resolutions encourage states to develop a cooperative framework to oppose piracy in the region and grant specific authority to "cooperating states" to enter Somalia's territorial sea to repress piracy in a manner consistent with international law. Resolution 1851 authorizes "cooperating states" to go farther and engage in antipiracy action on Somali soil—a complex endeavor even under the best of circumstances and one that ought to focus on building the capacity of Somalia's Transitional Federal Government to fulfill its responsibility to the Somali people and root out piracy and armed robbery at sea.[25] That said, none of those resolutions authorize any state to address the deplorable conditions ashore that are arguably why individuals find piracy potentially attractive. Perhaps it is time for the international community to focus on the root causes.

Piracy off the Horn of Africa has its sources in economic deprivation and political instability. It is a multifaceted problem that calls for a comprehensive solution involving actions and activities ashore as much as focused naval power at sea. In the words of Secretary of Defense Robert M. Gates, "There is no purely military solution to it, and as long as you've got this incredible number of poor people and the risks are relatively small, there's really no way to control it unless you get something on land that begins to change the equation for these kids."[26] If the international community believes piracy off the Horn of Africa is a serious matter that must be resolved, it must seriously consider broad solutions that go beyond the obvious and expedient application of naval power at sea. In countering piracy, as in most security efforts, the solution will be found in a balanced and comprehensive approach. If piracy in those strategic waterways is ever to be eradicated, it will take the coming together of governments, nongovernmental organizations, international organizations, and the private sector in the partnerships necessary to deliver security, stability, sustained economic development, and prosperity in Somalia. Hard military and law-enforcement activities are necessary but not enough. Pompey understood the need for this balance in the Mediterranean more than two thousand years ago; it is a fact that must not be overlooked in the Horn of Africa today.

An Opportunity for Cooperation

Recognizing that no one nation has all the resources required to guarantee safety and security throughout the maritime domain, the international community must commit enough maritime assets—platforms, capabilities, and ideas—to make acts of piracy both risky and difficult to conceal, thereby treating the symptom of piracy at sea. International operations such as NATO's Operation Ocean Shield, the EU's Operation Atalanta, and Combined Task Force 151—all supporting international efforts to combat piracy off the Horn of Africa—are excellent examples of such a collaborative effort among international partners. Certainly more ships would be helpful and welcomed, but even more valuable would be increased inputs from overhead satellites and greater deployment of maritime patrol aircraft and long-range surveillance assets.

There are many ways to collaborate and cooperate in conducting maritime security operations. There are expansive capabilities outside the military. For instance, Stephen M. Carmel, senior vice president of maritime services at Maersk Line, Limited, recently wrote about employing commercial shipping in preserving maritime security.[27] Carmel describes how Maersk Line—the world's largest container shipping company, with over a thousand ships of various types—can offer what he called "overwhelming, persistent global presence" and a "good vantage point from which to see what is going on in the global commons."

Commercial shipping vessels—the very targets of pirates—can be found throughout the area of interest. Maersk has operations in nearly three hundred ports around the world and makes thirty-three thousand port calls a year—one every fifteen minutes, every day of the year.[28] No single navy can make such a claim, and no single nation can see what Maersk's ships see every day—and that's just one company. The implications of these statistics are enormous. If each one of the thousands of commercial vessels at sea were to contribute to a partnership for maritime surveillance and reporting, domain awareness would potentially improve by orders of magnitude, as would the ships' own security.[29]

Each potential partner can bring something that can elevate the comparative advantage at sea of antipiracy forces. The UN, the EU, and NATO must seek, create, and leverage opportunities for maritime collaboration. But the maritime piece is just part of the puzzle. Maritime surveillance capabilities and capacity for maritime law enforcement and military engagement at sea must be integrated with the efforts of nonmilitary government agencies, nongovernmental organizations, and public and private ventures ashore. Ultimately, piracy must be resolved on land, by enabling Somalia's Transitional Federal Government to deliver security and create jobs and thereby reduce the risk of engaging in legitimate enterprises ashore.

Of course, and as we have noted, this is much easier said than done. In Somalia the internal challenges are daunting. Somalia's internationally recognized Transitional Federal Government has been unable to establish itself as the legitimate regime, and most of the country is outside its control.[30] Somalia's weak government serves as a catalyst for piracy and exacerbates the challenges of countering pirates at sea.

The lack of capacity and domestic legislation in Somalia and an absence of clarity as to how to dispose of pirates after they are captured have hindered international action against the pirates off the coast of Somalia and in some cases led to pirates' being released without facing justice.[31]

To counter piracy at sea effectively, there must be a viable and legitimate central authority ashore capable of enforcing the rule of law. As the commander of U.S. naval forces in Europe and Africa and of NATO's Allied Joint Task Force Command in Naples, Admiral Mark P. Fitzgerald recently commented, "Somali-based piracy . . . will not go away until a government in Mogadishu is stable enough to confront the problem within its borders."[32] The nations of Djibouti, Ethiopia, Maldives, Madagascar, Seychelles, Yemen, Tanzania, Kenya, and Somalia have all pledged their support to seizing, investigating, and prosecuting pirates off Somalia's coast, but the solution to piracy in the Horn of Africa ultimately lies within Somalia itself.[33] It is of little help in long-term piracy eradication if naval forces must operate in a catch-and-release mode because it is difficult or impossible to prosecute pirates.

Stronger Together

In this interconnected world, international security and prosperity depend heavily upon the sea. Skillful cooperation and collaboration at sea and ashore are vital components to ensuring the free and lawful use of the world's waterways. Piracy in the Horn of Africa presents the international community with a complex and multidimensional challenge but also with a golden opportunity to come together and work collaboratively to solve it.

Beyond naval assets, the international community has an opportunity to take a comprehensive approach to countering piracy, one that focuses on a broad range of issues including deterring and disrupting piratical activity at sea; capturing pirates and bringing them to justice; developing regional and international agreements to prosecute suspected pirates effectively and humanely and legally punish them when found guilty; enabling Somalia's Transitional Federal Government to extend and enforce the rule of law; and encouraging the economic development of Somalia over the long term. Countering piracy off the Horn of Africa is an effort that must reflect international will, must focus on building the capacity of Somalia's Transitional Federal Government and the governments of neighboring countries, and be coordinated centrally and skillfully (by an internationally sanctioned body) so as to achieve a holistic effect. The European Union, given its recent successes with Operation ATALANTA and its growing commitment to combating piracy off the Horn of Africa, seems a logical international body to lead this effort.

Broadly speaking, the international community must undertake projects to build the capacity of Somalia's Transitional Federal Government to extend the reach of the rule of law. Additionally, investment in developing the capacities of the other countries in the region to detain, prosecute, and punish pirates is key.

NATO in particular can play a role in this regard in developing partner capacity to combat piracy, and it is expected to do so within the framework of the Contact Group on Piracy Off the Coast of Somalia, in a low-cost and noncontentious way. Simultaneously, international humanitarian work ashore must be encouraged and protected—an increasingly complex endeavor. The combination of conflict, drought, floods, and disease that has ravaged the country for decades has created a humanitarian catastrophe for some 3.64 million Somalis—more than half the population—who are in need of livelihood or humanitarian support. This environment of extreme penury and human displacement, where one in five children under five years old is acutely malnourished, adds to internal instability and serves as a catalyst for illicit activities, such as piracy, that in turn can further destabilize the region. The creation of alternative livelihoods through public/private

partnering ashore, as well as afloat, is vital. From the enablement of subsistence farming through irrigation to the development of environmentally sustainable coastal fish farms, to environmental remediation to support both agriculture and aquaculture, to the generation of microloans to facilitate the creation of small business—the range of possibilities is enormous and limited only by the imagination and will of the international community.

Beyond the low-water mark, control of the sea and maintenance of maritime domain awareness are essential to the eradication of piracy and armed robbery at sea. Programs now ongoing and initiatives currently being staffed within NATO's Allied Command Operations are squarely aimed at exploiting potential synergies in parallel with, and in support of, the EU and coalition maritime forces, as well as several national initiatives. Efforts include the close cooperation and exchange of information related to antipiracy efforts between various players within NATO and between NATO, the EU, the UN, the African Union, and the Arab League. Continued cooperation is paramount and must be expanded. We must achieve fusion in existing command-and-control structures, to include the use of space-based surveillance assets, NATO AWACS (airborne surveillance and control) aircraft, and unmanned aerial vehicles. Other ideas include the "tagging" of vessels identified as legitimate commercial and private craft, employment of convoys and escorts, a tactical shift to blockading pirates' points of embarkation, and, in cooperation with commercial entities, the use of more effective nonlethal, nonmilitary piracy countermeasures aboard merchant and passenger vessels. All of these options would serve, in combination, as complementary efforts to make acts of piracy more risky and therefore less likely to succeed.

Understanding that piracy is neither an at-sea problem alone nor a challenge with a single and isolated solution will go a long way toward taming the "outlaw sea." In addressing the root cause of piracy, the European Union, empowered by international consent and in partnership with the broader international community, must wisely consider, as the Greek historian Plutarch suggests, that "man by nature is not a wild or unsocial creature, but is transformed by the unnatural vice; whereas he may be softened by new customs and a change of place and life." Upon that consideration it should do as Pompey did and give pirates a taste of an "honest life by dwelling in towns and tilling the ground" or by casting their nets and harvesting the fruits of the sea.[34] The solutions to piracy will not likely be delivered by warships at sea alone; rather, they will emerge from a careful balance of security and development both afloat and ashore.

Endnotes

1. William Langewiesche, *The Outlaw Sea: A World of Freedom, Chaos, and Crime* (New York: North Point, 2004).

2. *The Cambridge Ancient History,* vol. 2, part 2, *The Middle East and the Aegean Region, 1380–1000 BC* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1975).

3. Angus Konstam, *The History of Pirates* (Guilford, Conn.: Lyons, 1999, 2002).

4. Ibid.

5. Plutarch, *Lives,* trans. John Dryden (New York: Modern Library Classics, 2001), vol. 2.

6. Ibid.

7. Konstam, *History of Pirates.*

8. Plutarch, *Lives,* vol. 2.

9. Ibid.

10. Alfred Thayer Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660–1783* (1890; repr., Mineola, N.Y.: Dover, 1987).

11. International Maritime Bureau, *Piracy and Armed Robbery against Ships: Annual Report,1 January–31 December 2009* (London: International Chamber of Commerce Commercial Crime Services, 2010) [hereafter *Annual Report 2009*].

12. Ibid.

13. "Global Pirate Attacks More Frequent, Violent: IMB Report," *Business Times,* www.btimes.com.my/.

14. *Annual Report 2009.*

15. Ibid.

16. U.S. Congress, House Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure, Subcommittee on Coast Guard and Maritime Transportation [hereafter House Coast Guard Subcommittee], *Maritime Piracy: Reasons, Dangers and Solutions,* testimony by Peter Chalk, 111th Cong., 1st sess., 4 February 2009.

17. *Secure-Marine,* www.secure-marine.com/ship/index.shtml.

18. U.S. Transportation Dept., *Economic Impact of Piracy in the Gulf of Aden on Global Trade* (Washington, D.C.: Maritime Administration, n.d.), available at www.marad.dot.gov/.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid.

21. Miles Costello, "As Somalian Pirates Widen Their Horizons, the Cost of Ship Insurance Is Soaring," *Times Online,* 1 December 2009, www.timesonline.co.uk/.

22. "Global Pirate Attacks More Frequent,Violent."

23. Gwen Thompkins, "In Somalia, Piracy Is an Attractive Career Option," *National Public Radio,* 6 May 2009, transcript available at www.npr.org/.

24. United Nations [hereafter UN], *United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea of 10 December 1982,* effective 16 November 1994.

25. Douglas Guilfoyle, "Piracy Off Somalia: A Sketch of the Legal Framework," *EJIL: Talk! Blog of the European Journal of International Law,* posted 20 April 2009, www.ejiltalk.org/.

26. John J. Kruzel, "Navy's Rescue Mission 'Textbook,' but Piracy Still Looms, Gates Says," American Forces Press Service, available at www.navy.mil/.

27. Steve Carmel, "Commercial Shipping and the Maritime Strategy," *Naval War College Review* 61, no. 2 (Spring 2008), pp. 39–46.

28. Ibid.

29. See James G. Stavridis, "Sailing Across the Bridge," U.S. Naval Institute *Proceedings* (October 2009).

30. "Failed States Index," *The Fund for Peace,* www.fundforpeace.org/.

31. UN Security Council, *Resolution 1851 (2008),* adopted 16 December 2008, available at www.unhcr.org/.

32. John J. Kruzel, "Admiral Urges Arming of Vessels to Combat Piracy," American Forces Press Service, available at www.defense.gov/.

33. House Coast Guard Subcommittee, *Hearing Memorandum,* 111th Cong., 1st sess., 19 May 2009, available at transportation.house.gov/.

34. Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives,* in *Lives,* vol. 5 (Cambridge, Mass.: Loeb Classical Library, 1917).

U.S.-Mexico Homeland Defense: A *Compatible* Interface

General Victor E. Renuart, Jr., and Dr. Biff Baker

Key Points

The United States and Mexico share a common history shaped by military incursions during the 19th and early 20th centuries. The bond between the American and Mexican people, however, has continued to grow closer over time despite occasional negative rhetoric from politicians in Washington, DC, and Mexico City. At local and state levels, relations solidified through the closely knit fabric of our border towns, intermarriage between families on each side of the border, and the development of infrastructure (to include water, wastewater, and gas and electricity utilities) that serves communities to the north and south. At the national level, our relationship became closer due to economic growth resulting from the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which now accounts for almost $1 billion (U.S. dollars) in trade per day between the two countries.

The events of 9/11 helped political leaders realize that an attack on one NAFTA partner could have significant impact upon all trading partners. Trade decreased among all three NAFTA nations due to security concerns, which brought together our elected officials to discuss areas of mutual concern in defense and security. Mexican military support in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina helped build a new sense of trust and friendship between our people; similarly, the Merida Initiative is assisting our neighbor in defeating the drug threat, and has further helped to build trust between our countries.

Hence, the term *compatible* interface in the title of this paper refers to the fact that the United States and Mexico have complementary areas of concern in each of our four instruments of national power (diplomatic, information, military, and economic), which have been shaped by events that uniquely impact upon North American neighbors. Hence, expanded cooperation between Mexican counterparts and the U.S. Northern Command and our interagency community will improve the security and prosperity of the citizens of both our nations.

This paper responds to a previous Strategic Forum (no. 243, July 2009) entitled *U.S.-Mexico Defense Relations: An Incompatible Interface* by Craig Deare. Some of the assertions and conclusions within Dr. Deare's paper were flawed due to an outdated U.S.-Mexico paradigm that preceded the 9/11 attacks and recent counterdrug operations in Mexico. If his work had been published prior to the establishment of U.S. Northern Command (USNORTHCOM), it would have been well received, but times have changed. Because of our collective experiences over the past 6 years, we find implausible the notion that USNORTHCOM is not staffed or experienced enough to support Mexico's security cooperation needs. Hence, *U.S.-Mexico Homeland Defense: A **Compatible** Interface* is intended to set the record straight by pointing out the numerous areas of cooperation between Mexico and the United States since the establishment of USNORTHCOM.

The term *compatible interface* in the title of this paper refers to the fact that the United States and Mexico have complementary areas of concern in each of our four instruments of national power: diplomatic, information, military, and economic. A firm understanding of where we were, and where we are, in these elements of power gives the reader a better picture of the strong relationship between Mexico and the United States.

Diplomacy and Information

During the first 100 years of U.S.-Mexican relations, diplomacy and information-sharing suffered setbacks due to armed conflicts between the nascent powers. School children who study history on both sides of our borders are familiar with the early interludes between our countries:

- 1836: Texas gained independence from Mexico.

- May 1846: Congress declared war on Mexico, which was ended with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848).

- April to November 1914: The United States occupied Veracruz due to the Tampico Affair.

- March 1916 to February 1917: The United States retaliated against the Francisco "Pancho" Villa raids.

Diplomacy and misinformation appeared to remain in a continuous state of conflict, in part due to accusations thrown across the border that typically served the needs of U.S. and Mexican politicians who sought reelection. In contrast, diplomatic relationships between Mexico City and Washington did not inhibit the win-win relationships among families and local governments in our border communities. Formally, relationships between the governments of our two nations remained distant in the last century;[1] informally, however, our ties have grown stronger over the past 150 years. Despite the distance between various political leaders and occasional negative rhetoric used in election campaigns north and south of the border, the people of the United States and Mexico married, nurtured extended families, developed trade, and collaborated on many social and economic issues. In short, while our politicians saw a glass half-empty, the citizens in our border communities saw the U.S.-Mexican relationship as a glass half-full, with much of the fruit-bearing diplomacy occurring at local levels.

Economic

The United States and Mexico have separate and distinct national centers of gravity, but from a bilateral perspective, the North American economy, trade, and related critical infrastructures are shared centers of gravity that must be defended to preserve our way of life. Over the past century, collaboration and economic prosperity grew due to the initiatives of small businesses, corporations, and local governments. In addition, border communities developed common water, wastewater, and electric and gas utilities that shared costs, which benefited citizens from both nations. These growing economic relationships were further enhanced and formalized when Mexico, the United States, and Canada implemented the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994, which eliminated tariffs and many nontariff barriers, resulting in current trade between the United States and Mexico of almost $1 billion per day.

The increasing integration of the Mexican, American, and Canadian economies represents a model of mutually beneficial trade. In contrast to the gloom-and-doom debates held in 1993, NAFTA's implementation has been beneficial to each nation's economy. While maintaining distinct monetary, fiscal, economic, and social policies and practices tailored to each nation's particular needs and economic structure, our countries have managed to forge an open marketplace where goods, services, and capital can move freely. To preserve that economic freedom and prosperity, our homeland defense and security initiatives must be planned and coordinated continentally.

