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NDC FORUM PAPER 18 Towards a Comprehensive Approach: Strategic and Operational Challenges Research Division - Rome, May 2011

18

NDC FORUM PAPER

NATO Defense College
Collège de Défense de l'OTAN

Towards a Comprehensive Approach: Strategic and Operational Challenges

Edited by Christopher M. Schnaubelt

Rome, May 2011

NATO DEFENSE COLLEGE
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction 4
Christopher M. Schnaubelt

A Perspective on Cultural Clash and
Organizational Change in Iraq: Smart Power in Action...............8
Rick Waddell

Preparing Civilians for Deployment to
Civilian-Military Platforms in Combat Environments:
The Evolution of Staffing and Training for the
Civilian Mission in Afghanistan...41
J. Edward Fox

No Strategy, Please, We're German –
The Eight Elements That Shaped German Strategic Culture.....69
Jan Techau

Blinded by Culture? (Mis)understanding Arab Strategy............94
Florence Gaub

Medvedev's Modernisation: Towards a Russian Strategy?.......114
Andrew Monaghan

What Are You Prepared to Do?
NATO and the Strategic Mismatch between Ends,
Ways, and Means in Afghanistan – and in the Future...............130
David E. Johnson

Introduction

Christopher M. Schnaubelt

This NATO Defense College Forum Paper is the culmination of a series of workshops and publications regarding better integration of civilian and military efforts in response to contemporary security challenges. The first of these was Forum Paper #9, *Operationalizing a Comprehensive Approach in Semi-Permissive Environments*, which focused on Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) in Iraq and Afghanistan and other models for integrating civilian and military efforts below the strategic level.

Forum Paper #11, *Counterinsurgency: The Challenge for NATO Strategy and Operations*, looked at counterinsurgency (COIN) as a specific kind of civil-military operation. It not only examined COIN in terms of the challenges it presents "in the field" during combat operations, but also analyzed the political impact within NATO of some member states not recognizing COIN as a doctrinal type of operation or claiming for domestic political reasons that their forces in Afghanistan were not conducting a COIN mission.

Forum Paper #14, *Complex Operations: NATO at War and on the Margins of War*, examined whether "Complex Operations" – which by definition require a combination of military and civilian efforts – presented a uniquely challenging type of mission for NATO. Further, it examined the implications of a contemporary security environment that might present increasing demands for NATO to conduct such missions.

Forum Paper #15, *Towards a Comprehensive Approach:*

Integrating Civilian and Military Concepts of Strategy, presented a wide range of ideas regarding the elements of strategy, its purpose, and how it should be developed in the context of civil-military operations. It was not a primer on strategy or a comprehensive review of the topic but highlighted the differences and similarities between the approaches typically used by civilian organizations and the doctrinal methods of NATO and the militaries of its member states and partners, while presenting some ideas on how to bridge the gaps.

Each of these Forum Papers can be downloaded free of charge from the NDC Publications web page at: http://www.ndc.nato.int/research/series.php?icode=2.

The NDC workshop that produced Forum Paper #15 also resulted in the one at hand. While Forum Paper #15 took a broader approach to analyzing the issues, Forum Paper # 18, *Towards a Comprehensive Approach: Strategic and Operational Challenges*, looks at a selection of specific cases that illuminate some of the challenges to integrating civilian and military strategy. The following summarizes each of the chapters:

In “A Perspective on Cultural Clash and Organizational Change in Iraq: Smart Power in Action?”, Rick Waddell provides critical observations regarding civilian and military interaction during the current war in Iraq. He analyzes high-level coordination and cooperation, finding shortcomings in many instances. A key factor, he argues, is the ability of organizations to “learn” by embracing new organizational sub-routines and adapting their structures and operating procedures to meet new challenges, rather than taking minimal defensive responses and clinging to a “business as usual” way of doing things in the face of significant changes in the political and operational environments.

J. Edward Fox subsequently describes in detail an interagency program that is primarily funded by the US Department of State but conducted largely by military personnel. "Preparing Civilians for Deployment to Civilian-Military Platforms in Combat Environments: The evolution of staffing and training for the civilian mission in Afghanistan" is a blueprint of current efforts to train US civilians heading to field assignments in Afghanistan on how to work with military personnel and equipment as a member of a Provincial Reconstruction Team.

In "No Strategy, Please, We're German – The Eight Elements That Shaped German Strategic Culture," Jan Techau analyzes the impact of World War II on Germany's approach to security strategy. He argues that Germany in the 21st century suffers from a policy establishment whose strategic culture remains deeply steeped in the 1950s. Many of its elements, such as restraint, pacifism and lack of sovereignty, have either long lost their foundation or have turned into a liability.

Next, Florence Gaub argues that Western analysts routinely fail to grasp Arab societies and tend to construct a flawed notion of an "Arab strategic culture". In "Blinded by Culture? (Mis)understanding Arab Strategy." Accordingly, the lack of understanding produces a caricature that typically leads Western states to adopt poorly designed plans and policies that fail to achieve their objectives vis-à-vis Arab states.

In "Medvedev's Modernisation: Towards a Russian Strategy?" Andrew Monaghan analyzes recent Russian documents on official foreign and military policy. He discerns the historical and contemporary domestic political factors shaping Russia's ongoing strategic and doctrinal overhaul, while outlining Russia's aspirations to be a model that will attract states to its sphere of influence under terms it will

largely be able to dictate. He concludes that, although Russia is rich in resources and has a consensus among its leadership regarding national objectives, it does not possess the capability necessary to bring its strategic agenda to fruition.

This volume concludes with a chapter by David E. Johnson. In "What Are You Prepared to Do? NATO and the Strategic Mismatch between Ends, Ways, and Means in Afghanistan – and in the Future", he argues that, contrary to the official wisdom, the real problem with the ISAF mission is not poor integration of civilian and military efforts and lack of a comprehensive approach. Instead, according to Johnson, the more basic problem is that the Allies are not willing to devote enough resources to achieving their stated objectives: no matter how much the "Ways" might be improved, the "Means" are not sufficient to attain the "Ends".

A Perspective on Cultural Clash and Organizational Change in Iraq: Smart Power in Action?

Rick Waddell

Since the end of the Vietnam War, the US military has participated in the occupations of Grenada, Panama, Kuwait, Somalia, Haiti twice (1994, 2004), Bosnia, Kosovo, Afghanistan and Iraq. The Bosnian and Kosovo occupations have wound down after many years; the occupation of Iraq ended officially in mid-2009 with the withdrawal of all Coalition forces from Iraqi cities, and became an advise-and-assist mission, after more than 6 years. Afghanistan is in its 9th year, and still stretches interminably before us.

Military-controlled or -supported occupations of foreign territory are therefore not uncommon tasks and, as the cases above demonstrate, these missions come in a variety of durations and complexities. The US military does not act alone in these tasks. Most of the post-Vietnam occupations have involved foreign allies to a greater or lesser extent. The State Department, USAID and other governmental departments have also been involved. Since the early 1990s, simultaneous with military-supported interventions being re-characterized as "peace operations", new emphasis was also placed on the civilian components in such interventions, whether coming from national resources, from Intergovernmental Organizations (IGOs), or from Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs), and on the need for better integration between the civilian and military components.