As shown in the figure, security measures and concerns about further terrorist attacks resulted in a short-term recession that adversely impacted our economies. This short-term decline in trade started in 2001 and continued through 2003, with substantial recovery in 2005 and 2006. These trade figures make clear that an attack on one nation affects not only the defense and security of that nation, but also the economic well-being of trading partners. Temporarily closing the shared border to legal trade after 9/11 had dramatic consequences for both of our economies; hence, both nations must plan to ensure this does not happen again. Specific examples of economic interdependency include:
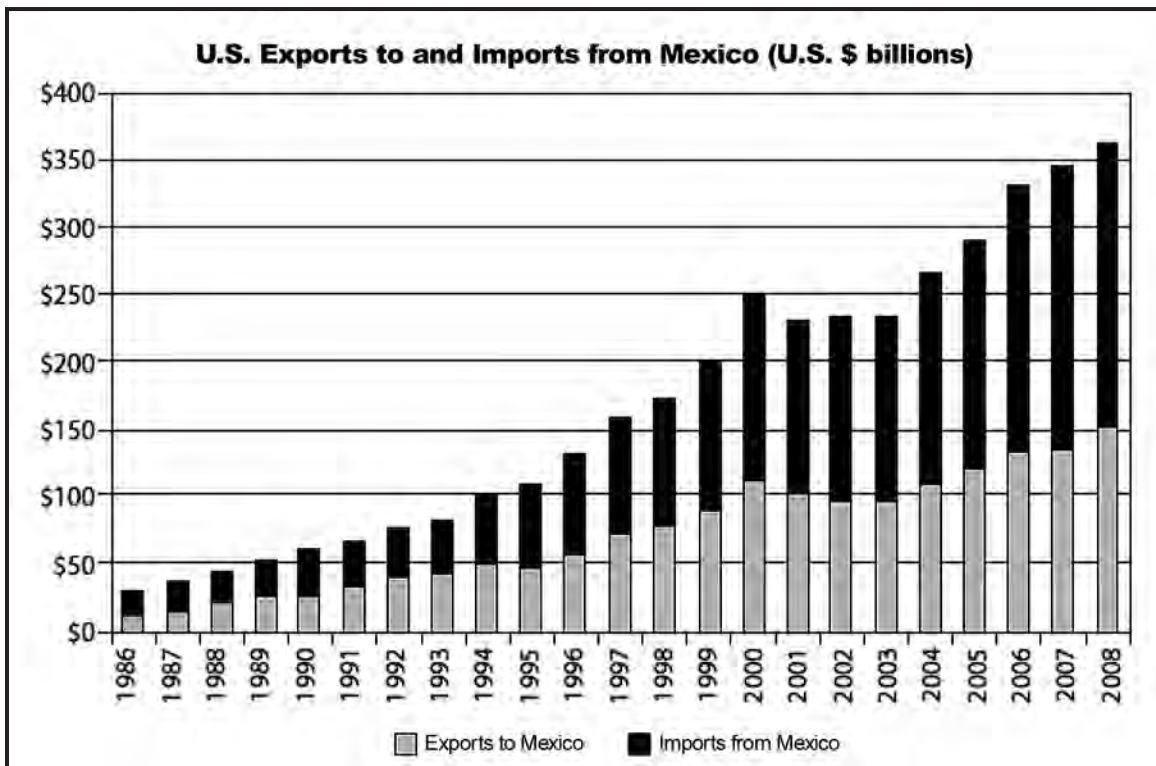

Figure 10-1

- Oil: Ninety percent of Mexican oil exports go to the United States.

- Natural gas: The Mexican Government Petroleum Company operates 5,700 miles of natural gas pipelines that include 12 active connections to the U.S. pipeline system.

- Coal: The United States exports coal to Mexico for electricity generation and steel production.

- Electricity: Mexico imports from the United States and vice versa, depending on the region and time of year.

- Manufactured goods: The majority of U.S. exports to Mexico consist of manufactured goods (such as computers and electrical equipment).

In recent years, almost 85 percent of Mexico's exports have gone to the United States, making Mexican economic success dependent on the balance between trade and security. U.S. economic success is also dependent on this balance. Continued prosperity depends on reliable homeland defense and security, which can only be achieved through greater coordination and information-sharing among military partners as well as the law enforcement and interagency community. Since USNORTHCOM has over 50 different Federal agency representatives in or near its headquarters every day, the command is ideally situated to reach out to our border partners for homeland defense-in-depth, as well as cooperative civil support initiatives.

Military

Prior to 1940, politicians on both sides of the border acknowledged the conflicts of 1836, 1846, 1914, and 1916. At times politicians ignored their neighbors, and at other times they fanned the flames of former conflicts in political speeches. However, since 1940, there have been five influential events in the U.S.-Mexican defense relationship that have fostered increased security cooperation. In addition to partnering in World War II, developments include the 9/11 terrorist attacks, the Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America, Hurricane Katrina, and the election of President Felipe Calderón and his counterdrug initiatives.

Partnering in World War II. The Japanese raid on Pearl Harbor was one of the defining moments in U.S. history leading to a declaration of war against the Axis powers. Canada had been at war with Germany since September 1939 and, showing solidarity with the United States, immediately declared war against Japan. Mexico immediately broke off relationships with the Axis powers in 1941. Then, due to the sinking of the oil tanker *Portero de Llano* and numerous submarine attacks on Mexican ships throughout 1942, Mexico declared war against Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan. The war led to greater trade between our nations, with Mexican oil fueling the U.S. war machine. Due to a common threat, historical animosities were set aside, which led to enhanced military cooperation for the mutual defense of North America.

This new level of cooperation resulted in the training of Mexican fighter pilots in the United States, and the creation of a Mexican P–47 Thunderbolt fighter squadron called the "Aztec Eagles." The 201st Mexican Fighter Squadron, Mexican Expeditionary Air Force (*Fuerza Aérea Expedicionaria Mexicana*) pilots flew close air support missions over U.S. ground forces in the Philippines. U.S.-Mexican joint and combined operations during World War II contributed to the defeat of the Japanese in 1945 and ensured survival of our nations. However, as the memory of a common enemy grew distant, the strong military and diplomatic ties forged during World War II decreased with each passing year as well.

9/11 Terrorist Attacks. A continental view of homeland defense and security once again became important after the 9/11 terrorist attacks, which renewed the perspective that U.S. and Mexican

armed forces have defense and security "connections" with areas of mutual interest. For instance, the United States and Mexico quickly crafted and implemented a "Smart Border Plan" in March 2002 that enhanced border security, while simultaneously facilitating transit of people and goods across the border. In addition, the Homeland Security Act was passed in November 2002, incorporating the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the Border Patrol, Customs, and other agencies into the Department of Homeland Security, which streamlined coordination with our neighbors.

After 9/11, the defense organizations inside Mexico did not change their structure or mission. The Mexican armed forces, including the navy, army, and air force, are subordinate to the President of the Republic for internal security and exterior defense of the federation. In addition, the Mexican navy (*Secretaria de Marina-Armada de Mexico*, or SEMAR) and Mexican army and air force (*Secretaria de la defena nacional*, or SEDENA) assist in civil defense efforts throughout their nation.

But as a consequence of 9/11, U.S. Northern Command was created in 2002, with the missions of homeland defense and providing military assistance to civil authorities. Although the organization and missions of USNORTHCOM do not exactly mirror the Mexican armed forces, they are complementary. For the first time in U.S. history, a geographic combatant commander was tasked to plan for the homeland defense of the United States from a multidomain and multinational perspective, which mandated focused outreach not only to our northern neighbors, but also to our neighbors in Mexico and The Bahamas.

Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America.

Trilateral cooperation has grown stronger since March 23, 2005, when the elected leaders of Mexico, Canada, and the United States announced a cooperative venture called the Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America (SPP). During this meeting, all three North American leaders described the security and prosperity of our nations as mutually dependent and complementary. They observed that over the preceding decade, their nations had taken important steps to expand economic opportunities for their people, creating the most vibrant and dynamic trade relationship in the world. In addition, to protect North America from external threats, prevent and respond to threats within North America, and streamline legitimate cross-border trade and travel, our three national leaders committed to:

- implement common border security strategies

- enhance infrastructure protection

- implement a common approach to emergency response

- improve aviation and maritime security

- enhance intelligence partnerships

- combat transnational threats

- implement a border facilitation strategy.

Although SPP was not specifically focused on the military, the initiative opened discussions among key interagency planners and decisionmakers from the nations. In addition, the focus on these seven critical goals created a nexus among USNORTHCOM, the Mexican military, and our interagency partners.

Hurricane Katrina. Just 5 months after agreeing to the SPP initiative, Hurricane Katrina formed over The Bahamas, crossed southern Florida, and made landfall in southeast Louisiana as a category 3 storm on the morning of August 29, 2005. The storm surge caused loss of life and property damage in New Orleans and surrounding areas after the levee system failed.

The U.S. National Response System was focused first upon local, then state, and lastly Federal responses. However, the damage during Hurricane Katrina was so widespread that the nascent Department of Homeland Security requested assistance from the military. In addition, offers of assistance were accepted from both Canada and Mexico. Americans were grateful for the Canadian navy and coast guard ships, as well as SEDENA convoys and a SEMAR ship laden with food, supplies, and personnel who assisted the Hurricane Katrina relief effort. The symbolic journey by Mexico's military into the disaster area marked the beginning of a new age of cooperation between our nations.[2]

Election of President Calderón.

Felipe de Jesús Calderón Hinojosa was elected President of Mexico and assumed office in December 2006 for a 6-year term. After his election, President Calderón increased the level of cooperation and interaction with his SPP and NAFTA counterparts in Canada and the United States. President Calderón promised to improve security, thereby enhancing prosperity for the Mexican people. Since assuming office, he has initiated numerous government reforms, and his administration has worked toward the elimination of the drug trafficking organizations within Mexico.

Just a month after assuming the presidency, Mexican authorities captured drug cartel leader Pedro Díaz Parada and announced his extradition to the United States. This action, combined with ongoing SPP activities, significantly enhanced the spirit of cooperation between the nations. In addition, President Calderón published a national strategy directing greater cooperation on matters of mutual interest with Mexico's neighbors, which makes his election a pivotal moment in U.S.-Mexico relations.

Paradigm Shifts

The 9/11 terrorist attacks helped political leaders realize that an attack on one NAFTA partner could have significant impact upon all trading partners, since the oceans no longer insulate North America from defense and security threats. The Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America helped senior level administrators focus upon cooperation in areas of mutual concern that can decrease costs and increase benefits for people on both sides of the border. Hurricane Katrina helped people on both sides of the border view one another as friends who may need a helping hand, instead of as historical adversaries. Finally, the election of President Calderón brought U.S.-Mexican cooperation to a new level, simply because he recognized that diplomacy, information, defense, economics, and security are all interrelated. His emphasis on constructive dialogue, rather than confrontational diatribes, has enhanced cooperation.

A Glass Half Full

The designation of the Commander of the North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD) as the dual-hatted Commander of USNORTHCOM provided the benefit of almost five decades of binational military cooperation and experience. Similarly, the Canada-U.S. Permanent Joint Board on Defense and the Canada-U.S. Military Cooperation Committee, which have continuously met since the 1940s, have provided superb models of cooperation and have contributed to a unique view on bilateral partnerships.

In contrast, the former U.S.-Mexico Bilateral Working Group (Bi-WG) dissolved after only 2 years, in part due to the departure of Secretary of Defense William J. Perry, and partly because the process, meetings, and outcomes were not formalized between the U.S. and Mexican militaries. The absence of a dedicated geographic combatant command relegated the Bi-WG initiative to an additional duty for already overworked Pentagon action officers.

With the assistance of our Office of Defense Coordination (ODC) in Mexico City, USNORTHCOM initiated outreach efforts to SEMAR and SEDENA in 2003. Several senior-level meetings led to a positive focus on the future, rather than a negative focus on the distant past. In 2005, just 2 years after our first meetings, the trinational SPP initiative was implemented, and only 5 months later, SEDENA and SEMAR contributed to post-hurricane relief that cemented the spirit of cooperation between U.S. and Mexican leaders.

In the summer of 2007, USNORTHCOM co-hosted a Senior Executive Dialogue with the Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies at the National Defense University, which opened candid dialogue among USNORTHCOM leaders, Mexican elected officials, and senior military leaders in a nonattribution environment. Trust and respect were enhanced among the senior U.S. and Mexican participants based on an open dialogue that focused on areas of common concern rather than flowery platitudes. Just a few months later, USNORTHCOM hosted an interagency conference for participants from Canada, Mexico, and the United States to discuss pandemic influenza; USNORTHCOM served as a catalyst for this trinational meeting, which helped move interagency and international planning and coordination forward. Additional H1N1/pandemic influenza conferences were organized and working groups met during 2008, which paid significant dividends during the 2009 outbreak of the H1N1 virus.

Increased trust by the government of Mexico is further evidenced by Federal Civil Protection System officials' willingness to engage in frank discussions with USNORTHCOM regarding emergency preparedness capabilities and collaboration with the command, in conjunction with the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, on projects to provide hazardous material equipment and training to several Mexican border cities. This follows the first acceptance of Department of Defense humanitarian assistance by the government of Mexico in October 2008, when 108,000 personal protective ensembles were employed during the spring 2009 H1N1 response.

Teaming with others depends upon building trust-filled relationships. Hence, our cooperation was greatly enhanced by the assignment of a SEMAR foreign liaison officer to USNORTHCOM in 2007 and the assignment of a SEDENA officer in 2009. Both officers have helped to open communications and enhanced information-sharing between USNORTHCOM and the Mexican military. Their professionalism and personable leadership styles have also contributed to higher levels of trust with their U.S. counterparts, which have assisted greatly when responding to natural disasters on both sides of our shared border.

In the aforementioned Strategic Forum, Dr. Deare argued that there were five significant obstacles that Mexico must overcome to improve links with its U.S. counterparts:

- the continued existence of two service secretaries rather than a unified defense ministry

- inadequate budgeting for the military realities of the country

- lack of properly trained civilian leaders to exercise effective policy control over the two secretariats

- widespread mistrust of the armed forces by other federal agencies

- domestic political realities.

USNORTHCOM's experiences in working with both SEMAR and SEDENA do not support this claim.

Security cooperation with SEMAR is facilitated by Fleet Forces Command, 2d Fleet and 3d Fleet, and Marine Forces North; and security cooperation with SEDENA is facilitated by U.S. Army North and Air Forces Northern. The Commander, USNORTHCOM, works with the two service secretaries rather than a unified defense ministry, and the level of cooperation has never been better.

Obviously, budgets can impact any military organization, but President Calderón has reallocated resources to support military actions against drug trafficking organizations. In addition, the U.S. Government has enacted legislation for the Merida Initiative, which will assist our neighbors in defeating this threat. Could funding be better? Yes—there is always a need for more training, better equipment, and better wages to improve retention; however, this has not been a major impediment.

The NORAD and USNORTHCOM staffs include U.S. and Canadian officers who were directly involved in or previously deployed to Operations *Enduring Freedom* and *Iraqi Freedom,* as well as those who formerly supported Plan Colombia. So the assertion that *only* U.S. Southern Command (USSOUTHCOM) is specially situated to assist the Mexican military is a specious one. If one used similar faulty logic, USSOUTHCOM should have developed the counterinsurgency plans in Iraq and Afghanistan instead of U.S. Central Command due to its experience in Colombia. The reality is that USNORTHCOM and USSOUTHCOM share in the strategic interest of reducing illicit trafficking in our hemisphere, with each offering well-integrated contributions.

An alleged absence of properly trained civilian leaders has not been an issue in the military-to-military relationships among USNORTHCOM, SEMAR, and SEDENA. The interface between ODC-Mexico's civilian and military employees with their Mexican counterparts has been professional, congenial, and productive. Although Mexico does not have equivalent layers of civilian defense secretaries, under secretaries, and assistant secretaries, this has not negatively impacted USNORTHCOM-Mexican military relations. In fact, SEMAR and SEDENA have

discovered that the singular focus of a geographic combatant commander can result in more focused dialogue and quicker responses than attempting to navigate the Pentagon maze. The leadership of both SEDENA and SEMAR specifically highlight these close personal and professional relationships in every interaction they have with the Department of Defense.

Dr. Deare argued that USSOUTHCOM has greater cultural awareness of Latin America, but cultural awareness of the Southern Cone or the Andean region does not make one an expert in Mexico. U.S. Foreign Area Officers with experience in Latin America and assigned to USNORTHCOM correctly identify that Mexico, as a North American country, has greater ties to the United States and Canada than it does to the Caribbean and Central and South America, since geography and economics often drive defense and security initiatives.

During our numerous interagency planning meetings focused upon the H1N1 crisis, forest fires, and other natural disasters, we have witnessed quite the opposite of Dr. Deare's alleged widespread mistrust of the Mexican armed forces by other Mexican federal agencies. Perhaps his observation was true at some time in Mexico's past. Numerous polls, as well as personal experience, have found that the military is one of Mexico's strongest and most respected institutions. Mexico's National Human Rights Commission has documented alleged cases of abuse by the military in their fight against drug cartels, but the secretaries of SEMAR and SEDENA have made firm commitments to ensure responsibility and accountability at all levels. In addition, USNORTHCOM and USSOUTHCOM have partnered on several region-wide initiatives to provide training assistance as requested.

Dr. Deare's only argument that may have merit is about "political realities" affecting U.S. assistance to Mexican military and agency partners. The Mexican constitution is a political restraint upon security cooperation and security assistance because article 76 requires Mexican senate approval for "the departure of national troops beyond the borders of the country, the passage of foreign troops through the national territory, and the sojourn of squadrons of other powers for more than one month in Mexican waters." Although this article is at times interpreted as never permitting foreign troops within Mexican national territory, it does permit troops with Mexican senate approval. Like some politicians in the United States, Mexican senators will not approve military assistance inside Mexico if they perceive repercussions at the polls. However, attitudes are changing; for example, the Mexican senate approved SEMAR's participation in the recent UNITAS maritime exercise.

Compatible interface refers to the fact that the United States and Mexico have complementary areas of concern in each of the four instruments of national power. Since political realities can inhibit cooperation within the Mexican national territory, it simply makes sense to expand cooperation with USNORTHCOM and our interagency community on the northern side of the border, for the security and prosperity of the citizens from both nations.

Endnotes

1. Patrick M. Cronin, ed., "The Americas: Securing the Three Borders," in *Global Strategic Assessment 2009*: *America's Security Role in a Changing World* (Washington, DC: National Defense University Press, 2009), 351.

2. Biff Baker, "Neighbors Helping Neighbors: Instruments of National Power Define U.S.-Mexico Relations," *Agora Magazine* 1, nos. 2 and 3 (July 2008).

NORAD [North American Aerospace Defense Command], USNORTHCOM [U.S. Northern Command] Commander Outlines Focus Areas at Homeland Security Symposium

Staff Sgt. Thomas J. Doscher,
NORAD and USNORTHCOM Public Affairs

Previously published 1 November 2010 on the USNORTHCOM public website: www.northcom.mil.

COLORADO SPRINGS, Colo. – The commander of the North American Aerospace Defense Command and U.S. Northern Command spoke at the National Symposium on Homeland Security and Defense at the Broadmoor Hotel in Colorado Springs, Colo., Oct. 29.

Navy Adm. James Winnefeld, NORAD and USNORTHCOM commander, outlined the commands' eight primary focus areas and discussed the commands' role in cyber security on the last day of the three-day conference.

The eight focus areas run the gamut of the commands' responsibility from counter-terrorism and force protection to the opening of the Arctic and rest on three factors.

"We've prioritized them based on three factors," Winnefeld told the audience. "How important are these focus areas to our two nations? The second is, what is the multiplicity of challenges that are associated with each of these focus areas? How hard are they? What are the problems we're trying to solve? And the third dimension would be what are the opportunities out there? And if you combined those three factors, you can then come up with a rough order of priority."

At the top of the list, Winnefeld said, is counter-terrorism.

"You can't be the NORAD or NORTHCOM commander without making that your first priority," he said. "But I would hasten to add that while there are many challenges associated with that particular problem, there are not that many opportunities for a USNORTHCOM commander to engage. The lion's share of the counter-terror problem inside our borders is a law enforcement problem."

"Now that doesn't mean that we don't cooperate closely with law enforcement," he added. "In fact, I would tell you we've made tremendous progress over the last year or so in the information sharing that we need to do within the intelligence community and the operational community to make sure that we're sharing what we know and that everybody is looking at the same sheet of paper in terms of what kinds of threats are out there."

The next focus area Winnefeld highlighted was the fight against transnational criminal organizations, particularly in regards to the continuing violence in Mexico. Calling it a "hemisphere-wide problem," Winnefeld praised Mexican leadership for taking on the TCOs.

"They are a friend and a neighbor, and I will tell you that they are a very courageous friend and neighbor because the government of Mexico has decided to take this problem on, and they didn't have to," Winnefeld said. "They could have backed off and let things lie the way they were, but they decided that this is a battle for the future of Mexico, and we should do everything we can to help them win it."

Speaking on the third focus area, defense support of civil authorities, Winnefeld said the command has made great progress in streamlining the processes so that the command can respond quickly when needed, citing in particular the contingency dual-status commander concept wherein a commander falls under federal and state commands simultaneously.

"I personally believe this has taken our relationship with the National Guard to the next level," he said. "The country should be happy about that because we don't want to be in the position when there's a natural disaster in a state or several states trying to explain to the American people why we were squabbling over command and control."

Listing chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear challenges the next focus area, Winnefeld said the states are taking more and more responsibility in this area.

"It's (the CBRN enterprise) undergoing a transformation that will put more responsibility and capability with the states," he said. "It's designed to bring more speed of response and more life-saving capability in the wake of a potential attack on this nation."

On the maritime warning mission, Winnefeld said one of the biggest challenges was information sharing among partner agencies.

"We need to figure out how we're going to share data, turn that data into information, knowledge and action taken by either nation, but we have a lot of work to do to figure out how to share that information and at what level," he said.

Although aerospace warning and control is the mission NORAD is most well-known for, it is also one of the focus areas Winnefeld discussed the least because, he said, it has been so successful.

"It's a high priority in any event," he said, "But it's also going very well. We have a very dedicated, experienced and seasoned group that does this in our headquarters and our various NORAD regions all the way down to the people who respond in cockpits, flying airplanes and responding to threats. That's a pretty healthy organization."

In the area of ballistic missile defense, Winnefeld said the organization was healthy but that a close eye must be kept on the threat.

"We do need to make sure that we carefully watch the threat and pace the threat that could be out there and stay ahead of them," he said.

The last focus area Winnefeld discussed was the Arctic. Calling it a central issue to the Canadian psyche, Winnefeld said the two countries must work together on the way-ahead for the region.

"It's not going to be a sudden change in the Arctic, it's going to be a gradual change," Winnefeld said. "But the change is coming. One important thing to remember is that we would like to make sure that we put this on a trajectory so that we are not militarizing the Arctic in the classic sense, but there are some missions that really can only best be done in the Arctic by the military simply because of the capability and capacity that we bring."

"It's about five times as hard to get anything done in the Arctic as it is anywhere else, so we have to be thinking even further ahead in regards to the capabilities that we're going to need to have up there," he added.

Although not a focus area, cyber security does factor into USNORTHCOM's mission, Winnefeld said, and the command will work closely with U.S. Cyber Command, particularly in the aftermath of a cyber attack.

"I feel it (cyber) is embedded inside the defense support of civil authorities area in one sense and it is also a part of everything we do in another sense," Winnefeld explained. "The two things that I focus on most in regards to cyber are defending my own networks, defending our ability to do the kinds of command control that we have to do for this broad array of missions that I've been describing to you today. If I lose cyber connectivity with my ballistic missile defense assets, I've got a real problem. If I lose cyber connectivity with my sovereignty alert team, then I've got a big problem. And if I can't have reliable broadband connectivity with a whole host of partners in a natural disaster, I've got a real problem."

"The other aspect of my interest in cyber is that NORTHCOM is the responder who will assist Homeland Security and other entities in the wake of a cyber attack if it has physical effects," he continued. "If there were an attack that took down the electrical grid for a significant amount of time, it's going to be CYBERCOM who partners with DHS to help with the recovery from that attack. My play in that is going to be how do we keep the trains running? How do we keep people fed? And we're exploring the linkage between those two things. Is there a linkage between a cyber recovering and a physical recovery, and if so, where is it?"

Winnefeld closed by calling his role at USNORTHCOM a sacred trust.

"This is about defending our nations between people who wish evil upon us, and I can candidly tell you there are a number of wonderful Americans and Canadians serving overseas right now on the front lines against the principle threat today. We would be letting those people down, who are sacrificing so much, and their families, who are sacrificing so much, some of whom have given that last full measure of devotion to our countries, if we aren't doing our very best every single day to make sure we are handling the rear as well as they are performing in the field."

'Mission One' at NORTHCOM [U.S. Northern Command]: Defending the Homeland

SSG Jim Greenhill, National Guard Bureau

Previously published 26 October 2010 on the USNORTHCOM public website: www.northcom.mil.

WASHINGTON – Developing regional response capabilities, stepping up preparations for a no-notice catastrophe and maturing partnerships are among priorities at U.S. Northern Command, the new deputy commander said here Tuesday.

"We're working very closely with the National Guard and [the Office of the Secretary of Defense] and the Joint Staff, taking our contingency plans for the homeland – especially in the CBRNE world – and working very closely with the Guard to develop a regional response capability," said Army Lt. Gen. Frank Grass, NORTHCOM's deputy commander.

CBRNE is chemical, biological, radiological, nuclear or high-yield explosive.

"The success of that regional response in support of (the Federal Emergency Management Agency) will help drive how we respond ... at the federal level," said General Grass, who also is vice commander of the U.S. element of NORTHCOM's sister command, North American Aerospace Defense Command.

"I have a good understanding from the local level all the way through the national level," said General Grass, who also served as the Army National Guard's operations director.

The National Guard's relationship with NORAD, the older of the twin commands, is longstanding.

"The National Guard has been a key player in the NORAD mission for air sovereignty alert with tankers and fighters and continues to be a large portion of that force," General Grass said during the 2010 Association of the U.S. Army Annual Meeting and Exposition here. "Today, the Guard is also very active in the missile defense world.

"They provide the bulk of our 100th Missile Defense Brigade (Ground-based Midcourse Defense) based out of Colorado and the 49th Missile Defense Battalion (GMD) ... out of Fort Greely, Alaska."

The National Guard's 263rd Army Air & Missile Defense Artillery Brigade out of South Carolina also provides last-resort protection for the National Capitol Region centered here on Washington.

NORTHCOM was stood up in 2002, in the wake of the attacks of Sept. 11, 2001. Its key homeland defense and defense support of civil authorities missions match key National Guard missions.

"We had a good base of knowledge from NORAD to build on with the Guard," General Grass said. "We have partnered extremely well. Keeping that close relationship is extremely important."

The National Guard is among each state's team of first responders to natural or manmade disasters.

"The Guard is the governor's first military response and as you have a disaster occur and more forces are needed, you see the governor calling in his Guard whenever a disaster exceeds the capability of the (local) first responders," General Grass said.

"(NORTHCOM is) there to help back up whenever a governor calls — through the National Response Framework, through FEMA, through the interagency — and we want to not be a minute too early or a minute too late.

"We want to be able to partner with the Guard ... to have visibility of what's happening on the ground early so that if the governor needs assistance and requests it through the National Response Framework we can provide Title 10 assets," General Grass said.

NORTHCOM, the Guard and other agencies are drawing ever closer — particularly in the area of no-notice catastrophic events.

"We are working very closely with FEMA and the Guard to look at how we would respond in a no-notice catastrophic event," General Grass said. "We feel that's the one area right now we need to expand upon."

NORTHCOM and the Guard have co-hosted annual hurricane preparedness conferences attended by both the combatant commander and the chief of the National Guard Bureau.

General Grass said that teamwork now will expand to include more Department of Homeland Security and FEMA involvement.

"It's a team," he said. "We really focus a lot on unity of effort in support of (civil authorities)."

In 2011 and 2012, that boosting of preparedness for no-notice catastrophic events will include a focus on CBRNE response, General Grass said.

"We're going through the process of changing the way we do business in the homeland," he said.

The states have established response forces in the form of the National Guard's Civil Support Teams and CBRNE Enhanced Response Force Packages.

Meanwhile, at the federal level, CBRNE capabilities include servicemembers who are Title 10 assets that governors can call upon in a catastrophic event, plus command and control units.

In 2011, a regional layer that is already being stood up will come on line. Two new regional Homeland Response Forces are in training.

HRFs are battalion-level National Guard units with lifesaving and decontamination capabilities and security and command and control elements.

General Grass said the first two HRFs will have their training confirmation completed in 2011 and eight more will stand up in 2012.

"(HRFs) will be a regional capability, which works very closely with the FEMA regions, but they'll be owned by the governors," General Grass explained. "We're now pushing down capability to the regional level."

Where the traditional CST and CERFP response is inside a state, the HRFs will be regional, with one stationed in each of the nation's 10 FEMA regions.

"The new Homeland Response Forces came out of the (Quadrennial Defense Review) and (a) resource management decision, and the intent was to push more lifesaving capability early in the response to a CBRNE disaster," General Grass said.

Training also will be standardized for active, Guard and reserve elements of all the nation's CBRNE response capabilities, he said.

NORTHCOM includes liaison officers from about 60 government agencies. Six of the command's general officers, including General Grass, are drawn from the Reserve components.

"From a Reserve component perspective, NORTHCOM is the one place where you can bring senior leadership together and give them an opportunity to work the interagency process, the whole-of-government and the whole-of-U.S.-military and grow as a team," General Grass said.

"That coupled with our active counterparts from all services including the U.S. Coast Guard really creates a great mix and a place to grow leaders that understand how to do business for the homeland in the future — not only from (the Defense Department), but also the interagency," he added. "We'll grow leaders that understand Mission One, which is defending the homeland."

The Parting of the Sulawesi Sea:
U.S. Strategy and Transforming the Terrorist Transit Triangle

Charles "Ken" Comer

Reprinted with permission from the May–June 2010 issue of *Military Review.*

While most U.S. efforts in overseas contingency operations focus on the Middle East, Afghanistan, and the Horn of Africa, other efforts center in Southeast Asia on the tri-border region of the Philippines, Indonesia, and Malaysia around the Sulawesi Sea. This area, more commonly known as the "T3"—the Terrorist Transit Triangle—remains the U.S. Pacific Command's primary area of interest for counterterrorism in the Pacific and its primary focus of bilateral military engagement within Southeast Asia. This article discusses the various threats in the T3 region and the reactions of the three nations that surround it.

Looking for a Needle in a Stack of Needles

The expanse known as T3 centers on the Sulawesi Sea, which separates the Philippines, Indonesia, and Malaysia. The area is much larger and more remote than most Americans appreciate. Just the water area of the Sulawesi Sea is larger than the combined areas of the states of Texas and Louisiana. Even defining the water area is complicated because the Sulawesi Sea separates two archipelagic nations—Indonesia and the Philippines—and adjoins eastern Malaysia. To the southwest, the Sulawesi intersects one of the most important waterways for energy security in the Pacific, the Makassar Straights, which contain the world's second largest operational liquid natural gas field.[1]

Several island chains bisect the T3, providing natural corridors for transit. They provided trading routes during the pre-colonial era in Southeast Asia. Today, along with legitimate trade, they provide relatively safe transit routes for criminal and terrorist elements and for the movement of weapons and personnel to the region's two infamous terrorist groups, the Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) in Southeast Asia, and the Abu Sayyaf Group in the southern Philippines.

Four main island chains transit the T3 area. These chains have many unofficial names—"rat lines," "infiltration routes," "terrorist corridors"—and are referred to differently by Department of Defense, Department of State, various intelligence agencies, and Department of Justice officials. From west to east, the first route (Route 1) originates and terminates in northern Mindanao or the central Philippines, and it extends west to the Philippine island of Palawan. Palawan is, in turn, a waypoint for transit into the eastern Malaysian city of Sandakan, another port in the state of Sabah.

The second route (Route 2), a direct line along the Sulu archipelago island chain, is the most obvious and the most infamous of these routes. This line originates and terminates in the southwestern Mindanao city of Zamboanga, and it extends southwest down a chain of islands from Basilan to Jolo, the tiny island of Tapul, Tawi-Tawi, and Sibutu. The route then splits toward either the island of Timbunmata and the Malaysian port town of Tawao or toward the island of Ligitan and the Malaysian port of Lahaddatu. Alternatively, it splits toward the Indonesian port of Nunukan or turns back northwesterly towards Sandakan at the terminus of Route 1.

Figure 13-1. Southeast Asia map showing the terrorist transit triangle

The third route (Route 3) originates and terminates in southern Mindanao near General Santos City, and it crosses the T3 via a group of small islands that lead to Tahuna Island, which is off the extreme northeast tip of the island of Sulawesi. From Tahuna, the route follows a southerly path directly to the Indonesian port cities of Manado and Bitung.

The fourth and final route (Route 3A) is a branch of the General Santos City-Manado route. It only recently came to light in the wake of sectarian violence in Poso on central Sulawesi in February and March 2007. Weapons and trained cadre intended for Indonesian fundamentalist organizations moved out of the Philippines via this route to support the violence in Poso.[2] The route originates and terminates near General Santos City, and it veers southeast to Karkarekelong Island just inside Indonesian territory, then proceeds on a southerly course to the Indonesian port city of Ternate, on the island of Halmahera. From Ternate, the route moves in a southwesterly direction to central Sulawesi, avoiding the more guarded ports of Manado and Bitung.

The "Realpolitik" of the Sulawesi Sea

Compounding the geospatial challenges of the T3 region, all three countries in the region are (to put it politely) undergoverned. The region lacks the necessary resources to make it governable.

The most tangible evidence of this state of affairs is the paucity of border controls exercised by the three nations in the region. It is not uncommon for a person to travel freely between any of the three nations without ever encountering a border control agent. Consequently, terrorists and their support elements can move between training areas in Mindanao while returning to or transiting from Indonesia and Malaysia en route to other destinations. This freedom of movement enables them to blend with the general population or form networks with other illegal elements to facilitate the flow of persons, weapons, and communication across the T3.

Currently, no formal mechanism facilitates either tri-nation cooperation in the T3 or a U.S.-led multilateral effort—only an unofficial network of individual military and law enforcement officials from each nation exists. The lack of effort to legitimize the borders within the T3 seems to validate the old adage about the Association of Southeast Asian Nations: it is primarily an economic grouping that is capable of cooperating, but not coordinating.

There are four main reasons for the lack of cooperation that obstructs effective multilateral coordination across the T3:

- Distrust amongst the Philippines, Indonesia, and Malaysia.

- Lack of resources.

- Interservice rivalry and ineffectual coordination among government agencies.

- Corruption.

Distrust. The Philippines has fair relations with Indonesia mainly because of the distance between the two nations. However, this is not the case with Malaysia. The end of the Sulu Archipelago is within eyesight of the Malaysian state of Sabah, and many ethnic Filipinos cross into Malaysia in search of plantation work, creating a tense atmosphere whenever Filipinos and Malaysians meet to discuss bilateral issues.

The Malaysian-Philippines relationship seems congenial compared to Malaysia's relations with Indonesia, except for a territorial dispute over the Ambalat block, an undersea parcel of land with a direct impact on bilateral cooperation in the T3. Contested by Indonesia and Malaysia, the Ambalat block in the Sulawesi is located off the coast of the Indonesian province of East Kalimantan and southeast of the Malaysian state of Sabah. Malaysia refers to part of it as "Block ND 6" while part of the East Ambalat block is "Block ND 7." The sea blocks are rich in crude oil.

The dispute over the Ambalat stretch of the Sulawesi Sea began with the publication of a map by Malaysia in 1979 depicting its territorial waters and continental shelf. The map drew Malaysia's maritime boundary in a southeast direction in the Sulawesi Sea from the eastern-most point of the Indonesia-Malaysia land border on the eastern shore of Sebatik Island, including the Ambalat block, or at least a large portion of it, within Malaysian territorial waters. Indonesia and other neighbors of Malaysia objected to the map. Indonesia has never officially announced its maritime territorial limits, but in June 2002 it declared the islands of Sipadan and Ligitan for its own. Both Indonesia and Malaysia once claimed these islands— which Malaysia included as part of its territory in its 1979 map— to be its archipelagic base points. This effectively put the entire Ambalat area within its internal waters.

Lack of resources. The government of the Philippines has long neglected Mindanao and particularly the portions that fall into the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao. This neglect extends across the full spectrum of governance—political, social, economic, and military. The Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) have traditionally been underfunded, but became even more so after 1992, when the United States removed its bases in the Philippines and ended United States grant aid, leading to underfunding of units and bases in Mindanao throughout the 1990s. The U.S discovered the extent of the underfunding after the deployment of the Joint Special Operations Task Force-Philippines to Zamboanga in February 2002. The task force was shocked and dismayed to discover how little its assigned AFP partner actually controlled the units assigned to it.[3]

Indonesian security forces are as short of funds as those of the Philippines. Another common trait with the Philippines is the economic activities that the Indonesian Armed Forces and National Police employ to make ends meet or to produce profit for their commanders. There is a direct correlation between the distance from Jakarta and the autonomy of security forces.

Malaysia is the exception to the rule in terms of resources available to support counterterrorism efforts. The Malaysian Armed Forces and Coast Guard are better equipped and trained than those of Indonesia and the Philippines. For Malaysia, the problem seems to be more a question of will and a reluctance to cooperate too closely with its neighbors or the United States. The Malaysian security forces are Malaccan Straits-centric with only a grudging interest in T3 problems beyond defending Ambalat from Indonesian incursions.

Rivalry and ineffectual coordination among government agencies. In the wake of Ferdinand Marcos' 1986 expulsion from the Philippines, the AFP underwent a massive restructuring. As part of this restructuring, a small coastal protection force, the Philippine Coast Guard, divorced itself from the Philippine Navy. Unfortunately, the divorce was not amicable, and both the Navy and the newly formed Coast Guard were unhappy with the division of bases, vessels, and personnel. The ensuing 22 years have done little to heal this rift.

Conflicting missions and muddled lines of responsibility have only made matters worse. To the horror of the Philippine Navy, the Philippine Coast Guard is a better funded, albeit a smaller organization. Its presence in the T3 is small, and its communications and coordination with the Navy and the AFP nonexistent. Professional jealousy exists between the Navy and Coast Guard in Malaysia, too, although the Malaysian rivalry is less than three years old.

The Royal Malaysian Police have the lead in counterterrorism, while the Malaysian Armed Forces play only a supporting role. The Royal Malaysian Police view the problems in the T3 as transnational crime issues, while the Malaysian Armed Forces view them as national sovereignty issues, leaving little room for multilateral cooperation.