This paper relies on observations of civilian-military integration in Iraq that the author personally gained through service in Iraq

forseveral weeks or more in every year during the period 2004-2010.[1] As the largest, most politically contentious post-Vietnam occupation, Iraq serves as a good backdrop for three key items of interest: 1) the impacts of the clash of cultures between the Department of Defense (DoD) and the Department of State (DoS), as well as the "rest of government," in the sought-after "whole-of-government approach"; 2) how the uniformed services and DoS personnel reacted in Iraq to changing requirements; and 3) what these observations might tell us about the prospects for future integration, in relation not only to the DoS's lead role in Reconstruction and Stabilization, but also to the normal resistance of organizations to change.

Based on the George W. Bush-era decision to place future reconstruction and stabilization tasks under the control of the DoS,[2] a crucial question is how it will approach this new task, which is fundamentally different from its historic role, and how the US military will respond to leadership by State. The evidence suggests that the military has changed to embrace the new concept in doctrine, training and force structure, as part of a three-decade change to its organizational subroutines, while not departing from its primary organizational view regarding its core mission of winning battles. The same evidence suggests that the State Department has so far adopted only defensive changes as a response to external pressure in order to protect the main components of its organizational culture, and thus has further changes to make if it is going to carry out these new tasks effectively.

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[1] Except as footnoted, all other material referenced comes from my personal notes as a Reserve member of the CENTCOM staff or as a member of the Joint Strategic Assessment Team (March-April 2007), the Governance Assessment Team (March-April 2008), the division staff of Multinational Division-North (Nov 2005-Jan 2006), Multinational Force Iraq CJ9 (September 2009-January 2010), or US Forces-Iraq J9 (January-February 2010). The views expressed herein are the author's own, and do not reflect official positions of the U.S. Army or the Department of Defense.

[2] See National Security Presidential Directive/NSPD- 44, December 7, 2005. Available at http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/nspd/nspd-44.html

Observations From Iraq: Clashing Cultures

"I have spent a lot of time around this table on reconciliation in Iraq, but most of it has been reconciling you Americans."
Senior Allied General Officer, 2008

The Iraq conflict has seen differing approaches to civilian-military integration during the occupation, and in the ongoing advise-and-assist period. The first effort was the Office of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance (ORHA), which was formed during the pre-war planning period; it was placed under the leadership of Lieutenant General (ret.) Jay Garner, who had successfully led the post-Gulf War humanitarian operation known as Provide Comfort. The pre-war planning pointed to a shorter-term intense stabilization effort with a focus on alleviating the anticipated human suffering. The UN had estimated that, as a direct result of war, as many as 10 million Iraqis would be affected, and that as many as 500,000 could require medical attention.[3] ORHA officially reported to the CENTCOM Commander, General Tommy Franks, although Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld made clear that LTG Garner was also to be Rumsfeld's "man in Iraq".[4] The ORHA staff worked closely with CENTCOM planners, and in accordance with military doctrinal templates and recent experiences. Under the ORHA concept, Civil Affairs troops were to make early contact with local officials to restart local services in each of the eighteen Iraqi provinces. Meanwhile, Lieutenant General Garner and the ORHA headquarters would establish themselves in Baghdad to begin work with central ministries.[5] In these early weeks of Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF), the military was clearly supreme and its tasks

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[3] Colum Lynch, "Iraq War Could Put 10 Million in Need of Aid," *Washington Post*, 7 January 2003, reprinted at http://www.commondreams.org/headlines03/0107-03.htm; Jonathan Steele, "Counting the Dead," *The Guardian*, 29 January 2003, www.guardian.co.uk/world/2003/jan/29/iraq.jonathansteele

[4] General (ret.) Tommy Franks with Malcolm McConnell, *American Soldier* (HarperCollins: New York, 2004) p. 423.

[5] Franks, pp. 423-424.

were combat-oriented. ORHA went into operation as designed, but the feared humanitarian disaster never appeared.

Even before the ground war ended, the civil administration effort was proving to be much more complex than anticipated or hoped, even if the humanitarian aspects were proving less burdensome than feared. The US administration decided to replace Lieutenant General Garner with a senior diplomat, and build an entity to absorb and then supersede ORHA. On 12 May 2003, less than three weeks into the reconstruction effort, known as "Phase IV" in the US military doctrine of the day, Ambassador L. Paul Bremer arrived in Iraq to assume control from Lieutenant General Garner, and ORHA became the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA).

General Frank's staff assessment in early May 2003 was that ORHA was understaffed, with only 200 personnel, underfunded, and without a clearly understood mission.[6] Ambassador Bremer's initial assessment from his new staff, on 13 May, was that "ORHA and the new CPA mission had been flooded with unauthorized volunteers who'd simply been appearing unannounced…"[7] Thus, CPA had both too few and too many personnel – presumably too few of the right kinds in the right places, and too many in the wrong places. With the CPA absorbing the ORHA senior advisers and adding more to shadow CPA-appointed Iraqi ministers, each ministerial office in the CPA headquarters had a collage of civilian volunteers, mobilized individual reservists, detailees from the US and coalition partner governments, and US Army Civil Affairs soldiers. Similar situations existed in the CPA governorate offices in the Iraqi provinces. Lines of responsibility were not clear, re-organizations occurred, and personnel strength continued to sling-shot from too few to too many.[8] An uneasy relationship grew up between

[6] Franks p. 524.

[7] Ambassador L. Paul Bremer III with Malcolm McConnell, My Year in Iraq: the Struggle to Build a Future of Hope, Threshold Editions, New York, 2006, p. 23.

[8] "On July 7 [2003], I sent Rumsfeld a memo….of 250 people I had requested weeks before, not a single

Ambassador Bremer and the Commander of CJTF-7, Lieutenant General Ricardo Sanchez. Grafted to the CPA would be an additional ad hoc organization, originally called the Project Management Office, created to manage the FY 2004 Iraqi Relief and Reconstruction Fund of $18.4 billion. These situations continued throughout the existence of the CPA.[9]

Despite the ad hoc nature of the arrangement, the seeming disorganization and the civil-military disharmonies, Ambassador Bremer and his team stitched together an Iraqi polity and governing structure and restored the dilapidated, poorly distributed services to about pre-OIF levels – sufficient to restore Iraq to self-government on 28 June 2004. Yet, a Baathist and al Qaeda insurgency grew up in the same year and went on to bedevil the Coalition occupation and the nascent Iraqi government for the next several years, as an Iraqi security force was not re-established under the CPA to a level at which it could address the task of internal defense. ORHA and the CPA, though, stand as examples of a flexible response to an unanticipated (or to be much more critical, a poorly anticipated) stability phase, rapidly executed. Messy it was, but it was also whole-of-government, included substantial allied participation, and was able to draw hundreds of private-sector volunteers as temporary US Civil Service officials or short-term contractors.

After the CPA: IRMO and PRTs

Ambassador Bremer's authorization documents from the President and from Secretary Rumsfeld, appointing him Presidential envoy and Administrator of the CPA, gave him "full authority over

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one had yet arrived in Baghdad." Bremer, p. 114.