Interagency cooperation in Indonesia is practically unknown. In an attempt to remedy the situation, the government of the Indonesia placed one of its planning agencies, Indonesian Maritime Security Coordinating Board, in control of maritime security and made it the lead agency in the creation of an Indonesian Coast Guard. The Indonesian aversion to sharing information is an important factor as well.[4]

Corruption. Corruption in the AFP reflects corruption in the government and society in the Philippines. In Mindanao, corruption is present in almost all aspects of the AFP's daily existence. The AFP's policy of recruiting locally for enlisted personnel and noncommissioned officers

compounds already endemic problems, entrenching AFP units geographically and hindering their mobility. To the dismay of the U.S. forces, operational security is next to impossible when planning AFP operations.

Corruption is still an unpleasant fact of life in Malaysia, too, but less prevalent than in Indonesia or the Philippines. Scrutiny from distant Kuala Lumpur is much more lax in far eastern Malaysia. Indonesian fishermen frequently must pay bribes, surrender their catch, or both in order to avoid confinement in a Sabah detention facility. If Indonesian fishermen pay bribes to avoid entanglements with the Malaysian Coast Guard or Police, obviously other better-financed organizations can as well. Corruption in Indonesia and its security forces is legendary. The reasons are many, but are usually associated with the security forces' lack of resources for operations.

National Outlooks, U.S. Security Assistance, and Multinational Cooperation

The need for multilateral cooperation in counter-terrorism in the T3 seems like a "no brainer" to the United States. On the surface, it would seem that multilateral counterterrorist cooperation is in the obvious self-interest of the states involved. In many ways, the Filipino point of view on terrorism and multilateral cooperation is more congruent with that of the United States than with that of the other littorals, as are its motives in cooperation. The threat posed by Mindanao separatists and terrorists trained and supported in Indonesia and Malaysia, and the Philippines' history as a former U.S. colony and current defense treaty partner, foster cooperation with the United States.[5] On the other hand, cooperation with the United States seems counterintuitive to Malaysia and Indonesia.[6]

Indonesia was slow to awaken to the transnational threat posed by Jemaah Islamiyah. Indonesia considered the JI as an internal and regional threat when its violent activities came to light in Maluku and Poso, far from the capital in Jakarta. Most Indonesians believe that the JI bombing in Bali on 12 October 2002, the bombing of the Marriott in Jakarta in 2003, the bombing of the Australian Embassy in Jakarta in 2004, and the October 2005 bombing in Bali indicated the JI was focusing on U.S. and Western targets in response to the U.S.-led War on Terrorism.[7]

Most Indonesians worry about foreign-funded extremists infiltrating mainstream Muslim organizations and regard illegal fishing, wildlife smuggling, logging, and trafficking as the only serious threats emanating from the Sulawesi.[8] The government of Indonesia points out that its economic losses due to these illegal activities total nearly $8 billion a year.[9]

Like Indonesia, Malaysia views maritime security in the Sulawesi as a law enforcement and sovereignty problem, not a counterterrorism problem. In multilateral maritime security meetings, Malaysian representatives tend to disengage from counterterrorist discussions by asserting that terrorism in the region is a problem for Indonesia and the Philippines. No active extremist groups operate within Malaysia's borders.

Since 2002, all three nations have upgraded their counterterrorism capabilities. However, progress has been uneven, much of it depending on each nation's relationship with the United States and its eligibility for U.S. foreign assistance, in particular Department of Defense "1206" dollars designed to create counterterrorism capabilities. The progress has been most rapid in the Philippines. On the other hand, Malaysia, which possesses the most capable counterterrorism forces in the region, has shown itself the least likely to cooperate with its neighbors or with the

United States. Indonesia, for its part, possesses a counterterrorist capability, but cannot bring itself to do the necessary internal governmental coordination or provide the necessary resources to sustain it.

Connecting the Dots

The U.S Pacific Command (PACOM) has faced a steep learning curve, and its initial efforts to facilitate a spirit of cooperation amongst the littorals were anything but smooth. To their credit, Pacific Command, DOD, and the State Department have learned their lessons about sovereignty concerns in the region. They started low-profile regional capacity-building programs and sponsored multilateral conferences to help build domain awareness, first in the Straits of Malacca and later in the Sulawesi Sea, to help states better enforce their laws. The Joint Interagency Coordinating Group, organized under the PACOM J-5, Plans and Policy, led the way in terms of U.S. efforts to kindle the fires of regional cooperation in maritime security and counterterrorism. With substantial encouragement from diplomats and U.S. military officials assigned to the region, the three nations slowly and deliberately encouraged the littorals' reengagement on cooperation. The Philippines led the region in building a comprehensive network of interagency cooperation that balanced surveillance, communication, and interdiction across the Philippine portion of the T3. The Philippines inaugurated Coast Watch South, the country's version of the famed Australian Coast Watchers of World War II. Coast Watch South has Pacific Command's enthusiastic support and receives U.S. military and law enforcement grant assistance.[10] The Joint Interagency Task Force West brought together military and law enforcement capabilities to combat transnational drug-related crime in the region.

The U.S. Department of Justice International Criminal Investigative Training Assistance Program is spearheading a separate but congruent initiative in Indonesia. Indonesian maritime security stakeholders seem to realize that their bureaucratic infighting has done little to detangle conflicting and overlapping authorities and see the need for a fresh approach. Begun in early 2009 and collectively known as the Tarakan Initiative, these program-developed actions represent a significant cultural shift in sharing basic goals and objectives within the government of Indonesia.

The Tarakan Initiative also brought together the Indonesian National Police, the Department of Sea Transportation (which controls the Ports Authority and an independent search and rescue arm), the Department of Customs, Department of Immigration, the Ministry of Fisheries, prosecutors, quarantine officials, and representatives of the Indonesian Navy to identify—

- Problems within the Sulawesi from their individual perspectives.

- Tasks and roles.

- Solution sets.

- Contributions each agency could make to the solution in terms of experience and assets.

The Tarakan Initiative group validated that illegal fishing, logging, smuggling, and various forms of trafficking are more serious threats to Indonesia's sovereignty than terrorism.

Conclusion

The geospatial and political challenges to effective counterterrorism cooperation in the T3 are daunting, but not insurmountable. Through its grant aid programs, the United States is slowly leading nations in the region toward a more practical and constructive relationship that will lead to effective cooperation. With practically all of the "1206" imagery and communications equipment from a common supplier, the technical cornerstones are in place for a regional common operating picture. The political will to switch on that capability in Indonesia, the Philippines, and Malaysia does not yet exist, but the prospects for future cooperation are much brighter than only a few years ago.

Pacific Command's indirect approach to multi-lateral maritime security cooperation will inevitably lead to counterterrorist cooperation in the Sulawesi, and it is beginning to make a real change in perceptions about the viability and practicality of cooperation in Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines. Ultimately, Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines will not come fully on board until they realize it is in their best interest. However, success is achievable if the United States has the political savvy to remain an indirect leader or facilitator in the process and remember the keys to success in the region—presence, persistence, and patience.

Endnotes

1. Indonesia's fields at Balikpapan, on the eastern side of Borneo, supply Japan with almost half its gas consumption. Its shipping lanes must pass through all three littoral nations' territory in the Sulawesi.

2. Most of the weapons from the conflict can be traced to the most notorious arms market in the region, the Sulu Arms market in the southern Philippines. "What makes the Sulu market unique is its longevity which is measured in centuries. In modern times, guns from the area supply conflicts and crime from Japan to Sri Lanka to Papua New Guinea and beyond; and in turn, the world pours guns and ammunition into Mindanao, the Maluku (Moluccas) Islands, and to a lesser extent, Malaysia and the rest of the Philippines. Like most black arms pipelines, the Sulu Arms Market is intertwined with piracy, terrorism, and the traffic of other illicit commodities. Criminal gangs, communists, Moro independence groups, and Islamic militants are all major players in the market, making it a security problem for at least five Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) member states." From unpublished dissertation paper, "Arms Trafficking in the Sulu Region and National Responses to a Regional Problem," by Major Lino Miani, U.S. Army, Olmsted Scholar, University of Malaya, 2009.

3. On 28 August 2006, GHQ Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) issued a General Order that split the former SOUTHCOM, and established Western Mindanao Command, or WESMINCOM (WMC), and Eastern Mindanao Command or EastMinCom (EMC). With the focus on several insurgent/terrorist threats spread throughout that AOR, to include mainland Mindanao, Basilan, and Sulu archipelago, it was difficult for a single unified command to cover so vast an area. The AFP's intent was to split, giving each command their own AOR on which to focus resources, along with a threat focus. While both new commands retain focus on the Moro Islamic Liberation Front, it also split the New People's Army and Abu Sayyaf Group/Jemaah Islamiyah threat to EMC and WMC. Information provided by LTC Rick Riker, JUSMAG-Philippines.

4. There is also an ongoing intense struggle amongst the Indonesian Navy, the Indonesian National Police, Maritime Police, and the Department of Transportation-Sea Transportation over what authority each will have. Senior Indonesian officials have stated that the legal, regulatory, and administrative hurdles will likely not be resolved for the next year.

5. The U.S.-Philippines bilateral relationships are far from smooth, and the U.S.-Philippine Status of Forces Agreement, called the Visiting Forces Agreement, is frequently the subject of a great deal of political theater; however the overall bilateral relationship remains by far the strongest and most transparent amongst the nations of the T3.

6. In Mindanao, recruiting, training, indoctrination financial and operational links between the Jemaah Islamiyah and other militant groups, specifically the Abu Sayyaf Group, the Moro Islamic Liberation Front, the Misuari Renegade/Breakaway Group, and the Philippine Raja Solariman Movement remain active.

7. More alarmingly, in mid-2008, U.S. Embassy Jakarta's internal Indonesian polling data revealed that 60 percent of Indonesians believe the United States was singularly responsible for the Global War on Terrorism.

8. Joe Cochrane, "Extremists Infiltrating Mainstream," *Jakarta Globe in English,* 3 April 2009.

9. Provided by the International Criminal Investigative Training Assistance Program U.S. Embassy, Jakarta.

10. Jamie Laude, "Pentagon confirms support to AFP coast watch in South," *Philippine Star,* 10 July 2009.

Irregular Warfare on the Korean Peninsula

Thoughts on Irregular Threats for North Korea Post-Conflict and Post-Collapse: Understanding Them to Counter Them

Colonel David S. Maxwell

Reprinted with permission from the 30 November 2010 issue of *Small Wars Journal.*

Introduction

> There are only two ways to approach planning for the collapse of North Korea: to be ill-prepared or to be really ill-prepared.
>
> —Dr. Kurt Campbell, DASD, 1 May 1998[1]

What is going to happen on the Korean Peninsula? This is the question that plagues policy makers, strategists, and military planners in the Republic of Korea (ROK), the United States (US) and in Northeast Asia (NEA).

If this question can be answered, the next question is: How will the ROK, US and the international community deal with what happens on the Korean Peninsula?

The purpose of this paper is to explore *some* of the potential outcomes on the Korean Peninsula following either collapse of the Kim Family Regime or following conventional and unconventional conflict with North Korea as well as to examine some of the possible ways to prepare for and deal with those outcomes. While optimistic planners and policy makers hope for a so-called "soft landing" and peaceful reunification of the Peninsula, prudence calls for planning for the worse case scenarios. This contradicts the current focus of the United States on having to "win the wars it is currently fighting" as stated in the 2010 Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR). However, the worse case scenarios are, in the author's opinion, at once both the most dangerous and the most likely threats in NEA and they should be considered. Therefore soft landing and peaceful reunification scenarios will not be addressed. (However, the author hopes they would become a reality). This paper is intentionally provocative, yet only focuses on one of the many complexities of the Korean Peninsula and Northeast Asia, namely Irregular Warfare.

This paper is written with the concepts of "military misfortune" in mind. In Eliot Cohen and John Gooch's seminal work on military failures, they determined that militaries are generally unsuccessful for three reasons: the failure to learn, the failure to adapt, and the failure to anticipate. This paper will recommend that the ROK-US alliance learn from operations in Afghanistan and Iraq, adapt Irregular Warfare concepts to the security challenges on the Korean Peninsula and anticipate the collapse of the Kim Family Regime and the complex, irregular threats that collapse will bring.

The conventional wisdom would postulate that the worse case situation would be an attack by the North Korean military because surely the devastation and widespread humanitarian suffering as well as global economic impact would be on a scale that would far exceed any crisis that has occurred since the end of World War II. While that could very well be the case, there is little doubt about the military outcome of an attack by the north on the South and its allies and that

would be the destruction of the North Korean People's Army and the Kim Family Regime. Victory will surely be in the South's favor; however, this paper will argue that the real worst case scenario comes from dealing with the aftermath; either post-regime collapse or post-conflict.

Assumptions

The fundamental assumption for this paper is that the threats that may emerge following collapse or conflict on the peninsula will be characterized by being irregular and these irregular threats will pose a dangerous and complex situation that if not properly planned and prepared for could destabilize the Korean Peninsula and the Northeast Asian region for years to come. These threats will be a source of human suffering in the region, as well as cause significant security threats and economic turmoil, perhaps on a global scale. It is imperative that these potential irregular threats be identified and understood and that countermeasures be developed.

The second fundamental assumption is that the North Korean people will not welcome the Republic of Korea and its allies with open arms. They may be welcomed by some, perhaps many, but certainly not by all and therein is a significant threat. It should be recalled that an assumption regarding liberation of Iraq was made in 2003 that postulated the Iraqi people would welcome the US as liberators and this incorrect assumption led to years of insurgency that was only countered after belated recognition of the conditions of insurgency and then undertaking a significant shift in strategy.

The third assumption is that while Irregular Warfare is the current 21st Century term of art for the conflicts that the US is likely to face, planners and policy makers do not appear to view the Irregular Warfare (IW) Joint Operating Concept (JOC) (Irregular Warfare: Countering Irregular Threats 2.0 dated 17 May 2010) as applying to the problems that can be expected to be posed by a post-Kim Family regime in North Korea. While the IW JOC appears to be pre-disposed to countering the violent extremism of non-state actors as well as asymmetric threats from state actors, a post Kim Family Regime North Korea will at once have many characteristics of violent extremism (though based on a different ideology: the religious-like Juche ideology) and at the same time use many of the already existing asymmetric capabilities developed by the North Korean state. Additionally, and perhaps most importantly the assumption is made that remnants of the North Korean military, Communist Party and population will oppose the introduction of non-North Korean forces and conduct a uniquely North Korean insurgency to accomplish the classic insurgent goal of ridding a land of an occupying power. Additionally, it should be noted that the term irregular warfare in Korean is the same as unconventional warfare and this breeds confusion within the alliance.

The fourth assumption is that despite wishful thinking otherwise, China is going to intervene during a crisis in the north in order to protect four major interests. It must prevent the spillover of any conflict into China. Second, it must prevent the flow of refugees into an area where there are already some 2 million ethnic Koreans. Third, it will want to prevent not only the loss of control of nuclear weapons, but also prevent nuclear weapons from falling into ROK hands and simultaneously securing any information and evidence that might demonstrate Chinese complicity in the North Korean nuclear development program. Finally, China will want to ensure access to the natural resources that it has already secured through multi-year leases (in some cases 100 years) with the North Korean government. These interests will drive Chinese actions in the event of crisis, either conflict or collapse.

The fifth and final assumption is that while some planning has taken place to deal with North Korean instability and the effects of Kim Family Regime collapse, there has been insufficient *preparation* for collapse. Furthermore, in addition to planning for collapse, action can and should be taken prior to collapse in order to mitigate the conditions and deal with the effects of collapse of the Kim Family Regime. Unfortunately, despite some planning efforts to counter specific irregular threats, the ROK, and the US in particular, has been distracted by the very real and dangerous threat of North Korean nuclear weapons and delivery capabilities proliferation of same while at the same time ensuring deterrence of an attack by the north. Deterrence is paramount and the nuclear problem is a critical international problem; however, successful deterrence over time will likely result in the eventual collapse of the regime and the associated security and humanitarian crises that it will bring.

Irregular Warfare and an End State for the Korean Peninsula

> If you concentrate exclusively on victory, while no thought for the after effect, you may be too exhausted to profit by peace, while it is almost certain that the peace will be a bad one, containing the germs of another war.
>
> —B.H. Liddel-Hart[2]

The remainder of this paper will examine the above assumptions from the perspective of the IW JOC with the purpose of looking at the Korean Peninsula from the perspective of Irregular Warfare. Therefore it is necessary to begin with the common and accepted understanding of both IW and counterinsurgency as defined in the IW JOC and because the definitions of both IW and counterinsurgency apply to the North Korean problem:

> **Irregular warfare**. A violent struggle among state and non-state actors for legitimacy and influence over the relevant populations. Irregular warfare favors indirect and asymmetric approaches, though it may employ the full range of military and other capabilities, in order to erode an adversary's power, influence, and will. Also called IW. (JP 1-02)

> **Counterinsurgency**. Comprehensive civilian and military efforts taken to defeat an insurgency and to address any core grievances. Also called COIN. (JP 3-24)[3]

The post-Kim Family Regime North Korea is very likely to be a violent struggle between state actors on the one hand: the ROK, US and international community and non-state actors on the other: remnants of the North Korean People's Army (nKPA) and the communist party, and members of a thoroughly indoctrinated population. Responses will require indirect and asymmetric approaches; however, it not only may, but also most likely will, require the full range of military and other capabilities in order to erode and in this case defeat North Korean military remnants and the legacy of the Kim Family Regime's power, influence, and will over the former North Korean population. Furthermore, it will most likely be necessary for the ROK to conduct a counterinsurgency campaign in the north to defeat an insurgency being executed by remnants of the North Korean military and elite with the support of the coerced people of the north.

However, before the future problems can be addressed, a proposed answer to the "Korea Question" should be established. The 1953 Armistice Agreement recommended that the political leaders of all parties meet and determine a solution to the Korea Question – the division of the Peninsula.[4] Since no answer to this question has been forthcoming in some 60 years and it is apparent that there will be no capitulation by either the north or South, particularly as long as the Kim Family Regime remains in power, it is necessary to state a possible answer to the "question."

In June 2009 during a meeting between President Lee Myung Bak and President Barack Obama they reaffirmed the ROK-US Alliance and set forth an alliance vision:

> Through our Alliance we aim to build a better future for all people on the Korean Peninsula, establishing a durable peace on the Peninsula and leading to peaceful reunification on the principles of free democracy and a market economy. We will work together to achieve the complete and verifiable elimination of North Korea's nuclear weapons and existing nuclear programs, as well as ballistic missile programs, and to promote respect for the fundamental human rights of the North Korean people.[5]

This vision can and should be the basis for policy and strategy development. The foundation for any effective strategy is to have clearly defined end state and following the collapse of the regime it will be necessary to have an end state that will focus policy makers and military and civilian planners. A working proposed end state that would answer the so-called "Korea question" could be this:

> A stable, secure, peaceful, economically vibrant, non-nuclear peninsula, reunified under a liberal constitutional form of government determined by the Korean people.[6]

This is an end state that the ROK and international community should strive to achieve. It is an end state that the ROK and US alliance should agree upon and on which to base future planning. It is the end state that can ensure legitimacy of a reunified Korea in the struggle for influence over the relevant population: the Korean people. Irregular Warfare and Counterinsurgency are complex undertakings and made more complex as evidenced by the past 9 years of war in Afghanistan and Iraq when there is no clear understandable and attainable end state. There is an opportunity now to establish an end state for the Korean Peninsula that will allow for planning and preparation and when crisis occurs, policy makers and planners will have a clear understanding of what must be achieved.