[9] In late January through mid-March 2004, during my brief stint in the CPA, so many people appeared that large tents were erected on the Palace lawn for sleeping quarters More were slated to arrive even as planning to ramp down the CPA became a priority to make way for the new embassy structure due to begin operating in July 2004. See also Bremer, p. 114.

all U.S. government personnel, activities, and funds [in Iraq].”[10] Ambassador Bremer, though, never controlled military operations, which continued to run through the regional combatant command, CENTCOM. Lieutenant General Sanchez, as a three-star general commanding CJTF-7, was under orders to coordinate with Ambassador Bremer, who, as a presidential envoy, held a protocol rank equivalent to a four-star.[11] Doctrinally, through such coordination, “unity of effort” is sought among the U.S. military and the rest of the interagency. Efforts at achieving civil-military “unity of effort” would continue in the immediate post-CPA phase, with an emphasis on the actions of two new interagency organizations.[12]

Subsequent to Ambassador Bremer’s departure and the restoration of Iraqi self-government, a new subunified command, Multinational Forces-Iraq (MNF-I), was established under 4-star leadership. Meanwhile the US Embassy staff assumed control of the civilian efforts funded under the Project Management Office, which was renamed the Iraq Reconstruction Management Office (IRMO). By 2005, State and CENTCOM decided to replicate the Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) that had become popular in Afghanistan. On 11 November 2005, Secretary of State Rice flew into Mosul and proclaimed the creation of the Iraqi PRTs, with the first to be in Mosul, and then left. From where I was then working in Multinational Division-North Central (MND-NC), with daily interaction with a Regional Reconstruction Operation Center, this event had the feel of a drive-by (or fly-by). The MND-North headquarters in Mosul was within a few weeks of re-deploying, and MND-NC was to assume control by combining the two divisional Areas of Responsibility. We knew little about the purpose, mission and funding of the newly proclaimed PRTs, and how their actions were to differ from ongoing military-

[10] Bremer, pp. 12-13.
[11] Bremer, p.186.
[12] For a detailed analysis of the relationship between CPA and CJTF-7, see Christopher M. Schnaubelt, “After the Fight: Interagency Operations”, *Parameters* 35, Winter 2005-06, pp. 47-61.

led activities, or the IRMO-funded but Army Corps of Engineers-, USAID- or contractor-led reconstruction activities.

One point was made clear in the Mosul ceremony: unlike in Afghanistan, where PRTs were led by coalition military, in Iraq the State Department was to be in charge of Iraqi PRTs. Indeed, less than a month later, on 7 December 2005, President Bush issued National Security Presidential Directive 44 (NSPD-44), which stated that:

> The Secretary of State shall coordinate and lead integrated United States Government efforts, involving all U.S. Departments and Agencies with relevant capabilities, to prepare, plan for, and conduct stabilization and reconstruction activities. The Secretary of State shall coordinate such efforts with the Secretary of Defense to ensure harmonization with any planned or ongoing U.S. military operations across the spectrum of conflict.

NSPD-44 officially resolved a major State Department complaint about Iraq. Ambassador Bremer recorded in his memoirs that State had felt shut out of Iraqi reconstruction early on because the Departments's pre-war plan for the reconstruction in Iraq was ignored.[13] Under the NSPD, State would now officially be in charge of reconstruction activities, and their leadership role in the PRTs and IRMO was reflective of this decision.

In early 2004, during planning for the end of CPA and the establishment of the successive US Mission, a phrase frequently heard

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[13] In 2007, State officials were still referencing the ignored plan, "The Future of Iraq Project." Bremer records that Ambassador Ryan Crocker had participated in the study and held the view that the study did not provide a comprehensive, practical post-war plan. Upon reading the study, Bremer agreed. See Bremer, pp. 25, 187.

was that the successor organization "will be a normal Embassy."[14] The existence of IRMO, however, ensured that the new US Embassy would not be normal, because of the hybrid nature of the organization with its own specific funding line, its own Special Inspector General oversight, and the heavy involvement of the US Army Corps of Engineers among other attributes. Adding the PRTs ensured further distance from "normal." And, while there are US embassies and consulates in hot spots around the globe, the effort in Iraq entailed the greatest scope and breadth of US civilian activities inside a combat zone since the Vietnam War.

With some $22 billion to spend in Iraq, IRMO and the PRTs dwarfed any other State Department organization in budgetary power and manpower requirements. The State Department may have been in the lead, but could neither provide the staff from its own ranks nor send other fulltime Federal employees, because of the numbers, expertise and speed required. Staffing and quality shortages had been a constant complaint of both ORHA and the CPA, and this continued in subsequent years. In addition to hiring a significant number of temporary Civil Service employees,[15] both IRMO and the PRTs had to rely on uniformed personnel (Active or Reserve Component) or private sector contractors, especially in the early days for specialties that Departments like Agriculture, Energy, or Transportation might normally have provided.[16]

When the Surge was announced in early 2007, most of the focus was rightly on the military aspects of the change in tactics and operations, but a "civilian surge" was supposed to accompany the

[14] Stuart W. Bowen, Jr., Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, *Hard Lessons*, February 2009, p. 159.

[15] Known as "3161s," these were US Government officials hired on one-year appointments under US Code Title 5, Section 3161 but were frequently viewed as "contractors" by career foreign service officers.

[16] PRT staffing sources were still reported weekly to the Commander of US Forces-Iraq as late as February 2010, although the "rest of government" had caught up with DoD well before then.

military effort. By the time that both General Petraeus and Ambassador Crocker were in place, the PRTs were still predominantly staffed by DoD. When the Joint Strategic Assessment Team (JSAT) arrived in mid-March 2007, a common Embassy chart tracked the number of DoD personnel assigned to PRTs versus the number of State-managed personnel, clearly showing the crossover point where non-DoD staff would be in the majority, sometime later in 2007. As one wag put it, "State would stand up as DoD stood down." Embassy personnel also commented that one of their staffing problems was that DoD kept offering to provide Reserve Component generals or retired generals as PRT members.[17]

At the time of the Surge, IRMO still provided Senior Advisers to most of the key Iraqi ministries. The US Embassy structure also contained attachés from US departments or agencies covering several of the same ministries. USAID had capacity training programs working with and within ministries, and MNF-I often had colonels with subordinate staff in the Strategic Effects Directorate providing a fourth layer of coverage. The result was an enormous wall chart depicting the multiple staff leads that could interact with a given ministry or ministerial staff. Since the chart did not include lead contacts from allied embassies or multilateral institutions, it became clear that Iraqi ministers and high-ranking Iraqi staff were overtaxed with the possibility of multiple visits from different coalition and international offices to discuss the exact same issues.

Adding to the complications was the Brinkley Group, also known as the Task Force for Business Stability Operations, working out of the offices of Deputy Undersecretary of Defense Paul Brinkley, a former venture capitalist. The Group initially focused on re-starting the more than 190 Saddam-era State-Owned Enterprises as

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[17] The implication was that flag officers were not terribly useful to the lower-level PRTs, but in 2008 at least one retired ambassador was an ePRT leader in Baghdad.

a means of rapidly decreasing unemployment, under the theory that displaced workers supplied the insurgency with fighters.[18] The Group came to focus on other business development opportunities and Iraqi government procurement efficiency. Despite some useful work, particularly in procurement, the Group did not mesh well with the efforts of IRMO or the Economics Office in the Embassy.

Perhaps this situation explains the continued rancor over these hybrid organizations encountered by the JSAT in 2007 and the Governance Assessment Team (GAT) in 2008. State Department personnel spoke of reaching "normal embassy operations" almost as a strategic end-state for Operation Iraqi Freedom. Senior private contractors serving in IRMO often chafed at the requirements of federal bureaucracy and the coordination inherent in the information flows to the various overlapping military and civilian staffs. USAID set itself up in a compound completely separate from the combined Embassy and MNF-I staffs, as did the Brinkley Group. Military staffers had little use for the normal diplomatic forms of communication via cables and memoranda, rather than PowerPoint slides. Many resented the Brinkley Group's ability to jet in and out on DoD aircraft.

The Peak of the Effort: 2007-2008

Ultimately the military surged and the civilians surged. By early 2008, General Petraeus and Ambassador Crocker began to shift the operational emphasis from "kinetic operations" to "capacity development." More than 30 PRTs and ePRTs were in place, working with Brigade Combat Teams (BCTs) at provincial and local levels, and reporting to Multinational Corps-Iraq (MNC-I). The Iraq Transition Assistance Office (ITAO, the renamed IRMO), the Embassy attachés,

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[18] Barney Gimbel, "In Iraq, One Man's Mission Impossible," 4 September 2007, http://money.cnn.com/2007/08/31/magazines/fortune/iraq_inc.fortune/index.htm

special coordinators, staff officers from MNF-I's Strategic Effects Directorate, and the Brinkley Group continued to work at the level of the federal ministries. All were focused on building the capacity of the local and federal governments of Iraq at a time when the Government of Iraq's budget for capital spending and other economic development was significantly greater than the US or international economic aid available. Getting Iraqi "budget execution" done the right way became critical to success.[19]

Civil-military integration of provincial and ministerial efforts, as well as integration among the civilian agencies, continued to be difficult. The Government Accounting Office and the House Armed Service Committee conducted investigations of the efforts in 2007 and 2008, concluding that the assistance efforts were poorly planned and coordinated, no single agency was in charge, and efforts were further hampered by stovepiped communications back to home agencies and departments in Washington.[20]

By 2009, the US effort began its slow wind-down with the signing of the Strategic Framework Agreement and the Security Agreement in late 2008. MNF-I's Strategic Effects staff was re-named the CJ-9 staff, and continued to be embedded with the Embassy staff

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[19] See for example, U.S. General Accounting Office, *Iraq reconstruction: better data needed to assess Iraq's budget execution* (GAO-08-153), 15 January 2008 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. General Accounting Office), at http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d08153.pdf. The estimated figures for capital spending by the Government of Iraq in early 2008 were $18 billion, with some $6.5 billion to be spent by the provinces. This was based on the very high prices for oil anticipated in 2008, which did not take into account the collapse of those prices from above $100 per barrel back to below $40 on some days by the end of 2008. Nonetheless, the execution challenge was based on the original plan.

[20] GAO, 2008. U.S. General Accounting Office, *Stabilizing and Rebuilding Iraq: Serious Challenges Confront U.S. efforts to Build the Capacity of Iraqi Ministries* (GAO-08-124T), 4 October 2007 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. General Accounting Office), at http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d08124t.pdf U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Armed Services Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations (HASC), *Agency stovepipes vs. strategic agility: lessons we need to learn from Provincial Reconstruction Teams in Iraq and Afghanistan,* April 2008 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Armed Services Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations), at http://armedservices.house.gov/pdfs/Reports/PRT_Report.pdf

in the New Embassy Compound (NEC) as the other military staff elements consolidated with the main MNF-I staff at Camp Victory, near Baghdad International Airport. US funding was reduced significantly as projects and programs begun under the earlier funding streams were completed, even as ITAO continued in reduced form. More than 60,000 soldiers and contractors left Iraq in 2009, with the final withdrawal set by the agreements for 31 December 2011. Specially designed Advise and Assist Brigades (AABs) replaced Brigade Combat Teams, and the three-star headquarters of the Marine Expeditionary Force that served as Multinational Force - West finally left a pacified al Anbar Province, once the heart of the Sunni insurgency. PRTs will gradually stand down during the process as US troop presence declines.

Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF) represented a form of civilian-military integration in a conflict zone. Not much good was said about this form in interviews and corridor conversations with those serving inside, or by those observing OIF organizational structures from outside. The organizations were ad hoc hybrids, hard to place within doctrinal constructs. Military and civilian leaders constantly chided the OIF organizations for not spending funds quickly enough to have the desired tactical, operational or strategic effects, but all such funds had to follow federal accounting and procurement policies, which are not noted for simplicity and speed. Other constant criticism was directed at the failure to employ enough Iraqi firms or Iraqi individuals, only to be followed by equally harsh criticism when Iraqi construction performance did not measure up to expectations.

And yet, like the CPA that preceded them, the PRTs, IRMO/ITAO and the Brinkley Group completed thousands of projects from the minor to the very large, and made a huge positive difference to individual Iraqis and their communities, and to civil governance structures, particularly in those areas outside of Baghdad that hitherto had never had any measure of local control over budgetary resources.

Maybe the best vantage point to observe stability operations, like that for war and for sausage-making, is from a considerable distance.

Analysis: Organizational Change[21]

"*Small wars are never going to be glorious or easy.*
But history indicates that they're inevitable."
Max Boot, "Savage Wars of Peace"[22]

"*Every organization has a culture, that is, a persistent, patterned way of thinking*
about the central tasks of and human relationships within an organization."
James Q. Wilson, *Bureaucracy* (Basic Books, New York 1989), 91.[23]

As one former CENTCOM commander, General Anthony Zinni, once described civil-military integration, "The status quo is [ad hoc] every time."[24] Despite existing military doctrine, and the experience in Afghanistan with the Coalition Joint Civil Military Operations Task Force (CJCMOTF), civilian-military integration in the post-ground war phase in Iraq was ad hoc from the very start, with the creation of ORHA.[25] The CPA, IRMO/ITAO and PRTs continued this creative ad hockery. The following sections place the Iraq experience in the context of change to military and governmental organizations in order to derive additional lessons.

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[21] The underlying argument of this section comes from Rick Waddell, "*The Army and Peacetime Low Intensity Conflict, 1961-1993: The Process of Peripheral and Fundamental Military Change",* Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia, 1994.

[22] Max Boot, "Savage Wars of Peace," *Warfighting*, Book 2, 14th ed., Maxwell Air Force Base: Air University, 2003, p 361 of 361-364.

[23] James Q. Wilson, *Bureaucracy*, New York, Basic Books, 1989, p. 91. Cited in Waddell, p. 17.

[24] Quoted in Patrick N. Kelleher, "Crossing Boundaries: Interagency Cooperation in the Military," Joint Forces Quarterly, No. 32, Autumn 2002, pp 104-110, reprinted in *Warfighting*, Book 2, 14th ed., Maxwell Air Force Base: Air University, 2003, p. 428.

[25] See Kelleher, p. 428, for a description of the use of the CJCMOTF in Afghanistan.