Nature of the Kim Family Regime and its Influence over the North Korean People

> War embraces much more than politics: it is always an expression of culture, often a determinant of cultural forms, in some societies the culture itself.
>
> —John Keegan in *A History of Warfare*[7]

Much has been written about the nature of the Kim Family Regime and its affect on the Korean people and their psyche. However, the most succinct, useful, and brilliant description can be found in the work of Adrian Buzo as he describes the beginnings of the "guerrilla dynasty" built around the cult-like worship of Kim Il Sung. The following paragraph provides the foundation

for understanding how the North Korean elite as well as much of the population is likely to act:

> In the course of this struggle against factional opponents, for the first time Kim began to emphasize nationalism as a means of rallying the population to the enormous sacrifices needed for post-war recovery. This was a nationalism that first took shape in the environment of the anti-Japanese guerrilla movement and developed into a creed through the destruction of both the non-Communist nationalist forces and much of the leftist intellectual tradition of the domestic Communists. Kim's nationalism did not draw inspiration from Korean history, nor did it dwell on past cultural achievements, for the serious study of history and traditional culture soon effectively ceased in the DPRK [Democratic People's Republic of Korea]. Rather, DPRK nationalism drew inspiration from the Spartan outlook of the former Manchurian guerrillas. It was a harsh nationalism that dwelt on past wrongs and promises of retribution for "national traitors" and their foreign backers. DPRK nationalism stressed the "purity" of all things Korean against the "contamination" of foreign ideas, and inculcated in the population a sense of fear and animosity toward the outside world. *Above all, DPRK nationalism stressed that the guerrilla ethos was not only the supreme, but also the only legitimate basis on which to reconstitute a reunified Korea*.[8] (Emphasis added)

A close reading of the above paragraph reveals a number of insights that can foretell the actions of the remnants of the regime and the military and a vast amount of the population. Sixty years of political indoctrination emphasizing the myth of anti-Japanese Partisan Warfare and the guerrilla exploits of Kim Il Sung as well as the total hostility to any foreign influence has laid the foundation for a popular resistance to any intervention from outside of North Korea, to include Koreans from the South. An analysis of Buzo's will show that a defeated nKPA and the people may fight to the death or live to fight another day and in either case the result will be irregular threats against whatever outside force intervenes to attempt to stabilize the chaos that will follow wartime defeat or regime collapse.

Although the North Korean people are suffering horrifically from living under the harsh conditions of the past 60 years and since the mid 1990's after the fall of the Soviet Union and the loss of economic aid it provided, because of the indoctrination and mindset of the people, it does not necessarily translate that the people will welcome the collapse of the regime and reunification of the peninsula. For the past 60 years the people have been so thorough indoctrinated that they have tremendous fear of anything outside of North Korea and combined with the guerrilla mindset, it should be assumed for the worse case that the people will resist reunification that is not brought about by the Kim Family Regime. The "guerrilla mindset" will likely be the root cause of the irregular threats that occur in and emanate from North Korea.

Asymmetric Threats in North Korea

Although the current focus is on North Korea's nuclear program, it should be remembered that the north has developed a range of asymmetric threats to support its campaign plans to reunify the peninsula. First and foremost it has the largest Special Operations force in the world. The Kim Family Regime has invested heavily in its SOF and they have proven very adept over the years as illustrated by the numerous infiltration operations. Much has been written about North Korean SOF, but suffice it to say given the large numbers that have been trained over the years, combined with the "guerrilla mindset" indoctrination of the population prudent

planners will recognize that this is a recipe for a significant threat during conflict as well as both post-conflict operations and a post collapse situation.

In addition to the nuclear program, other weapons of mass destruction have been under development for years and these include large stockpiles of chemical weapons as well probably some limited biological capabilities. Nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and associated material pose not only direct threats to military and civilian personnel on the Peninsula and in the region, they potential can be sold on the global arms market to the highest bidder which could very well include terrorist organizations. The regime has a track record of proliferation of military hardware and remnants of the regime will likely exploit overseas contacts as a source of funding and leverage.

In addition to weapons of mass destruction, North Korea has worked hard to develop missile delivery capabilities that it has sold to clients particularly in the Middle East. The presence of these systems in North Korea could provide an insurgency with capabilities never before seen and would push the description of the insurgency toward the hybrid warfare model that the Israelis faced in dealing with Hezbollah and has been well described by Frank Hoffman, among others.

In addition, to SOF and weapons capabilities, North Korea has developed an extensive global network to support the regime through a myriad of illicit activities which range from counterfeiting US currency to drug manufacturing and distribution to the counterfeiting of a range of goods from cigarettes to Viagra. The ability to manufacture and distribute such illicit goods provides the capability to raise funds to support an insurgency as well as a means to sell military technology as a source of income and of course that military technology could include WMD.

Analysis of the existing asymmetric threats shows that these capabilities will be well suited to insurgent operations by remnants of the regime and its military. These capabilities, if exploited, will be far more complex and dangerous than any capabilities that were present in Afghanistan and Iraq.

Dealing with the Worse Case: The Kim Family Regime's Legacy of Irregular Threats

> If in taking a native den one thinks chiefly of the market that he will establish there on the morrow, one does not take it in the ordinary way.
>
> —Lyautey: The Colonial Role of the Army, Revue Des Deux Mondes, 15 February 1900 [9]

While planning has taken place at various times over the years to allow the alliance to react to such threats as terrorism, use of WMD, humanitarian disaster and internally displaced persons/refugee flow and internal civil war two questions should be asked:

> 1. Has the alliance prepared for the worse case and the worse case being an insurgency that opposes reunification following collapse of the Kim Family regime?

> 2. What can and should be done prior to collapse to assist in mitigating the threats and shaping the outcome on the Peninsula?

Although the "to do list" is long, there are five immediate actions that the alliance should take to plan and prepare for the worse case.

There are five key fundamental tasks that the ROK–US alliance and the international community must do to prepare for the collapse of the Kim Family Regime. These are by no means all of them; however, focusing on these five tasks will provide the foundation needed to mitigate the effects of irregular threats and improve the conditions for successful alliance and international efforts to deal with the effects of regime collapse.

First, a decision must be made as to the end state envision for the Korean Peninsula. As stated the ROK-US alliance requires an end state that could be along these lines:

> A stable, secure, peaceful, economically vibrant, non-nuclear peninsula, reunified under a liberal constitutional form of government determined by the Korean people.[10]

It is imperative that an end state be decided upon not only to provide focus for planners and policy makers but also to provide the foundation for an influence campaign that is critical to shaping the environment after the collapse of the regime.

Along with the establishment of the end state, a decision must be made regarding Alliance transformation and leadership of operations in North Korea. It is imperative that South Korea leads the effort in reunification and operations in the north because this will help to undermine the 60 plus years of propaganda in which the South has been portrayed as a puppet of the US. However, as evidenced by the so-called "OPCON transfer" that was originally scheduled for 2012 and was recently pushed back until 2015, the ROK military is not yet fully resourced to conduct independent operations. In addition, the reality of the OPCON transfer issue is not about solely about command and control of ROK military forces. This action is actually the dissolution of the ROK/US Combined Forces Command (CFC) which has been one of the most effective combined commands in the world since 1978. It is commanded by a US four star general with a ROK four star deputy. Rather than dissolve CFC perhaps CFC should remain intact and the command should shift to a ROK four star general in command with a US four star deputy. In this way the ROK would be in charge of operations in the north and would still be able to exploit the expertise and full capabilities of the combined command.[11]

The second most important action is to execute an influence campaign focusing on the second tier leaders to maintain control of their organizations in order to prevent attack and a future insurgency. The second tier leaders are those corps, maneuver, and special operations commanders who control not only forces but also WMD capabilities. These leaders are key to maintaining control of the nKPA. In addition, an active influence campaign is necessary to prepare the North Korean population for a post regime end state that results in a reunified Peninsula. This is the most difficult, complex and time consuming effort but one that is critical to beginning to undo the sixty plus years of political and social indoctrination that has used the Juche ideology as a de facto religion as means of social control. Additionally, this indoctrination has developed the highest levels of distrust and fear of outsiders which will make any stability operations extremely difficult and makes the population ripe to support an insurgency especially, if that insurgency continues to perpetuate the Kim Family regime myths of the legitimacy of North Korea being based on anti-Japanese partisan warfare. Following regime collapse anti-Japanese will be substituted with anti-foreigner.

Furthermore, a decision must be made to avoid the mistakes of the Iraq War. The North Korean military must be kept intact, as it is one of the very few functioning institutions and can be a critical component for maintaining internal stability as well as executing support and stabilization operations. Most importantly an intact military is one of the best methods to prevent a future insurgency. However, keeping the military intact requires a successful influence campaign to lay the foundation for influencing those commanders who can and should maintain control of their forces and work with the ROK military and civilian leadership.

Eight years after Operation Enduring Freedom began in Afghanistan, the "Afghanistan-Pakistan Hands" program was developed. This was in recognition of the importance of having planners, both military and civilian, with sufficient cultural expertise to understand the problems in the region and allow for effective plans and policies to be developed that are informed by cultural awareness and understanding. The same mistake should not be made in terms of North Korea. Existing ROK and US military and civilian North Korean experts should be brought together and dedicated to planning for North Korean collapse. An investment should be made in developing younger "North Korea-hands" to be ready to deal with the aftermath of the Kim Family Regime. A competent staff and organization of experts cannot be created rapidly after the crisis occurs. A ROK-US "North Korean- hands" program should be established immediately to develop the expertise that will be required among ROK and US military and civilian security practitioners before the crisis occurs. These North Korean Hands need to be from across the professional spectrum and assist in the development of policy and strategy as well as the development of the campaign plan to deal with collapse. They will also be able to assist in the training and readiness of the military forces and civilian agencies that will execute the operations to achieve the end state of a reunified Korea.

Lastly, an international coalition must be established to support reunification of the Peninsula. Most importantly, the ROK and the US must engage with China. Chinese actions will play a critical role in the outcome of crisis on the Peninsula in either post-conflict or post-collapse. The ROK-US alliance and China must find common ground in interests and through engagement and transparency develop plans and methods for minimizing the potential for conflict between the alliance and China.

Efforts to build an international coalition and engage with China must be undertaken prior to the crisis of regime collapse. Reunification, while the responsibility of the ROK, will require enormous resources not only in terms of manpower and material but also in terms of funding. There are numerous studies attesting to the huge costs of reunification, costs that are likely to make German reunification pale in comparison because of the vast differences in infrastructure and standards of living between north and South. However, failure to support reunification efforts and quell an insurgency in the north will, as already stated, likely bring instability in terms of security to Northeast Asia but also have global economic impact. It is in the interest of the regional powers as well as the global economic powers to support reunification. But the effort to build this coalition must occur now even if it is done behind closed doors in order to prevent political conflict prior to the collapse of the Kim Family Regime.

In conclusion, the irregular threats that will be present on the Korean Peninsula when the Kim Family Regime collapses will be extremely complex and dangerous. While the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan have been difficult, the worse case scenarios on the peninsula will be far more difficult. The threats must be understood and planners and policy makers must take an objective and realistic look at the problems that will have to be faced. While everyone may hope for a "soft landing" and peaceful reunification, the alliance and international community needs to prepare

for the most likely and most dangerous outcomes. This requires active preparatory actions by the ROK-US alliance across the instruments of national power. Planning is good, but preparation is better. While the Kim Family Regime has demonstrated enormous resiliency muddling through severe internal crises since the death of Kim Il Sung in 1994, a course of action cannot be to hope that it will continue to survive. The pressures on North Korea are likely to someday cause attack or collapse, either of which will be catastrophic for the ROK, the region and international community.

A briefing that accompanies this paper can be found at the following link: http://dl.dropbox. com/u/6891151/nK%20IW%20Threats%20Brief.

Note: This paper will appear as a chapter in an upcoming book to be published by the Marine Corps University Foundation, edited by Dr. Bruce Bechtol.

Endnotes

1. Dr. Kurt Campbell, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs – Asia Pacific (DASD-ISA-APAC), remarks to USFK planners during a briefing at the Pentagon, 1 May 1998.

2. B.H. Liddel-Hart quoted in "Balancing the Trinity: The Fine Art of Conflict Termination". by Susan E. Strednansky, MAJ, USAF. Air University Press, Maxwell AFB, Alabama. February 1996. 1.

3. Department of Defense, "Irregular Warfare: Countering Irregular Threats Joint Operating Concept, Version 2.0,"17 May 2010.

4. The phrase "Korea question" is derived from the 1953 Armistice Agreement, Section IV, paragraph 60, which states: "In order to insure the peaceful settlement of the *Korean question* [emphasis added], the military Commanders of both sides hereby recommend to the governments of the countries concerned on both sides that, within three (3) months after the Armistice Agreement is signed and becomes effective, a political conference of a higher level of both sides be held by representatives appointed respectively to settle through negotiation the questions of the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea, the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, etc."

5. White House Press Release, "Joint Vision for The Alliance of The United States of America and The Republic of Korea," June 16, 2009, Washington, D.C., http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Joint-vision-for-the-alliance-of-the-United-States-of-America-and-the-Republic-of-Korea/.

6. This end state was proposed in the author's thesis in 2004. Maxwell, David S., "Beyond the Nuclear Crisis: A Strategy for the Korean Peninsula," National War College, National Defense University, April 2004, p. 14.

7. John Keegan, A History of Warfare, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), 12.

8. Adrian Buzo, The Guerrilla Dynasty: Politics and Leadership in North Korea, (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1999), p. 27.

9. Robert Debs Heinl, Jr, ed., Dictionary of Military and Naval Quotations, (Annapolis, MD: United States Naval Institute, 1966), 69.

10. Ibid, Maxwell, 14.

11. Bechtol, Dr. Bruce, *Defiant Failed State: The North Korea Threat to International Security,* Potomac Books, 2010, 165-174.

Bibliography

Bechtol, Dr. Bruce, *Defiant Failed State: The North Korea Threat to International Security,* Potomac Books, 2010.

——, Red Rogue: *The Persistent Challenge of North Korea,* Potomac Books, 2009.

Bennett, Dr. Bruce W., "A Brief Analysis of the Republic of Korea's Defense Reform Plan," RAND Corporation, 2006.

——, "Military Implications of North Korea's Nuclear Weapons", *KNDU Review, Korea National Defense University*, 2005.

——, "Weapons of Mass Destruction: The North Korean Threat", *Korean Journal of Defense Analyses*, 2004.

Bermudez, Joe, *North Korean Special Forces* (Naval Institute Special Warfare Series), Naval Institute Press, 1998.

——, *Shield of the Great Leader: The Armed Forces of North Korea* (The Armed Forces of Asia), I. B. Tauris, 2001.

Buzo, Adrian, Guerrilla Dynasty: Politics and Leadership in North Korea. Boulder CO: Westview Press. 1999.

Cohen, Eliot and John Gooch, *Military Misfortunes: The Anatomy of Failure in War,* Free Press. 1990.

Hoffman, Frank, "Conflict in the 21st Century: The Rise of Hybrid Wars," Potomac Institute for Policy Studies, 2007.

Jung Sung-ki "S. Korea, US Chart Contingency Plans on N. Korea", http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/nation/2009/08/205_4363.

Maxwell, David S., "Beyond the Nuclear Crisis: A Strategy for the Korean Peninsula," Thesis, National War College, April 2004

——, "Catastrophic Collapse of North Korea: Implications for the US Military," Monograph, Scholl of Advanced Military Studies, Fort Leavenworth, KS, 1996

Oh, Kongdan and Ralph C. Hassig. *North Korea Through the Looking Glass.* Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press. 2000.

Seiler, Sydney. Kim Il Sung 1941-1948: *The Creation of a Legend, The Building of a Regime.* Lanham MD: University Press of America, Inc. 1994.

US Government Printing Office, "Irregular Warfare: Countering Irregular Threats 2.0", 17 May 2010

Unattributed, Global Security.org, "OPLAN 5029–Collapse of North Korea" http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/ops/oplan-502.

Unattributed, The Hankyoreh, "OPLAN 5029 risks ceding South Korean sovereignty to the U.S." http://www.hani.co.kr/arti/english_edition/e_northkorea/385351.html.

The Top Seven Myths of U.S. Defense Policy Toward the Americas

Frank O. Mora, Ph.D., Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Western Hemisphere Affairs

Nicholas F. Zimmerman, Special Assistant to the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Western Hemisphere Affairs

Recent discussions and commentaries on U.S. defense policy in the Americas have created a number of myths regarding the Obama administration's approach to the region and a series of inaccuracies that require clarification.[1] This article makes clear the rationale and purpose of U.S. defense policy in the Western Hemisphere and highlights some of the inconsistencies, mischaracterizations, and fallacies of the arguments that inform these myths.

Myth One: The United States is inattentive to the Americas

The first myth is the notion that the Obama administration takes the Americas for granted by paying it insufficient attention, a charge frequently heard from commentators on hemispheric relations.[2] Such accusations, however, are factually inaccurate. Indeed, the very fact that the United States is developing a new tone and new relationships by moving away from the Manichean and "one-size fits all" policies of old is a sign that the administration is giving ample attention to the region. High-level visits are one indicator: President Obama met with President Felipe Calderón of Mexico while still president elect, traveled to Mexico on two occasions, and hosted Mexico's first couple in his administration's second state visit, highlighting the importance of the U.S.-Mexico relationship; President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva of Brazil was one of the first foreign leaders to meet with the President in the Oval Office; the President also received then Chilean President Michelle Bachelet and then Colombian President Alvaro Uribe; Vice President Joe Biden visited Chile and Costa Rica; and Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and Secretary of Defense Robert Gates have both recently toured the region, as have the secretaries of Commerce and Transportation, and the Attorney General. In short, President Obama, cabinet officials, and sub-cabinet officials are in frequent contact with their counterparts in the Americas as we partner to improve collaboration in areas of mutual interest.

Many of the charges of inattention stem from the fact that this administration has not developed a catchy slogan or cookie-cutter approach to the region; there is no "Good Neighbor Policy," "Alliance for Progress," "Free Trade Area of the Americas," or "Monroe Doctrine" to which one can easily point. The lack of a slogan, however, does not indicate a lack of strategy. The President's nuanced approach tends to tailor policies to the distinct characteristics of individual countries and their relations with the United States. Flexibility is increasingly important because the Western Hemisphere is a dynamic and constantly evolving region that has changed considerably in recent decades. The administration recognizes that the challenges and nature of U.S. relations with countries such as Brazil and Chile are fundamentally different than those present in relationships with countries such as Mexico and Colombia and each therefore requires a unique approach. Similarly, the security challenges of the Caribbean and Central America and its geographic proximity to the United States are another example of the need for tailored policies. As a result, the umbrella approaches that characterized past U.S. policy are no longer appropriate. In fact, they can be counterproductive.