Organizational literature also tells us that human organizations develop enduring patterns of behavior. A culture arises from these patterns, comprising "the notion held by members of an organization as to what the main capabilities and primary mission of the organization should be".[26] In turn, these notions provide a shared "set of meanings" that "gives a group its own ethos, or distinctive character, which is expressed in patterns of belief (ideology), activity (norms and rituals), language and other symbolic forms …".[27]

Organizational literature suggests that organizations change fundamentally or peripherally. The latter sort of change is much, much more common, and is also called an incremental change, or an "add-on," in which "a new program is added on to existing tasks without changing the core tasks or altering the organizational culture".[28] Fundamental change is often the result of some dramatic external event that changes the environment in which the organization functions, and thus forces a change in the organization's activities and beliefs, or it can result from dramatic organizational failure which forces a re-thinking of the organization's activities and beliefs. Peripheral change to activities and beliefs can result from less dramatic events. Peripheral changes can be enduring, or can be defensive. In the latter, the organization changes at the margin in order to protect what it sees as its core missions and to avoid having more fundamental change forced upon it from outside.[29] Peripheral change may not endure if adopted as a defensive mechanism, and if the external pressure diminishes.

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[26] Morton H. Halperin and Arnold Kanter, "The Bureaucratic Perspective, " in *International Politics: Anarchy, Force, Political Economy, and Decision Making*, 2d ed., ed. Robert J. Art and Robert Jervis (Boston: Scott, Foresman, 1985) p. 444; cited in Waddell, p. 17.

[27] Linda Smircich, "Organizations as shared meanings," *Classics of Organization Theory*, 3d Edition, Jay M. Shafritz and J. Steven Ott, eds., Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole, 1992, p. 520 of 520-526.

[28] Wilson 222; cited in Waddell, p. 18.

[29] Waddell, p. 20.

When faced with an uncertain environment in Iraq, one that was different than the assumptions and scenarios used for pre-OIF planning, how did the military and civilian interagency – particularly the State Department – respond in terms of organizational structure, doctrine, training and action? Does the experience point to fundamental or peripheral change in these organizations? If the change is peripheral, will it be enduring or defensive?

I. MILITARY RESPONSE

"The reason the American Army does so well in wartime, is that war is chaos, and the American Army practices it on a daily basis."
From a post-war debriefing of a German general

Since the core mission of the US military remains winning battles and series of battles (operational campaigns), the tasks inherent in stability operations would represent a subroutine, an add-on to the main mission. Indications that this peripheral change is enduring would include changes to fundamental doctrine, organizational structures, training and execution.

For the US military, particularly the Army, occupation tasks were already part of a subroutine before OIF began in 2003. At least since the doctrinal innovations of the 1980s, Army doctrine has addressed "full-spectrum" operations. Over the years this thinking went into pamphlets and manuals on Low Intensity Conflict, Military Operations Other Than War, Operations Other Than War, and Peace Operations. The occupations of Somalia, Haiti, Bosnia and Kosovo in the 1990s had shown that interventions were easier to get into than concluding the missions and leaving. "Mission creep" and "exit plans" became political issues. Perhaps as a consequence of the experiences and the politics of the 1990s, in JP 3-0 *Joint Operations*, with the ironic publication date of 10 September 2001, the fourth phase of

campaign planning was "Transition," in which civil authority was to be established and redeployment conducted (see the Figure III-4 below from the 2001 edition).[30] Official planning for an exit became part of doctrine.

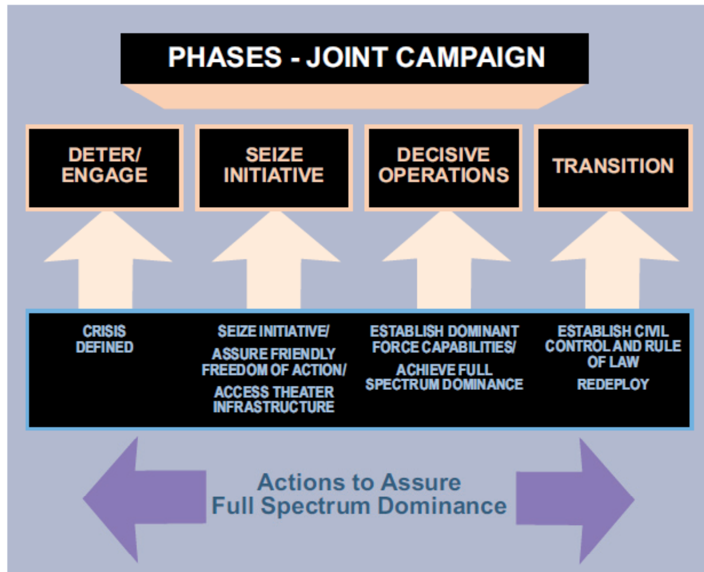

Figure III-4. Phases - Joint Campaign

Through NSPD-44 in 2005, the State Department became the lead federal agency for stabilization and reconstruction. In recognition of this mandated change, and based on experiences of the previous decade, the military officially embraced the concept of civilian-military integration in campaign planning and revised their doctrine and training. JP 3-0 *Joint Operations* (2006, with additional changes in 2008) and Army FM 3-07 *Stability Operations* (2008) were re-written to reflect these changes. Perhaps in recognition of the impossibility of achieving full control under a single US government official, even

[30] See Figure III-4, JP 3-0 *Joint Operations*, 10 September 2001, III-19.

over personnel belonging to the US government, the doctrinal revision went so far as to modify one of the most time-honored principles of war – Unity of Command. It did so by adding a more subtle, nuanced, vaguer reference to "Unified Action" under common strategic guidance – which, when effectively achieved, produces "Unity of Effort".[31] The four phases of campaign planning in JP 3-0 of Sept 2001 were expanded in the 2006 edition to 6 phases, to emphasize "Stabilize" and "Enable Civil Authority" as distinct phases (see Figure IV-7 below, from the 2006 edition). [32] With the publication of the Army FM 3-07 in late 2008, the Army elevated Stability Operations to a core mission on the "same level as offensive and defensive operations".[33]

Such doctrinal changes get reflected throughout the training programs of the US armed forces. A clear example of this is the change in focus of the National Training Center (NTC) at Fort Irwin, California. From providing a quasi-Soviet Opposing Force (OPFOR) to train mechanized and armor units in conducting brigade-sized battle maneuvers across the desert, the NTC changes its focus for some rotations by creating small Afghan- and Iraqi-like villages for training US Army units to interact with representatives of local societies. Such training prepared the units to engage with local civilians, foreign government officials and religious leaders, with a view to promoting stability, economic development and good governance while under threat of terrorist and guerilla attacks.

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[31] See "The result of effective unified action is unity of effort to achieve national goals". JP 3-0, 2006, II-3.

[32] JP 3-0, *Joint Operations*, 2006, IV-27.

[33] "Army Unveils New Stability Operations Manual", 6 October 2008, http://www.army.mil/-*newsreleases/2008/10/06/13091-army-unveils-new-stability-operations-manual/*

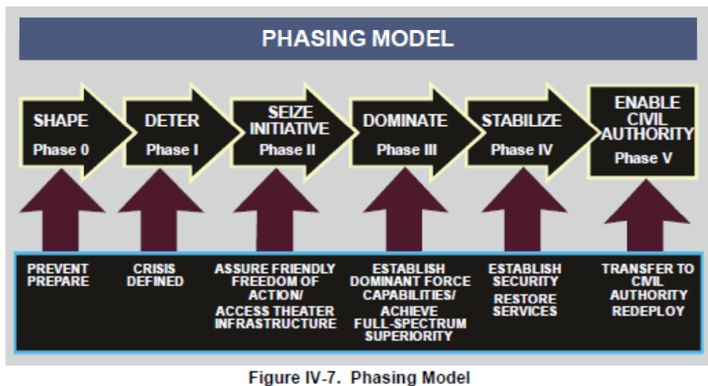

Figure IV-7. Phasing Model

The US military has also made important changes in structural terms. Geographic Combatant Commands (COCOMs) now have Joint Interagency Coordinating Groups "[c]omposed of USG civilian and military experts accredited to the combatant commander and tailored to meet the requirements of a supported combatant commander …."[34] Additionally, in 2003, the Army added Stability Operations to its Peacekeeping Institute and, in 2009, the Army deployed the first of eight Advise and Assist Brigades (AAB) to Iraq. These are regular Brigade Combat Teams structured and trained for the specific stabilization mission in Iraq, having trained stateside with future PRT, Military Training Teams (MTT) and Police Training Team (PTT) members.[35] Finally, the armed forces have been supportive of the variety of ad hoc organizations that sprang up in Iraq – ORHA, CPA, IRMO/ITAO and PRTs. This indicates a ready flexibility to meet the shifting situational demands of stability operations. As one senior officer put it, "We send out orders, we execute orders, we deploy our military, and guess what happens? They turn up and do their job."[36]

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[34] JP 3-08 V1, Interagency, Intergovernmental Organization, and Nongovernmental Organization Coordination During Joint Operations, 17 March 2006, xii.

[35] See http://pksoi.army.mil/. For the AAB, see "Deploying Brigade to Test Advise and Assist Concept, 1 May 2009, at http://www.army.mil/-news/2009/05/01/20528-deploying-brigade-to-test-advise-and-assist-concept/

[36] Helene Cooper, "Few Veteran Diplomats Accept Mission to Iraq", *The New York Times*, 8 February

What kind of organizational change do the events above indicate – fundamental or peripheral? Although the US military made Stability Operations a major part of campaign planning and elevated its doctrinal status, we can still refer to it as a subroutine, an increment or a peripheral change, because the main organizational emphasis remains winning battles. Looking again at Figure IV-7 from the 2006 edition of JP 3-0, Phases 0, I, IV and V are likely to be dominated by non-combat activities, whereas Phases II and III are dominated by actions related to battle, in order to seize the initiative from and establish dominance over an enemy.[37] Here are the traditionally most important tasks of the military, and the most difficult. Note as well that battle tasks may be involved to varying degrees in Phases I, IV and V to deter, stabilize and enable civil authority. In terms of the instruments of national power from joint doctrine, Diplomacy, Informational and Economic elements are most likely to be dominant in the Shape, Deter, Stabilize and Enable phases but do not preclude the possible need for combat power.[38] The structural changes also indicate peripheral change, as even the AABs are just BCTs trained for additional tasks in the "full spectrum," but ready to fight at a moment's notice. Clearly, the doctrinal schematics and structural changes show that readiness and ability to fight remains the "primary mission" that provides the "shared set of meanings" to the Military element of national power, and continues to distinguish the US military from other US agencies.

Given that the changes appear peripheral, are they enduring or defensive? Over twenty years ago, Carl Builder wrote of the US Army: "Something happened to the Army in its passage through World War II that it liked; and it has not been able to free itself from the sweet memories of the Army that liberated France and swept victoriously

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2007, " http://www.nytimes.com/2007/02/08/washington/08diplo.html?_r=1&ref=helene_cooper

[37] JP 3-0, *Joint Operations*, 2006, IV-27.

[38] See JP 3-0, 2006, I-2 for the "instruments of national power": Diplomatic, Informational, Military, Economic. The instruments are often referred to by the acronym, DIME.

into Germany."[39] To critics and cynics, Builder's description might sound like the ground war phase of OIF, where the main focus was on the force-on-force conventional battle, while planning and execution of the stability phases received short shrift. For almost three decades, however, the US military has been dealing with smaller conflicts and operations outside of the most feared force-on-force heavy battles once foreseen in Europe or Korea or elsewhere, and these requirements appear in multiple doctrinal publications updated progressively to reflect experience and changing national policy.

These shifts in doctrine, coupled with the emphasis since the mid-1980s on Special Operations Forces in all services to include the creation of Civil Affairs units, are examples of organizational change. Though peripheral to the main combat mission, these have now been ongoing since the early 1980s. The same can be said of the support shown to ad hoc civil-military organizations in Iraq and the willingness to train BCTs officially as AABs. After three decades this incremental change, an add-on to the main organizational routines, should be seen as enduring. Thus, although the military's main mission that drives the heart of its organizational culture remains winning battles, US armed forces have accepted the stabilization subroutines inherent in full-spectrum operations.

One can nonetheless still inquire whether the US military has executed its doctrine and used its forces wisely in the accepted subroutines of occupation duty. Here lessons are still being learnt.

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[39] Carl H. Builder, *The Masks of War; American Military Styles in Strategy and Analysis*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins, 1989, p. 38; quoted in Waddell, p. 348.

II. DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND OTHER AGENCY CHALLENGES

"*I would argue that in the future struggles ... [as] a precondition of committing our troops, we do so only if and when the other instruments of national power are ready to engage as well*".
ADM Mike Mullen, Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff [40]

Extending the organizational analysis above to the State Department (and secondarily to other civilian members of the interagency), the literature would suggest that the State Department, as the leading agency, will "add a routine" to its normal repertoire. It furthermore suggests that the State Department, as an organization, would keep this new routine from threatening what it sees as its core competencies, which include being the lead agency engaging foreign governments, coordinating peacetime US programs in a given country, and providing reporting and analysis of foreign events in the traditional settings of diplomacy.[41] In the absence of continued external pressure, any change adopted might be merely defensive, and thus ephemeral. Significant change, whether peripheral or fundamental, would require State Department personnel to be well trained in planning, organizing and controlling activities inherent in leading and coordinating Stabilization Operations (to include overt occupations led or supported by the military).

The Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stability (S/CRS) was the State Department's answer to previous ad hoc approaches, and was established in 2004, a year before NSPD-44. In

[40] Landon Lecture Series, 3 March 2010, at www.jcs.mil

[41] State's official mission statement is: "Advance freedom for the benefit of the American people and the international community by helping to build and sustain a more democratic, secure, and prosperous world composed of well-governed states that respond to the needs of their people, reduce widespread poverty, and act responsibly within the international system." Excerpt from the *FY 2009 Agency Financial Report*, December 2009, at http://www.state.gov/s/d/rm/index.htm The preceding text above refers to how State does its job, and how as an organization State feels that it ought to do its job.

terms of authority, "S/CRS is charged by Congress and the Secretary of State with building and maintaining an expeditionary, innovative, and interagency civilian capability to plan, manage, and conduct U.S. stabilization operations on behalf of the Secretary of State and Chiefs of Mission overseas."[42]

Despite S/CRS's creation in 2004, one could fairly argue that State and other agencies were not only slow to respond, but resisted responding in Iraq, perhaps because of the unpopular domestic political climate. At one point in the conflict, according to the BBC, hundreds of State Department employees actively protested the prospect of being forced to serve in Iraq, with one official described by journalists as a "senior diplomat" going so far as to call an assignment to Iraq "a potential death sentence."[43] This was odd behavior, to say the least, from a diplomatic corps whose members accept worldwide deployment as a condition of the service.