Strategically targeted engagement is the most appropriate course of action in the Americas, and indeed, for U.S. foreign policy as a whole in the 21st century. As the 2010 National Security Strategy notes, the United States will continue to rely on close friends and allies to collectively ensure global security, but this alone is not sufficient. The United States will also work to cultivate deeper partnerships with new "key centers of influence," "emerging nations," and even "hostile nations" because of our conviction that "our own interests are bound to the interests of those beyond our borders."[3] In the regional security space, the United States pursues policies such as the Merida Initiative, the Caribbean Basin Security Initiative, bilateral working groups, and Defense Cooperation Agreements such as those signed with Brazil and Colombia. These partnerships permit more creativity by allowing the United States and its partners to optimize limited resources in an increasingly complex environment. They highlight a shift in the objectives of the U.S. Department of Defense's policy initiatives. As the region continues to make strides, the goal is for the United States to expand beyond the traditional focus on "assistance" to concentrate on neighbors' needs in developing the capacity to confront the security challenges that threaten all of us. In other words, we should no longer judge U.S. engagement and commitment by absolute increases or decreases in foreign aid, but rather by how successful the United States is in partnering with regional neighbors to build their expertise and competence for their own security and that of the region as a whole. This is not only smart policy, but also a deliberate change from past U.S. policies that were paternalistic and shortsighted. The well-being of the United States is linked intrinsically to a secure and prosperous hemisphere, and this administration is committed to doing what is possible to achieve the true long-term solution: self-sufficiency of our neighbors.

Myth Two: U.S. focus on partnership precludes leadership in the Americas

The second myth is that the Obama administration's focus on partnership in the region is naïve or misguided because it eschews U.S. leadership in the hemisphere. It is true that President Obama has emphasized that the United States seeks partnership in the region on equal terms, with no senior and junior partners.[4] Because he recognizes the unprecedented interconnectedness of the hemisphere and the world in the 21st century, President Obama has embraced the idea of a new era of engagement based on mutual respect, common interest, and shared values. As he emphasized at the Summit of the Americas in Trinidad & Tobago in April 2009, one important justification for this new spirit of partnership and engagement is that there are numerous areas of mutual interest in the Americas that demand collective action, and one of these areas is our common security.[5]

True leadership demands a clear understanding of the current environment. Security threats in the Americas tend to be transnational, and the United States would be remiss if it did not convey its commitment to, and pursue policies that advance, increased interoperability and cooperation across borders. Simply put, transnational challenges require multinational solutions. As Secretary of Defense Robert Gates noted in his remarks at the November 2009 German Marshall Fund Security Conference in Halifax, Canada, natural disasters and arms and narco-trafficking are among the biggest concerns in the hemisphere and countering them "require[s] an uncommon degree of coordination among the national-security, homeland defense, and criminal-justice agencies of our governments, as these threats do not fit into the neat, discrete boxes of 20th century organization charts." [6] Indeed, events such as the 2009 coup in Honduras, the 2010 earthquakes in Chile and Haiti, and the struggle against drug trafficking in Mexico and Central America confirm that President Obama and Secretary Gates are justified in asserting that

U.S. security is linked to the improved security of the hemisphere as a whole. The threats and challenges we face are shared and therefore demand partnership because multilateral action has become a necessary precondition for ensuring security.

The need for partnership, however, does not preclude U.S. leadership. The Obama administration has repeatedly demonstrated its leadership in the region, and it will remain steadfast in defending and promoting U.S. strategic interests within relevant legal frameworks and in accordance with our national values. In addition, the United States will respect the national values of our neighbors and have the courage to allow others to lead, as they are doing today in Haiti. The United States stands alone at its own peril and benefits when other countries assert leadership and assume responsibility in pursuit of common goals. Indeed, it is in the exercise of such leadership that our neighbors better understand what is required, and what is at stake for the region's well-being.

The U.S. reaction to the earthquake in Haiti is perhaps the most obvious example of U.S. leadership in a spirit of partnership. In the immediate wake of the tragedy, the speed and magnitude of the U.S. response was crucial to the relief effort. Indeed, the importance of the United States' ability to deliver abundant resources and unique life-saving capabilities to Haiti in a time-sensitive environment cannot be underestimated. However, the United States also demonstrated its capacity to work as a partner by collaborating closely with countries such as Brazil to enable the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) and others to provide relief and mitigate the Haitian people's suffering. In the process, the region as a whole stood in solidarity with Haiti and developed valuable experience in responding to a catastrophic natural disaster that requires multi-national cooperation and coordination.

Another example of U.S. initiative is the Caribbean Basin Security Initiative (CBSI). In Trinidad, President Obama exercised leadership by recognizing the need to foster a collective and multi-national approach to illicit trafficking, committing the United States to strengthening cooperation on security matters in the Caribbean, and pledging roughly $45 million to get started.[7] As the CBSI takes shape, all the countries involved are consulting closely with each other in a spirit of cooperation to develop processes and frameworks and identify strengths and weaknesses. The CBSI is a truly regional effort because the input of all countries involved has been incorporated.

In fact, Caribbean leaders deserve special praise for their political courage and leadership. It is no easy task to recognize that the best way to effectively combat the unlimited resources and reach of drug trafficking organizations is through creative, collective approaches to cooperation such as focusing on air, maritime, and land domain awareness, striving for mutually agreed-upon standard operating procedures, increasing information sharing, and procuring compatible and standardized communications equipment. Because of these leaders' commitments to the greater good, the region is now moving in this direction.

Myth Three: The Honduran coup was a defeat for U.S. regional engagement

The third myth is that the coup in Honduras was a defeat for the Obama administration's engagement strategy because its position was inconsistent, confusing, and misguided. In truth, the administration's approach to the coup in Honduras fell within the larger framework of U.S. policy in the region: to be a partner whenever possible and a leader whenever necessary. Indeed, one element of the Obama administration's emphasis on collective action and partnership is a

clear recognition of—and agreement with—past criticism that the U.S. approach to the region tended to be unilateral and therefore counterproductive. Thus, President Obama fulfilled his pledges by working in a multilateral fashion to make clear that the coup in Honduras was unacceptable. The United States worked closely with the Organization of American States, Honduran leaders, then President Oscar Arias of Costa Rica, and other actors willing to make a positive contribution to a practical solution. When it became apparent, however, that certain elements in the region either benefitted from the political gridlock that subsequently took hold—or simply had no real plan of action to break the impasse—senior-level U.S. involvement was crucial to the negotiations that ultimately led to the agreement that ensured Honduras' transition back to democratic governance. Frankly, criticism of the U.S. role has been, at times, disingenuous. As President Obama stated in August 2009 at a press conference with President Calderon and Prime Minister Harper, "the critics who say that the United States has not intervened enough in Honduras are the same people who say that we're always intervening, and the Yankees need to get out of Latin America. You can't have it both ways." [8] While consistent with larger U.S. foreign policy objectives, the administration's approach proved crucial to putting Honduras back on the path to democracy and demonstrated that the coups of the past no longer have any place in our Hemisphere.

In addition, it is necessary to highlight something that does not receive nearly enough attention: the Honduras experience created an important and positive precedent for how to confront similar challenges in the future. The response to the Honduran coup marks the first time that the notion of the collective defense of democracy in the Americas ceased to be merely rhetoric. The coup prompted the first formal invocation of the Inter-American Democratic Charter to suspend a country's participation in the Inter-American system. In other words, collective defense of democracy in the wake of the Honduran coup became actionable and practical, not merely something to strive for in the future. While its application was imperfect, the implications of a collective defense being triggered to support democracy could be lasting in countries where democratic governance is threatened. At a minimum, it underscores the need to strengthen collective mechanisms, and with support that does not come from the United States alone.

Myth Four: The U.S.-Colombia defense agreement is a threat to regional security

The fourth myth is that the United States could use the 2009 U.S.-Colombia Defense Cooperation Agreement (DCA) to threaten other countries in the region because it will allow for the creation of U.S. bases and therefore permit an increased U.S. military presence in South America. In fact, this agreement does not fundamentally change U.S.-Colombia defense relations. There will be no U.S. bases and no increased U.S. presence in Colombia as a result of the agreement. Congress establishes the limits on the number of U.S. military personnel and U.S. citizen civilian contractors through legislation, and any increase would require congressional action. Of course, Colombia is an important ally of the United States. The United States has a strong interest and commitment in Colombia's continued success and the DCA will ensure continued and effective cooperation in addressing security challenges.

The Department of Defense signed this agreement for two reasons. First, the agreement helps collaboration by improving, streamlining, and regularizing the numerous past defense cooperation agreements the United States has concluded with Colombia over the years. The type of cooperation that these agreements facilitate is crucial because—as President Obama and Secretary Gates have stressed—the threats in the region are transnational and require multinational approaches. Second, the Obama administration has repeatedly emphasized that

transparency is a key element to building trust and confidence on defense issues, a necessary precondition for a more peaceful and secure world. Defense cooperation agreements can clearly provide that type of transparency.

The ability of this type of agreement to improve defense cooperation and transparency also motivated, along with other considerations, the signing of the April 2010 DCA between the United States and Brazil. In addition to, for example, facilitating future technology transfer, the agreement had the added benefit of prioritizing our bilateral relationship. As Secretary Gates noted alongside Brazilian Minister of Defense Nelson Jobim at the signing of the DCA, the agreement is significant because it is a "formal acknowledgement of the many security interests and values we share as the two most populous democracies in the Americas."[9] Minister Jobim also endorsed this notion at the DCA signing when he noted that "peace in the world as we know it will depend much and much more on transparency and this kind of relationship that we [the United States and Brazil] have now."[10] Finally, as signatories to these agreements, Brazil, Colombia, and the United States all affirm their commitment to respect the principles of sovereignty enshrined in the UN Charter. In other words, these agreements do not pose a threat to any country. In fact, they increase security in the region by furthering shared understandings and responses to security challenges. The benefits of such military cooperation were never clearer than during the coordinated response to the earthquake in Haiti, when U.S., Brazilian, and Colombian personnel worked side-by-side with many others to deliver life-saving relief to the Haitian people.

Myth Five: The United States contributes to a growing arms race in the Americas

The fifth myth is that the United States is contributing to—or is indifferent about—what some have characterized as a growing arms race in the Americas. The United States is neither contributing to nor is indifferent about any such thing. In fact, there is no arms race brewing in the hemisphere. As a percentage of gross domestic product (GDP), none of these countries' defense budgets are close to exorbitant. According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, Colombia, Chile, and Ecuador were the only countries in the hemisphere that spent more than two percent of their 2008 GDP on defense matters.[11] Furthermore, the region has actually made measured strides in increasing transparency and creating mechanisms of defense and security cooperation through the development of regional institutions such as the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR, in Spanish) and the Central American Integration System (SICA, in Spanish). Although its successes have not been sufficient, these institutions can facilitate regional understanding and thus reduce potential tensions, which is why the United States supports UNASUR and SICA.

In contrast to these positive trends, Venezuela's disproportionate and unnecessary purchase of arms has rightly caused some concern in the region. Other countries such as Brazil, Chile, Colombia, and Mexico have also increased defense expenditures, but they have done so because they face real modernization needs and/or internal security challenges from terrorism and narco-trafficking.

For example, modernization is the principal motive for Brazil's rising defense costs. Brazil has been a regional leader in pushing for transparency bodies like UNASUR and has been forthcoming about the implications of its 2008 National Strategy of Defense, which recognizes the importance of increasing its air, land, and maritime domain awareness to secure its borders, combat illegal trafficking, and improve citizen security. Indeed, Brazil has made military and

other forms of public service a priority and linked its procurement approach to economic development through homegrown defense industries and technology transfers. In other words, Brazil is focused inwards, and its increasing expenditures—whether for personnel, helicopters, tanks, or fighter aircraft—are reflective of that.

Similarly, Chile has steadily and openly pursued modernization since at least 2002. An F-16 purchase from the United States was to modernize its aging air force, a key strategic priority for a country whose Pacific territory extends thousands of miles from its mainland. It seems far-fetched to argue that this particular upgrade—or the now winding down modernization process—is a shift to a more aggressive posture.

Colombia's situation is different. The Colombian government faces an armed internal conflict with terrorists and narco-traffickers. President Uribe's Democratic Security Policy has been successful, but the policy requires resources. Colombia has focused on making its forces as mobile and effective at counterinsurgency as possible. The navy is a good example; it has focused on becoming an effective brown-water force, with new river support stations and a new coast guard service.[12] Despite President Chavez's attempts to distort the truth, Colombia's procurement and expenditures posture is consistent with a country focused on defeating a brutal domestic threat.

Mexico also finds itself in a struggle with organized crime. President Calderon's leadership and courage in this matter deserves praise. In terms of arms procurement and defense expenditures, there is a new focus on buying items such as pickup trucks, ocean-patrol vessels, interceptor craft, helicopters, and surveillance aircraft suitable for the challenges Mexico currently faces.[13]

Venezuela, however, boasts of signing agreements reportedly worth billions of dollars with Russia for weapons that are primarily suitable for conventional war. President Chavez's desire for Kalashnikov rifles and Sukhoi jet fighters does little to promote citizen security or combat the illicit trafficking that is increasingly taking hold in Venezuela. Furthermore, President Chavez has cloaked these transactions in secrecy, which flies in the face of UNASUR's stated goal of building confidence and trust on defense matters in the region through increased transparency.

In stark contrast, the assistance that the United States has provided through the Mérida Initiative, CBSI, United States Southern Command's *Enduring Friendship*, Plan Colombia, and other programs cannot in good faith be construed as inciting an arms race in the region. These initiatives all facilitate the U.S. goal of building our partners' capacity to provide for their own security and the security of the region.

Myth Six: U.S. military training and education is not committed to the promotion of human rights

The sixth myth is that U.S. military education, training, and capacity building conducted at institutions like the Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation (WHINSEC) at Fort Benning, Georgia, is somehow responsible for—or promotes—human rights abuses. Secretary Gates has emphasized the Department of Defense's uncompromising commitment to human rights. Indeed, as he noted in November 2009 at the German Marshall Fund Security Conference in Halifax, Canada, "strong human rights programs are vital when conducting military responses" because "security gains will be illusory if they lack the public legitimacy that comes with respect for human rights and the rule of law." [14] The argument for human rights is no longer

strictly a moral one—although it unquestionably remains a moral imperative. Respect for human rights is also indispensable to the legitimacy of institutions and democracies and, therefore, our national security.

The Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation is an example of how the department makes good on its commitment to human rights. The Institute has a mandate to educate and train military, police, and civilians in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the Organization of American States (OAS), including those principles related to democracy and human rights. As a result, WHINSEC offers a robust Democracy, Ethics, and Human Rights Program that focuses on issues such as the rule of law, due process, civilian control of the military, and the role of the military in a democratic society. As part of this program, WHINSEC requires students to take a democracy and human rights class. To ensure that this course is as relevant and beneficial as possible, WHINSEC has developed its own case studies of real, contemporary instances of human rights abuses. One example used is the massacre at My Lai.[15] In addition to the democracy and human rights class, the Institute has also designed the "Engagement Skills Training Facility," a computerized simulator that requires students to make split-second decisions on whether or not to fire a weapon in situations that present classic dilemmas in human rights and the lawful use of force. The Institute also offers a human rights instructor course, which prepares students to be human rights instructors in their own organizations. In Fiscal Year 2009, 125 students from seven countries—Colombia, Ecuador, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Paraguay, and Peru—graduated from this course. Finally, every July, WHINSEC organizes a democracy and human rights week during which every student attends lectures and discussions on human rights. Practical exercises are also included; for example, a trip to Andersonville National Historic Site stresses the need for humane treatment of detainees and prisoners of war.

The training WHINSEC provides is similar to the training provided in a number of institutions. The Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies, for example, provides expertise for civilians in governance of ministries of defense and training and support for the drafting of national security strategies.[16] The Inter-American Air Forces Academy provides courses that cover human rights, weapon safety training, aircraft maintenance, and engine technician training.[17] And United States Southern Command exercises such as TRADEWINDS, PANAMAX, and UNITAS seek to improve cooperation, shared military tactics, domain awareness, and interoperability.[18]

In sum, there are no sinister or shadowy intentions in the training and education opportunities that the Department of Defense offers. Rather, the department's objective is to strengthen partnership, build capacity, increase interoperability, and create neighborly camaraderie.

Myth Seven: U.S. Cuba policy is either too over-reaching or too modest

Although not necessarily a security or defense issue, the seventh myth concerns Cuba. In discussing Cuba, there are two critiques of the Obama administration's policy to date. Simply stated, critics contend the administration has done either too much or not nearly enough. Some claim the administration has not sufficiently broken from the past while others accuse it of propping up repressive Cuban authorities. Neither is correct. It is important to recognize that the President has done exactly what he promised he would do with regard to Cuba policy. He has removed restrictions on family visits and remittances; he has sought to engage on issues of mutual interest such as migration and direct postal service; he has sought to increase the flow of information to, from, and among the Cuban people; and he has stood up in defense of the basic human and political rights of the Cuban people by denouncing the tragic death of Orlando Zapata Tamayo and renewing his call for the unconditional release of all political prisoners.

Consistent with this approach, in the wake of the tragic earthquake in Haiti, the United States also cooperated with Cuba to expedite the arrival of critical supplies to victims and survivors of the disaster.

In sum, the promises that President Obama has fulfilled are significant. They create opportunities for relationship building and exchange, and they demonstrate that the United States is sincere in its openness and in its desire to write a new chapter in the history of U.S.-Cuban relations. Of course, a fundamental change in the U.S.-Cuba relationship requires action and good will from both sides. Unfortunately, the Cuban authorities have demonstrated little good will and even less positive action to date. As Secretary of State Clinton noted, the Cuban authorities remain intransigent.[19]

Despite the continued obstinacy of Cuban authorities, U.S. policy remains focused on reaching out to the Cuban people to support their desire to determine their future freely, and it remains committed to advancing its national interests. Thus, the promotion of people-to-people bonds will continue. The risk that such bonds somehow aid current Cuban authorities is negligible. As such, the administration's approach is appropriately cautious because it strikes the right balance between moving the U.S relationship with Cuba in a positive direction and maintaining pressure on the Cuban government to allow the Cuban people to be truly free.

Conclusion: Proactive communication trumps misinformation

It is worthwhile to reflect on why a number of U.S. policies toward the Americas are in need of clarification. Of course, international relations are complicated, and misunderstandings are inevitable, whether sincere or strategic in nature. Moreover, misinformation, distortions, and lies frequently seem to outpace truth and facts. It is unsurprising, therefore, that communication and messaging is an increasingly important determinant of the ultimate effectiveness of U.S. foreign policy. The United States will only gain by embracing this truth and being proactive in explaining its intentions and objectives, both domestically and abroad. Through aggressive transparency and communication, the United States can frame its message and in doing so, undermine any attempts to misconstrue its motives. The arguments detailed here provide a solid basis for what must be an ongoing effort.