In 2007 and 2008, a not infrequent informal comment from US Mission-Iraq personnel was that any other mission would already have been closed down if they had received similar rocket attacks.[44] With some Foreign Service Officers feeling that State's concerns and expertise had been ignored in the run-up to OIF, they were now "expected to clean up the mess".[45] Perhaps this feeling also stemmed from the undercurrent of belief that OIF was failing, that Anbar Province in particular, seen as the heart of the alliance between Sunni and Al Qaeda insurgencies, was a lost cause, and that State might be unfairly tarred with the defeat and failure.[46]

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[42] S/CRS 3.
[43] "Iraq Postings Anger US Diplomats," BBC News, 31 October 2007, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/7072047.stm
[44] "Iraq Postings Anger US Diplomats," BBC, 31 October 2007, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/7072047.stm
[45] Cooper, Ibid.
[46] In September 2006, several such articles appeared based on a leaked secret report by the Marine chief of intelligence in Multinational Force-West, which was the headquarters responsible for the Anbar operations. See, for example, Thomas E. Ricks, "Situation Called Dire in West Iraq: Anbar Is Lost Politically, Marine Analyst Says," Washington Post, 11 September 2006, at http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/09/10/AR2006091001204.html

By early 2007, a favorite grumble among the US military was that only the Department of Defense had really gone to war. About the same time, CENTCOM did a comparison of the Civil Operations and Rural Development Support (CORDS) effort in South Vietnam's provinces with the PRT effort in Iraq's provinces. The underlying thrust was that Vietnam was a tertiary theater in the Cold War, whereas Iraq was the main effort in the current war. By 1969, the CORDS effort employed 7,600 in the South Vietnamese provinces, with a population of 18 million.[47]

About 6000 of those deployed to CORDS were military personnel, and the rest were non-DOD civilians. The USAID deployed 2,000 of its 16,000 personnel to South Vietnam and, at the height of CORDS, one of every 25 State Department employees was on deployment to South Vietnam. By contrast, in Iraq with a population of 28 million, the PRT effort in 2006 was authorized only 345 personnel, of whom 167 were to be non-DoD civilians. By early 2007, more than a year after the Mosul ceremony creating the PRTs, only 116 of the civilians were in place. Only one of every 333 State and USAID employees was on deployment at that point to the Iraq PRTs, the official main front against the enemy. The slow mobilization and deployment of personnel from the "rest of government" to Iraq in 2006 undergirded the Bush Administration push for a "civilian surge" to accompany the military surge.

Other clues to civilian agency response in Iraq can be gleaned from the State Department's own report on its reconstruction and stabilization activities. On 1 March 2010, S/CRS posted its report for the previous year, *2009 Year in Review: Smart Power in Action*. The report states the challenge up front:

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[47] Dale Andrade, "Three Lessons from Vietnam", *Washington Post*, 29 December 2005, at http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/12/28/AR2005122801144.html To be fair, however, it should also be noted that USAID was a substantially larger organization during the Vietnam War. But then again, so was the US Army.

> In the past, the global community – the United States government included – addressed these reconstruction and stability issues in an *ad hoc* fashion: recreating and refashioning the necessary tools, strategies, and relationships anew with each crisis. In recognition of this inefficiency, the U.S. government identified the urgent need for a set of formalized, collaborative, and institutionalized foreign policy tools which could adequately address the diverse stabilization needs of the global community by culling together the government's wide-range of expertise.[48]

However, in the foreword to the report, the Coordinator, Ambassador John E. Herbst, acknowledged the slow start: from its inception in 2004 until 2007, the US government agencies did not have an operational plan for this new State Department activity. Worse, S/CRS did not receive its own funding stream until FY 2009.[49] The report notes that S/CRS deployed 177 personnel in 2009 to fourteen countries. Most of the activities in these countries consisted of assessments and planning efforts with local governments and other US agencies. From the report, heavy emphasis was also placed on preventive activities, since "struggling states are breeding grounds" for all sorts of "human catastrophes."[50] As of the end of 2009, only 78 active personnel were assigned to the whole-of-government Civilian Response Corps, and an additional 554 were in the Stand-by Reserve, although the plan is to eventually reach 250 active members and 2,000 stand-by members.[51]

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[48] US Department of State, Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization (S/CRS), *2009 Year in Review: Smart Power in Action*, 1 March 2010, p. 2, at http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/137690.pdf

[49] S/CRS 5.

[50] S/CRS 2.

[51] S/CRS 6, 8.

The 2009 report also references S/CRS's role in providing doctrine for the whole-of-government approach to reconstruction and stabilization tasks, with support to development of "Guiding Principles for Stabilization and Reconstruction" as well as metrics to gauge progress.[52] Up to the time this article was being written in July 2010, very few doctrinal publications had appeared on the S/CRS Publications website. One document is a "lessons learned" sheet from 2006 on demobilization, disarmament and reintegration of armed groups, another is a document on civilian stabilization in failed states from February 2008; there is also an eight-page document from May 2008, with an accompanying two-page graphic, on the principles of planning for reconstruction, stabilization and conflict transformation.[53]

For the other indicator of organizational change, i.e. training, the S/CRS is doing better. In 2009, S/CRS personnel participated in training exercises with geographic combatant commands and with US allies in NATO. More than 300 personnel were sent to courses, some run by military institutions, as well as to S/CRS's own eight-week foundation course. The impact of the training was apparently only limited by the small numbers of personnel available.

The level of organizational effort described above calls into question whether the primary goal of the State Department is really just a formal statement of its authority as the lead federal agency in foreign missions, and ready acknowledgment of its authority by other agencies, particularly DoD. This would mean that being officially in charge, and being seen as officially in charge by other agencies

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[52] S/CRS 12.

[53] "S/CRS facilitates the development of Doctrine & Concepts for whole-of-government reconstruction and stabilization. Doctrine & Concepts are the core principles and best practices for the structures, processes, and systems that guide how the U.S. Government (USG) organizes and operates in reconstruction and stabilization efforts." See http://www.crs.state.gov/index.cfm?fuseaction=public.display&shortcut=CXWF For the list of S/CRS publications, see http://www.crs.state.gov/index.cfm?fuseaction=public.display&shortcut=4F8N

and departments, is edifying to the ethos of the State Department's reigning organizational culture.