Endnotes

1. See Andres Oppenheimer, "Brazil, U.S., OAS flunked Honduras," *Miami Herald*, 3 December 2009; Andres Oppenheimer, "Latin America's honeymoon with Obama may be over," *Miami Herald*, 6 December 2009; Christopher Sabatini and Jason Marczak, "Obama's Tango: Restoring U.S. Leadership in Latin America," *Foreign Affairs*, 13 January 2010, <www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/65923/christopher-sabatini-andjason-marczak/obamas-tango> (18 June 2010); Michael Shifter, "Obama and Latin America: New Beginnings, Old Frictions," *Current History: A Journal of Contemporary World Affairs* 109, no. 724 (February 2010): 67-73.

2. See Andres Oppenheimer, "Latin America Low on Obama Priority List," *Miami Herald*, 5 November 2009; Jorge G. Castañeda, "Adios, Monroe Doctrine," *The New Republic*, 28 December 2009, www.tnr.com/article/world/adios-monroe-doctrine> (18 June 2010); Jaime Daremblum, "Latin America Waits for Obama to Deliver," 9 May 2010, www.las.hudson.org/index.cfm?fuseaction=publication_details&id=6980 (18 June 2010).

3. U.S. National Security Strategy, May 2010, 3.

4. U.S. President Barack Obama, "Remarks by the President at the Summit of the Americas Opening Ceremony" (speech, Port of Spain, Trinidad & Tobago, 17 April 2009), <www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-summit-americasopening- ceremony> (18 June 2010).

5. Ibid.

6. U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert M. Gates, "Remarks by the Secretary of Defense at the German Marshall Fund Security Conference" (speech, Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada, 20 November 2009), <www.defense.gov/speeches/speech. aspx?speechid=1398> (18 June 2010).

7. U.S. President Barack Obama, Remarks at the Summit of the Americas.

8. U.S. President Barack Obama, "Press Conference by President Obama, President Calderón of Mexico, and Prime Minister Harper of Canada" (remarks, Cabanas Cultural Center, Guadalajara, Mexico, 10 August 2009), <www. whitehouse. gov/the_press_office/Press-Conference-by-President-Obama-President-Calderon-of-Mexico-and-Prime-Minister-Harper-of-Canada/> (18 June 2010).

9. U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert M. Gates, "Remarks by Secretary Gates and Brazilian Minister of Defense Jobim at the signing of the U.S. Brazilian Defense Cooperation Agreement from the Pentagon" (remarks, Washington, DC, 12 April 2010), <www.defense.gov/transcripts/transcript.aspx?transcriptid=4604> (18 June 2010).

10. Ibid.

11. Information from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, "SIPRI Military Expenditure Database," <http://milexdata.sipri.org/> (21 June 2010).

12. *The Military Balance 2010,* vol. 110, issue 1, edited by The International Institute for Strategic Studies, 54.

13. Ibid., 55.

14. U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert M. Gates, Remarks at the German Marshall Fund Security Conference.

15. Information from the Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation Website, <https://www.benning. army.mil/whinsec/content/hr/humanRightsClass. html> (21 June 2010).

16. Information from the Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies Website, www.ndu.edu/chds/index.cfm?secID=28 1&pageID=123&lang=EN&type=section (21 June 2010).

17. Information from the Inter-American Air Forces Academy 2009 Course Catalog, <www.lackland.af.mil/shared/media/document/AFD-090127-057.pdf> (21 June 2010).

18. Information from the United States Southern Command Website, <www.southcom. mil/AppsSC/pages/exOps. php> (last updated 4 January 2010) (21 June 2010).

19. U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton, "Remarks on Nuclear Nonproliferation at the University of Louisville as Part of the McConnell Center's Spring Lecture Series" (remarks, Louisville, KY, 9 April 2010) <www. state.gov/secretary/rm/2010/04/139958.htm> (21 June 2010).

Note: This article was adapted from a speech delivered by Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense Frank O. Mora at the Institute for Cuban & Cuban-American Studies at the University of Miami on 29 April 2010.

Relationships Matter:
Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief in Haiti

Lieutenant General P.K. (Ken) Keen, U.S. Army
Major General Floriano Peixoto Vieira Neto, Army of Brazil
Lieutenant Colonel Charles W. Nolan, U.S. Army
Lieutenant Colonel Jennifer L. Kimmey, U.S. Army
Commander Joseph Althouse, U.S. Coast Guard

Reprinted with permission from the May-June 2010 issue of *Military Review.*

At 16:53 local time on 12 January 2010, a catastrophic 7.0 magnitude earthquake struck Haiti, killing over 230,000 people, injuring thousands of others, and leaving over a million people homeless.[1] The earthquake caused major damage to the capital and other cities in the region and severely damaged or destroyed notable landmarks, including the presidential palace and the Port-au-Prince cathedral. The temblor destroyed 14 of the 16 government ministries, killing numerous government employees. The headquarters of the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) collapsed, killing 101 UN workers, including Head of Mission Hédi Annabi from Tunisia and his principal deputy, Luiz Carlos da Costa from Brazil.[2] In less than a minute, life on the small island of Haiti drastically changed.

The earthquake prompted offers to send aid and assistance in various forms from governments, nongovernmental organizations, and private foundations. The need for manpower on the ground to orchestrate the relief effort brought together military forces from the world over, to include the United States, which stood up Joint Task Force-Haiti (JTF-H). The combined effort of MINUSTAH and JTF-H in providing humanitarian assistance to the people of Haiti following the earthquake demonstrates the importance of developing strong relationships, both institutional and personal, with partner nation armies.

U.S. and Partner Nation Militaries: A History of Cooperation

Eighteen contributing nations make up the military component of the UN mission in Haiti.[3] These nations include Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Ecuador, France, Guatemala, India, Jordan, Nepal, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Republic of Korea, Sri Lanka, the United States, and Uruguay. The United States has a long and distinguished history of partnership and cooperation conducting full spectrum operations with various partner nations. Three notable examples include offensive operations during the Italian Campaign in World War II, humanitarian assistance during the 1965 civil war in the Dominican Republic, and peacekeeping operations in Ecuador and Peru in 1995.

Brazil was the only South American country to send troops to fight in World War II. They formed a 25,000-man Brazilian Expeditionary Force (FEB) made up of Army, Air Force, and Navy personnel led by General Mascarenhas de Moraes. The FEB's 1st Division, under General Zenóbio da Costa, consisted of three regimental combat teams that fought alongside the U.S. Fifth Army under the command of Lieutenant General Mark Clark in the Italian Campaign. The highlight of Brazil-U.S. cooperation came in February 1945 when Brazil's 1st Division and the U.S. 10th Mountain Division fought side-by-side in the Battle of Monte Castelo against

the German Army under extremely adverse winter conditions. The 10th Mountain Division, supported by Brazilian artillery and the FEB's 1st Fighter Squadron, captured German defenses surrounding Monte Castelo, allowing the Brazil 1st Division to attack the German forces on higher ground and successfully take control of Monte Castelo itself. Later in the campaign, the FEB also distinguished itself by capturing over 20,000 German and Italian prisoners to help end hostilities in Italy. By the end of the war, over 900 FEB soldiers had paid the ultimate sacrifice with their lives.[4]

The 1965 civil war in the Dominican Republic led to another cooperative effort between the United States and several Latin American countries. The XVIII Airborne Corps headquarters was activated on 26 April 1965 and three battalions from the 3d Brigade, 82d Airborne Division, deployed on 30 April and landed at San Isidro Airfield. After intense fighting that day, a cease-fire was established and the paratroopers soon transitioned to peacekeeping and stabilization efforts distributing food, water, and medicine to the residents of San Isidro. A fourth battalion from the 82d's 1st Brigade joined the other three on 3 May. That month, the forces present saw the transition to an Inter-American Peace Force (IAPF). The IAPF consisted of troops from Honduras, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Brazil—with Brazil providing the largest contingent, a reinforced infantry battalion. Brazilian Army General Hugo Panasco Alvim assumed command of the Inter-American Peace Force with U.S. Army Lieutenant General Bruce Palmer serving as his deputy from 23 May 1965 to 17 January 1966. During this time, U.S. paratroopers worked in unison with the Organization of American States (OAS) forces in the area of civil affairs providing humanitarian aid to the people of San Isidro.[5]

More recently, the United States worked together with Argentina, Brazil, and Chile on a smaller scale in "Operation Safe Border." In early 1995, Peru and Ecuador engaged in sustained combat in a remote jungle area where they had not fully demarcated the border. Dozens were killed, hundreds wounded, and escalation of the conflict to population centers was feared. As guarantors of the 1942 Rio Protocol of Peace, Friendship, and Boundaries, which ended the 1941 Ecuador-Peru war and defined the border, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and the United States worked for a comprehensive settlement by establishing the Military Observer Mission Ecuador-Peru (MOMEP). Brazil offered to provide a general officer to lead the observer mission and the other participating nations agreed to define this role as "coordinator" rather than "commander" to preserve a coequal status. Each nation contributed up to 10 officers led by a colonel, as observers. The United States also provided an element consisting of aviation, operations, intelligence, communications, and logistical support. The Brazilian general, Lieutenant General Candido Vargas de Freire, held operational control over the observers of all four nations while the colonels retained command for administrative and disciplinary purposes. In February 1995, Ecuador and Peru agreed to seek a peaceful solution. By October 1995, MOMEP observers organized the withdrawal of some 5,000 troops from the Cenepa valley and supervised the demobilization of 140,000 troops on both sides. The combat zone was demilitarized and Ecuador and Peru began to contribute officers to the observer mission. In October 1998, Peru and Ecuador signed a comprehensive peace accord establishing the framework for ending the border dispute. This led to the formal demarcation of the border in May 1999. Both nations approved the peace agreement and the national legislatures of both nations ratified it. The MOMEP mission withdrew in June 1999.[6]

The United States continues to engage in security cooperation activities with countries from all over the world. These engagements take the form of bilateral staff talks, multinational exercises, and personnel and unit exchanges to improve relationships, capabilities, and interoperability.

Personal Relationships Also Matter

In addition to cultivating institutional relationships between partner nations, one cannot overlook the importance of developing personal relationships as well. The better we understand each other in terms of culture, language, and operability, the better we will be able to work together. Under-standing this dynamic, the U.S. Army has sought to develop a corps of officers and noncommissioned officers that have an in-depth understanding of the culture, language, and military organization of other nations, all toward enhancing interoperability.

The relationship between Major General Floriano Peixoto, the MINUSTAH force commander, and Lieutenant General Ken Keen, the JTF-H commander, exemplifies this goal. In October 1984, then-Captain Keen, S3 Operations Officer for 1st Battalion, 325th Airborne Infantry Regiment, participated in a one-month exchange program with the Brazil Airborne Brigade in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. During the exchange, Keen met then-Captain Floriano Peixoto, assigned to the Airborne Brigade as a Pathfinder instructor. The two initiated what would become a long-standing relationship developed over several parachute jumps and dismounted patrols. Little did either junior officer know that 26 years later they would be general officers working together to provide relief and assistance to earthquake-stricken Haiti.

In 1987, then-Major Keen attended Brazil's Command and General Staff Course in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The experience gave Keen a greater appreciation and understanding of Brazil, something that would serve him well in future assignments.

In 1988, then-Captain Floriano Peixoto attended the U.S. Army Infantry Officer Advanced Course at Fort Benning, Georgia. At the time, then-Major Keen worked in the Directorate of Plans, Training, and Mobilization for the U.S. Army Infantry School, and the two continued the relationship they established four years before.

Almost a decade later, then-Lieutenant Colonel Floriano Peixoto taught Portuguese in the Department of Foreign Languages at the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York. Floriano Peixoto and Keen maintained contact via email, letters, and phone calls, but they would not see each other for another decade.

From 2006 to 2007, as the commander of U.S. Army South, then-Brigadier General Keen worked once again with then-Colonel Floriano Peixoto, who was assigned to the Brazilian Army Staff G5 International Affairs Directorate.

Based on their previous interaction and personal relationship, the first thing Major General Floriano Peixoto and Lieutenant General Keen did when they were brought together by events in Haiti was sit down and develop a combined concept for working through the challenge together.

The UN in Haiti

To understand the international partnering that took place during the Haiti humanitarian relief effort, an understanding of the history that led up to MINUSTAH's establishment, and its accomplishments prior to the earthquake, is essential.

The 30-year dictatorship of the Duvalier family in Haiti ended in 1986. Between 1986 and 1990, a series of provisional governments ruled Haiti, and in December 1990, Jean-Bertrand Aristide won 67 percent of the vote to become the first democratically elected president in Haiti's history. Aristide took office in February 1991, but was overthrown by dissatisfied elements of the army and forced to leave the country in September of the same year. A provisional government was established, but the true power remained with the Haitian military.[7]

The UN established a mandate in September 1993 to assist in the effort to democratize the government, professionalize the armed forces, create and train a separate police force, and establish an environment conducive to free and fair elections. The UN effort focused on advising, training, and providing the necessary support to achieve the goals set by the mandate. After a series of incidents, the UN and other international agencies left Haiti in October 1993 due to the instability created by the transitional government and the inability to move forward with the UN goals of reinstituting democracy.[8]

The situation in Haiti continued to decline; diplomacy and economic sanctions had no effect. The United States saw no other option than to initiate military action to reinstate President Aristide. It began "Operation Uphold Democracy" on 19 September 1994 with the alert of U.S. and allied forces for a forced entry into Haiti. U.S. Navy and Air Force elements deployed for staging to Puerto Rico and southern Florida. An airborne invasion was planned, spearheaded by elements of U.S. Special Operations Command and the 82d Airborne Division.[9]

As these forces prepared to invade, a diplomatic team (led by former President Jimmy Carter, retired U.S. Senator Sam Nunn, and retired Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Colin Powell) persuaded the leaders of Haiti to step down and allow Aristide to return to power. This effort was successful partly because the U.S. delegation was able to reference the massed forces poised to enter the country. At that point, the military mission changed from a combat operation to a peacekeeping and nation building operation with the deployment of a U.S.-led multinational force in Haiti. On 15 October 1994, Aristide returned to Haiti to complete his term in office. Aristide disbanded the Haitian army and established a civilian police force. Operation Uphold Democracy officially ended on 31 March 1995 when the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH) replaced it.[10]

The UN remained in Haiti through a series of mandates until 2004 to maintain a secure and stable environment and promote the rule of law. There were a number of positive developments during this period, including the growth of a multifaceted civil society, a political culture based on democratic values, and the first peaceful handover of power between two democratically elected presidents in 1996.[11]

However, in February 2004, during Aristide's second inconsecutive term as president, a violent rebellion broke out that led to Aristide's removal from office once more.[12] Haiti again threatened international peace and security in the region, and the UN passed resolution 1542 on 30 April 2004, effectively establishing the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) on 1 June 2004. Its mandate even now is to support a secure and stable transitional government, the development of a political process focused on the principles of democracy, and the defense of human rights.[13]

The United Nations originally authorized MINUSTAH up to 6,700 military personnel, 1,622 police, 548 international civilian personnel, 154 volunteers, and 995 local civilian staff. On 13 October 2009, in an effort to curb illegal armed groups, accelerate their disarmament, and

support the upcoming elections, the UN increased MINUSTAH's authorized strength to 6,940 military personnel and 2,211 police. Eighteen countries currently provide military personnel and 41 different countries provide police officers.

MINUSTAH is under the civilian leadership of a special representative to the secretary general, with two deputies that oversee different aspects of the UN mission. The principal deputy is primarily responsible for the UN civilian police, human rights, justice, civil affairs, and electoral issues. The other deputy is responsible for humanitarian efforts on behalf of gender equality, children's rights, disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration, HIV/AIDS issues, and other UN agencies. The military force commander is also under the special representative's control. The military force consists of ten infantry battalions, two separate infantry companies, and eight specialized detachments (military police, engineers, aviation, medical, and logistics).[14]

Since 2004, MINUSTAH has created an environment of security and stability that has allowed the political transition to unfold. Haiti reminds us that security and development are inextricably linked and should not be viewed as separate spheres, because the absence of one will undermine progress in the other. To that end, the professionalizing of the Haitian National Police is close to reaching its goal of having 14,000 officers in its ranks by 2011. By mid 2009, over 9,000 police had been trained.[15]

Another measure of success has been the drastic decrease in the gang-related activity that threatened political stability. In Cité Soleil, the most infamous slum district in Haiti, MINUSTAH troops took over the main gang's operations center and transformed it into a health clinic, which now offers free services to the community. This new level of security, established in 2007, allows agencies and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) to approach, assess, and provide assistance without the threat of gang violence.[16]

The senate elections in April 2009 marked another step in Haiti's democratic development. MINUSTAH is credited for its continued support to Haiti's electoral process and assisting the Government of Haiti in intensifying its efforts to promote a political dialogue in which all voices can speak and be heard.[17]

Haiti postponed legislative elections set for February 2010 due to the disastrous effects of the earthquake and has scheduled presidential elections for November 2010. President Préval, who was elected a second time in 2006, said he would not seek office again after his term expires in February 2011, as he has already served two five-year terms, the limit set by Haitian law.[18]

While all the troop-contributing countries to MINUSTAH share these successes, U.S. government officials have praised Brazil's leadership role in the UN mission as a welcome demonstration of Brazil's emergence as a leader in regional and global arenas.[19]

Earthquake and International Response

When the earthquake hit on 12 January, it instantly affected a third of the population of Haiti, including those serving in MINUSTAH.[20] Immediately after the quake, hundreds of local citizens flocked to the MINUSTAH headquarters compound located in the old Christopher Hotel. The main part of the building had collapsed, killing numerous UN staff members and trapping several others. Staff members that had escaped injury immediately engaged in the search and rescue of colleagues and provided triage and medical care to the walking wounded. Although MINUSTAH suffered enormous losses, MINUSTAH troops quickly took on new tasks such as search and

rescue, clearing and opening of streets, providing immediate humanitarian assistance, and preparing mass graves following International Red Cross protocols—all while maintaining focus on their primary security mission.

Lieutenant General Keen was in Haiti on a pre-planned visit on 12 January. Minutes before the earthquake struck, he was with U.S. Ambassador to Haiti Ken Merten on the back porch of his residence overlooking the city of Port-au-Prince. The Ambassador's residence withstood the quake and quickly became an assembly point for embassy personnel and Haitian government ministers as well as Keen's link back to U.S. Southern Command in Miami.

Within hours of the quake, the Government of Haiti issued a disaster declaration and requested humanitarian assistance from both the U.S. and the international community at large. That night, the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) Office of U.S. Foreign Disaster Assistance activated a "response management team" to coordinate and lead the federal government's effort.[21]

The next morning, Keen surveyed the effects of the quake. Rubble from collapsed buildings choked the streets, cutting people off from food, water, and medical supplies. The earthquake had destroyed the control tower at the international airport, making it impossible to fly in assistance. The people of Haiti had to rely on their own devices to survive. Having MINUSTAH already on the ground was a huge benefit, but with the destruction of the UN headquarters and the loss of its senior civilian leadership, the response required was greater than any one organization or country could shoulder on its own. Seeing that the situation demanded rapid and robust action, General Keen requested the deployment of U.S. military forces to Haiti.

Early on, the United States decided not to create a combined Joint task force. With the UN already on the ground, a robust multinational force was in place. In addition, MINUSTAH countries contributing additional resources and personnel already had links to their local UN representatives. Creating a *combined* Joint task force would have conflicted with those efforts. Instead, Joint Task Force-Haiti deployed to conduct humanitarian assistance and disaster response operations. The purpose of Joint Task Force-Haiti was to support U.S. efforts in Haiti to mitigate near-term human suffering and accelerate relief efforts to facilitate transition to the Government of Haiti, the UN, and USAID. The military possesses significant capabilities that are useful in emergencies, but long-term plans for relief and reconstruction are best left to nonmilitary government agencies.

Major General Floriano Peixoto was out of the country when the earthquake hit. Upon learning of the disaster, he quickly returned to Haiti on 13 January. He took immediate action to reconstitute command and control by establishing an emergency operations center at the MINUSTAH logistics base at the Port-au-Prince Airport. He redistributed his forces by bringing troops from less-affected or unaffected parts of the country into the capital region and downtown Port-au-Prince.

The next day, Keen went to see Floriano Peixoto at his temporary headquarters to exchange information on the relief efforts and the pending arrival of U.S. forces in Haiti. Dropping in unannounced was against normal protocol, but it seemed necessary at the time. As Keen walked into the headquarters, he learned from a Brazilian colonel that Brazilian Minister of Defense Jobim was assembled with his Brazil service commanders and the MINUSTAH staff. Not wanting to interrupt, Keen was about to leave when the Brazilian colonel insisted he join Jobim, Floriano Peixoto, and the Brazilian contingent. The meeting became a unique opportunity as

the Brazilian commander of MINUSTAH provided a detailed report of ongoing humanitarian assistance efforts and the loss of 18 Brazilian soldiers, the biggest loss of life for its armed forces since World War II.[22] Jobim asked Keen what forces the U.S. military might deploy. The discussion then centered on how MINUSTAH and U.S. forces might work together and coordinate their efforts. Both leaders knew it was imperative to clearly identify the role of each partner to avoid confusion and duplicated effort. MINUSTAH's mission of providing security and stability in Haiti would remain as it was. JTF-H would provide humanitarian assistance with U.S. forces executing security tasks only while carrying out such operations.

From this beginning, it was clear that U.S. forces would operate within the envelope of a safe and secure environment provided by the UN forces whose mission was to provide security. While it was recognized this was a permissive environment, it was also a very uncertain time with the chaos following the earthquake, the lack of Haiti National Police presence on the streets, and the escape of over 3,000 prisoners from local prisons.[23]

Floriano Peixoto and Keen later agreed that the most effective way to operate would be combining forces whenever possible. This early dialogue set the stage for the combined operations that followed. They coordinated shared sectors, administered distribution points for food, and provided other humanitarian assistance. To increase communication between their staffs, Floriano Peixoto and Keen established liaison officers in each headquarters. Both organizations also exchanged phone numbers and email addresses of all their branch and section chiefs, senior aides, and advisors. To increase understanding and ensure transparency, both organizations conducted staff briefings for each other during the first week on the ground.

Immediate offers for assistance continued to come in from around the world. Many troop-contributing countries offered additional troops. Japan, the Republic of Korea, and the Caribbean Community offered to join in the UN effort. Bilateral contributions came from France, Italy, Spain, Canada, and the Netherlands. On 19 January, exactly one week after the earthquake, the UN Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 1908. The resolution authorized an increase of 3,500 peacekeepers (2,000 military and 1,500 police) due to additional security risks created by the local government's incapacity and the resulting 20 percent decrease in the effectiveness of the local police.[24] It took time to deploy these additional troops and engineers, but the rapid deployment of U.S. forces helped fill the time gap.

The United States first deployed Special Operations Air Force personnel to open the airfield and manage the huge influx of aid delivered by air. The JTF-H quickly established its headquarters with members of the Southern Command Standing Joint Headquarters and the XVIII Airborne Corps staff. A brigade from the 82d Airborne Division deployed to Port-au-Prince, and the 22d and 24th Marine Expeditionary Units deployed to provide assistance to the west and north of the capital. Ships and aircraft from the U.S. Navy and Coast Guard, including the USNS Comfort hospital ship, also deployed. Joint Task Force-Haiti established a "port opening" task force so humanitarian assistance could arrive by sea. By the end of January, the U.S. had deployed more than 22,000 civilian and military personnel (about 7,000 on land and the rest afloat), 16 ships, and 58 aircraft. A robust Joint logistics command also supported the entire effort.

JTF-H Organization

The Department of Defense designated the effort as Operation Unified Response. With MINUSTAH responsible for security, JTF-H focused on saving lives and mitigating human

suffering. The operation had two primary phases with different priorities for each. Phase I (initial response) lasted from 14 January to 4 February. The priorities were—

- Restore medical capacity.

- Distribute shelter, food, and water.

- Integrate with MINUSTAH and NGOs.

- Support Haitians.

Critical tasks included opening both the airport and seaport so that humanitarian aide could get into the country.

Phase II (relief) began on 5 February. After addressing emergency needs in phase I, it was time to transition to a more deliberate plan. As the government got on its feet and more nongovernmental organizations established themselves in the country, the focus became transitioning JTF-H responsibilities to them. Early on, JTF-H established a humanitarian assistance coordination cell to coordinate its humanitarian assistance efforts with the UN. Phase II priorities shifted to—

- Support efforts to provide shelter, establish settlements, and conduct debris removal.

- Transition JTF-H humanitarian assistance and disaster relief efforts to capable partners when ready.

- Plan, coordinate, and prepare to execute a phased transition to smaller but longer-term force structure and operations.

Partnering on the Ground

With transparency and coordination already established at the operational level between Floriano Peixoto and Keen, and roles clearly defined between MINUSTAH and JTF-H, the conditions were set to coordinate at the tactical level. As units from the 82d Airborne Division arrived in Port-au-Prince, commanders at the battalion and company level linked up with their MINUSTAH counterparts. Each MINUSTAH unit was at a different stage in deployment, but its knowledge of the area and experience on the ground put it in a position to greatly assist the newly arrived paratroopers. MINUSTAH units helped the paratroopers quickly understand their operating environment and gain situational awareness by conducting combined patrols to learn their sectors.

In one example, U.S. Soldiers patrolling with their Brazilian counterparts came across a crowd that had stacked piles of stones in the streets. The paratroopers with experience in Iraq and Afghanistan interpreted this as a roadblock and quickly responded by stopping the vehicles and pushing out security. The Brazilian soldiers, who knew that these people were simply using the rocks to carve out a space to live in the street, quickly explained to the paratroopers what was going on and assured them that there was no immediate threat.

One of the best examples of coordination and cooperation began on 31 January when MINUS-TAH and JTF-H troops initiated a combined operation to deliver food and water to the population

of Port-au-Prince. The World Food Program—in partnership with the USAID, International Organization on Migration, United Nations Children's Fund, and numerous NGOs—led this 14-day food drive using 16 distribution points run by MINUSTAH and U.S. forces. Soldiers from various nations worked together, learned from each other, and showed the people of Haiti that the relief effort was truly an international mission. During the first food surge, the food drive delivered more than 10,000 tons of food to over 2.2 million people, a task that would have been impossible had not multiple countries worked together.

On 12 January, over 3,000 prisoners escaped from prisons damaged by the earthquake and fed to Cité Soleil.[25] A troop from 1-73 Cavalry shared responsibility for Cité Soleil with a Brazilian platoon, increasing troop presence by a factor of four. In addition to increasing the sense of security for the local Haitians, this allowed the Brazilian platoon to focus its efforts on capturing the escaped prisoners while 1-73 focused on humanitarian assistance and supported the Brazilian platoon with information sharing.

MINUSTAH and JTF-H clearly defined their roles for the operation. MINUSTAH was responsible for security. On any given day, MINUSTAH conducted, on average, more than 600 security operations involving over 4,500 troops. MINUSTAH also planned and conducted relief operations. The JTF-H focus was on saving lives, mitigating near-term human suffering, and accelerating relief efforts. As aforementioned, security operations conducted by JTF-H were in direct support of humanitarian assistance missions such as securing food distribution points, relief convoys, and rubble removal. When JTF-H identified a security issue not linked to a humanitarian assistance mission, they coordinated with MINUSTAH through established relationships and responded accordingly.

Relationships Matter

The international military cooperation witnessed during the Haiti relief effort was a unique experience. Two factors had a major influence in the success of the mission.

First, MINUSTAH had already been in Haiti conducting security operations since 2004.[26] Having a professional, multinational force on the ground with experience and situational awareness facilitated the response of MINUSTAH and other countries that assisted. MINUSTAH's existing working relationships with the government also helped accelerate and expedite the processes of disaster relief.

While the UN does not have an established presence in every country where the United States will conduct operations in the future, the combined exercises we conduct with partner nations around the world provide an important opportunity to learn about each other and how each army operates. Working together during exercises enhances interoperability and will facilitate combined efforts when real world events bring us together.

Second, Floriano Peixoto and Keen's 26-year personal relationship—with a solid base of trust, confidence, and friendship—provided clear evidence of the effectiveness of our International Military Education Training (IMET) Program and exchanges. Finding two general officers with this preexisting relationship is definitely not the norm, but this case highlights the importance of providing officers and NCOs with opportunities to meet soldiers from other countries, learn about their cultures and languages, and come to understand other world perspectives. Doing so will facilitate future combined operations by developing relationships of trust and understanding.

Lessons Learned

Two months into the relief operation, Floriano Peixoto and Keen reflected on what they thought made a difference during the combined operation. Floriano Peixoto commented that clearly defining and understanding the role that each partner was to play in the relief effort was key. When asked what made this possible, he responded, "Trust." Based on the relationship they had shared, neither needed a signed document that articulated each partner's role. A statement of principles was later developed, but only to provide organizations outside the participating military forces an explanation of how MINUSTAH and JTF-H worked together.

Keen commented that the combined military presence on the streets of Port-au-Prince made a difference. "Seeing U.S. Army Soldiers standing side-by-side with MINUSTAH Soldiers at food distribution points during the first few weeks sent a strong message to the Haitian people: partnership and unity of effort. It paved the way for all we would do.

Floriano Peixoto added that another contributing factor was "coordination." Keen met Floriano Peixoto the same day he arrived in Haiti, and they immediately decided both organizations would be completely open and transparent with no classified briefs.

When asked why relationships matter, Floriano Peixoto responded, "Relationships are a force multiplier. They are essential if you want substantive results. You increase the speed of achieving results by facilitating, forming, and reinforcing relationships. You need to build these associations at all levels of the organization.

Keen added, "Fundamentally, in peace or war we need to trust one another. We learn to trust each other through building a strong relationship, personal and professional. That is the key to building an effective team that works toward a common purpose. In Haiti, this proved to be the case within our own military and with our interagency partners, nongovernmental organizations, and foreign partners. When tough issues were encountered, their strong relationships broke down the barriers."

Keen added, "If our government had one more dollar to spend on security assistance, I would recommend it be spent on the IMET program, not hardware."

The success of the multinational military contribution to the Haiti relief effort proves that relationships matter—both at the institutional and the personal level.

Endnotes

1. USAID Fact Sheet #46, 18 March 2010, "Haiti—Earthquake."

2. UN Website, at <www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/minustah> (22 March 2010).

3. Ibid.

4. Fort Bragg website, at <www.bragg.army.mil/history/HistoryPage/powerpack/PowerPack.htm> (15 March 2010).

5. COL Glenn R. Weidner, "Operation Safe Border: The Ecuador-Peru Crisis," Joint Force Quarterly (Spring 1996).

6. U.S. Command and General Staff Thesis, LTC Carlos Jose Asumpcao Penteado, "The Brazilian Participation in World War II" (2006).

7. U.S. Department of State website, at <www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/1982/htm> (17 March 2010).

8. UN Website, at <www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/unmih.htm> (12 March 2010).

9. Fort Bragg website, at <www.bragg.army.mil/1bct/history_gulfwar.html> (15 March 2010).

10. National Defense University Website, at <www.ndu.edu/inss/strforum/SF_78/forum78.html> (17 March 2010).

11. UN Website (12 March 2010).

12. U.S. State Department Website (17 March 2010).

13. UN Website (22 March 2010).

14. Ibid.

15. Ambassador Susan Rice at UN Security Council on Haiti, "US Salutes the Work, Bravery of UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti," UN Press Release, 6 April 2009.

16. Argentinean Joint Peacekeeping Training Center, "Assessment on MINUS-TAH—A South American Style of Peacekeeping," <www.haitiargentina.org/content/download/218/907/fle/109/pdf> (17 March 2010).

17. UN website, at <www.un.org/apps/new/printnewsAR.asp?nid=30627> (10 March 2010).

18. Jacqueline Charles and Jim Wyss, "Haitian President Postpones February Elections, Appeals for Tents, Jobs" Miami Herald, 27 January 2010.

19. "Devastation in Haiti brings Brazil and US Closer," Brazil Institute website, at <brazilportal.wordpress.com/2010/01/14> (10 March 2010).

20. USAID Fact Sheet #46.

21. USAID Fact Sheet #12, 24 January 2010, "Haiti—Earthquake."

22. "A Massive Relief Effort Limps into Gear," The Economist website, at <www.economist.com/world/americas/displaystory.cfm?story_id=15330781> (23 March 2010).

23. "Gangs Return to Haiti Slum after Quake Prison Break," Reuters website, at <www.reuters.com/assets/print?aid=USTRE60G0CO20100117> (10 March 2010).

24. UN Website, 22 March 2010.

25. Reuters website.

26. UN Website, 22 March 2010.

PROVIDE US YOUR INPUT

To help you access information quickly and efficiently, the Center for Army Lessons Learned (CALL) posts all publications, along with numerous other useful products, on the CALL website. The CALL website is restricted to U.S. government and allied personnel.

PROVIDE FEEDBACK OR REQUEST INFORMATION

<http://call.army.mil>

If you have any comments, suggestions, or requests for information (RFIs), use the following links on the CALL home page: "RFI or CALL Product" or "Contact CALL."

PROVIDE OBSERVATIONS, INSIGHTS, AND LESSONS (OIL) OR
SUBMIT AN AFTER ACTION REVIEW (AAR)

If your unit has identified lessons learned or OIL or would like to submit an AAR, please contact CALL using the following information:

Telephone: DSN 552-9569/9533; Commercial 913-684-9569/9533

Fax: DSN 552-4387; Commercial 913-684-4387

NIPR e-mail address: call.rfimanager@conus.army.mil

SIPR e-mail address: call.rfiagent@conus.army.smil.mil

Mailing Address:
> **Center for Army Lessons Learned**
> **ATTN: OCC, 10 Meade Ave., Bldg. 50**
> **Fort Leavenworth, KS 66027-1350**

TO REQUEST COPIES OF THIS PUBLICATION

If you would like copies of this publication, please submit your request at: <http://call.army.mil>. Use the "RFI or CALL Product" link. Please fill in all the information, including your unit name and official military address. Please include building number and street for military posts.

PRODUCTS AVAILABLE "ONLINE"

CENTER FOR ARMY LESSONS LEARNED

Access and download information from CALL's website. CALL also offers Web-based access to the CALL Archives. The CALL home page address is:

<http://call.army.mil>

CALL produces the following publications on a variety of subjects:

- **Combat Training Center Bulletins, Newsletters, and Trends**
- **Special Editions**
- *News From the Front*
- **Training Techniques**
- **Handbooks**
- **Initial Impressions Reports**

You may request these publications by using the "RFI or CALL Product" link on the CALL home page.

COMBINED ARMS CENTER (CAC)
Additional Publications and Resources

The CAC home page address is:

<http://usacac.army.mil/cac2/index.asp>

Center for Army Leadership (CAL)

CAL plans and programs leadership instruction, doctrine, and research. CAL integrates and synchronizes the Professional Military Education Systems and Civilian Education System. Find CAL products at <http://usacac.army.mil/cac2/cal/index.asp>.

Combat Studies Institute (CSI)

CSI is a military history think tank that produces timely and relevant military history and contemporary operational history. Find CSI products at <http://usacac.army.mil/cac2/csi/csipubs.asp>.

Combined Arms Doctrine Directorate (CADD)

CADD develops, writes, and updates Army doctrine at the corps and division level. Find the doctrinal publications at either the Army Publishing Directorate (APD) <http://www.usapa.army.mil> or the Reimer Digital Library <http://www.adtdl.army.mil>.

Foreign Military Studies Office (FMSO)

FMSO is a research and analysis center on Fort Leavenworth under the TRADOC G2. FMSO manages and conducts analytical programs focused on emerging and asymmetric threats, regional military and security developments, and other issues that define evolving operational environments around the world. Find FMSO products at <http://fmso.leavenworth.army.mil/>.

Military Review (MR)

MR is a revered journal that provides a forum for original thought and debate on the art and science of land warfare and other issues of current interest to the U.S. Army and the Department of Defense. Find MR at <http://usacac.army.mil/cac2/militaryreview/index.asp>.

TRADOC Intelligence Support Activity (TRISA)

TRISA is a field agency of the TRADOC G2 and a tenant organization on Fort Leavenworth. TRISA is responsible for the development of intelligence products to support the policy-making, training, combat development, models, and simulations arenas. Find TRISA Threats at <https://dcsint-threats.leavenworth.army.mil/default.aspx> (requires AKO password and ID).

Combined Arms Center-Capability Development Integration Directorate (CAC-CDID)

CAC-CDIC is responsible for executing the capability development for a number of CAC proponent areas, such as Information Operations, Electronic Warfare, and Computer Network Operations, among others. CAC-CDID also teaches the Functional Area 30 (Information Operations) qualification course. Find CAC-CDID at <http://usacac.army.mil/cac2/cdid/index.asp>.

U.S. Army and Marine Corps Counterinsurgency (COIN) Center

The U.S. Army and Marine Corps COIN Center acts as an advocate and integrator for COIN programs throughout the combined, joint, and interagency arena. Find the U.S. Army/U.S. Marine Corps COIN Center at: <http://usacac.army.mil/cac2/coin/index.asp>.

Joint Center for International Security Force Assistance (JCISFA)

JCISFA's mission is to capture and analyze security force assistance (SFA) lessons from contemporary operations to advise combatant commands and military departments on appropriate doctrine; practices; and proven tactics, techniques, and procedures (TTP) to prepare for and conduct SFA missions efficiently. JCISFA was created to institutionalize SFA across DOD and serve as the DOD SFA Center of Excellence. Find JCISFA at <https://jcisfa.jcs.mil/Public/Index.aspx>.

Support CAC in the exchange of information by telling us about your successes
so they may be shared and become Army successes.

Center for Army Lessons Learned

10 Meade Avenue, Building 50
Fort Leavenworth, KS 66027-1350
http://call.army.mil

Celebrating 25 years of uninterrupted support to the warfighter

**US Army
Combined
Arms Center**

"Intellectual Center of the Army"   www.leavenworth.army.mil