Less edifying to State's culture is the hard work and resource requirements to publish detailed doctrine, build a robust civilian reconstruction capability, and engage in meaningful, frequent training of this capability to the standards required by a guiding doctrine. Undertaking such activities would suggest an enduring change to the comfortable subroutines of the State Department. The actions to date indicate a defensive peripheral change designed to protect the core missions and ethos of State as reflected in current subroutines. Indeed, much of S/CRS's activity seems to involve the core tasks of engagement, analysis and reporting, and not much of the new action-oriented tasks inherent in stabilization and reconstruction. The stabilization activities described in the 2009 report seem little different from the tasks normally assigned to USAID before the creation of S/CRS.

S/CRS was born in no small part because of the frustrations with ORHA and CPA in Iraq. Yet the word "Iraq" does not appear in the 2009 report. Of the activities described in the report, it is difficult to discern if S/CRS undertook any actual "reconstruction" activities. Afghanistan merited two pages in the report, only one more than allotted to the Democratic Republic of the Congo. With so few people, with so little money in the State Department budget, with a wide geographical spread, and an odd lack of focus on the two countries where reconstruction and stabilization tasks most occupy the US government, the statement in the 2009 report that "S/CRS has become the Secretary [of State's] premier tool for reconstruction and stabilization" is hard to credit.[54]

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[54] S/CRS 3. The response of other civilian agencies has been even more tepid than State's. Treasury has one person assigned to the active component of the Civilian Response Corps, and none to the standby; Agriculture has two and two respectively, with Health and Human Services at two active and one standby. See S/CRS 8.

The Future Integration Challenge

"*Your interagency is broken.*"
An Allied General Officer, 2008

The interagency may not be broken, as one of our allies exclaimed in his exasperation at trying to get it to work in Iraq, but it is simply not functioning as well as it should. What do the experiences and observations recounted above portend for the future of Civilian-Military integration, given that the State Department continues to be the lead federal agency for reconstruction and stabilization while all others including DoD remain in support?

A specialist in semiotics might find meaning, perhaps, in the stationing of the MNF-I CJ-9 Directorate (renamed USF-I J9 in January 2010), in the newly constructed US Embassy in Baghdad – the largest in the world upon its inauguration in January 2009. The Directorate combined predominantly military staffs from Strategic Effects – covering Economics, Politics, Energy and Services, and Elections – and a mixed uniformed and civilian Strategic Communications staff providing 24-hour monitoring of the media. At face value, such embedding indicates a good degree of civilian-military interaction between the DoD and the more than a dozen civilian agencies represented in the Embassy.

On closer inspection, though, even the lowest-ranking civilian employee of the US Mission-Iraq lived in a new apartment complete with kitchen, in a building hardened against explosions. In contrast, on the back side of the 27-building compound, built on what was supposed to be the Embassy softball field, were several rows of trailers where uniformed personnel assigned to the NEC at the rank of Colonel and below lived. Only colonels got their own trailers; all others shared. Bath and shower trailers were interspersed among the living trailers.

In late 2009, even flag officers might spend a few weeks in the trailers waiting for an apartment to be allocated in the main buildings. The occupancy rate of the apartment buildings was simply not discussed openly, although many apartments appeared empty.
Though protected by blast walls around the perimeter, the trailer park had much less sandbagging around the individual trailers than was the case in the old compound at the Presidential Palace, when Mission civilian staff also lived in trailers, even though the NEC still received rocket fire most months. An overhead protective cover project for the trailers was to be completed by mid-2010, some 18 months after the trailer park was occupied.

Other semiotic clues might be found in the Army-Air Force Exchange outlet (the "PX" or "BX") on the NEC. This was presumably there only because of the military population, but stocked several shelves of wines and liquors that could be sold only to non-DoD staff, as well as kitchen items and foodstuffs of little use in the trailers; on the other hand, it had only a few shelf feet of the military items one would normally find in a PX.[55] Other general benefits to the NEC population from the military trailer dwellers seemed to be the gyms and activities run by Morale, Welfare and Recreation (MWR) teams, and the KBR-run dining facility. Such facilities, like the PX, were not normally found in US embassies. Meanwhile, USAID and the Brinkley Group continued in their own separate compounds.

The separation in living arrangements suggests that the integration was not as close as it could have been, hinting at almost a class division among the joint civilian-military mission, or perhaps an implied idea of the two main teams' comparative importance or relevance to the mission in the eyes of State. The attitude expressed in

[55] Indeed, military members would comment acidly about the complaints they heard from their Mission colleagues regarding the poor quality of the PX's wine selection. The "One Team, One Fight" motto became twisted into "One Team, One PX".

the concern, care and utilization of the physical layouts could indicate that interagency and civilian-military integration is tolerated by the State Department, but not deeply rooted.

Beyond the symbolism of physical layout was the continued cultural clash of military PowerPoint presentations versus State Department cables or memoranda; the daily discipline of the military's Battle Update Assessment versus the Embassy's weekly country team meetings; the writing and updating of a Joint Campaign Plan versus the military OPORDERs versus State's Mission Strategic Plan. This was a continued clash of language, formats and style that detracted from efficient internal communication.

Despite the negative historic comparisons to Vietnam or the protests from diplomats seeking safer assignments, as a result of the civilian surge launched in 2007, the US Mission-Iraq became the largest US mission in the world, with the most expensive embassy.56 These negatives attitudes and protests would be consistent, though, with an internal organizational view of the main mission of the State Department – "State doesn't do war". Importantly, the State Department is the lead federal agency in every country, except when combat is involved, and this is very crucial to the internal view State has of itself, its ethos and its shared set of meanings – State is in charge, even if State itself does not implement. However, the behaviors at the NEC do indicate that the State Department still has some distance to travel if it seeks truly to lead Stability Operations; the remaining distance goes beyond the hurdles of living arrangements, clashing organizational cultures, languages and formats to the tension between "coordinate" and "lead," and to the inherent lack of decision-making power contained within "unity of effort" as opposed to "unity of command".

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[56] "New American Embassy Opens in Baghdad," CNN, 5 January 2009, http://www.cnn.com/2009/WORLD/meast/01/05/iraq.main/index.html

"Coordination" is a weak word in a conflict, or immediate post-conflict setting, especially when dealing with different departments of the same executive branch of the same government expending the same human or financial resources coming from the same citizenry. "Coordination" is appropriate when dealing with IGOs or NGOs that do not respond statutorily or constitutionally to the same executive; but, in the context of the US government, the word "coordination" exudes the sense that US departments and agencies resist the notions of "command" or "in charge", or even "primus enter pares". Action words like "deciding", "directing" and "controlling" are muted by the mere requirement to coordinate; this implies the concept that once an agency has coordinated, cooperation can be volitionally limited according to the outlook of local leadership in theater or agency leadership in Washington. As one writer put it, "Everyone wants coordination, but no one wants to be co-ordinated [sic] by others."[57]

The State Department appears to chafe at the mechanisms required to fully lead and coordinate across the range of government departments and agencies –particularly the DoD, which is likely to dominate the resource base available for post-conflict reconstruction and stabilization missions in human, logistic and security terms. To be truly effective in its presidentially mandated role, the State Department will have to learn how to lead rather than just coordinate; moreover, the Administration in power will have to grant State the authority to lead while cajoling the Congress to provide the necessary financial and human resources.[58] The uniformed services are already more advanced in their structure, doctrine and training, but will still need to learn to coordinate better with their civilian partners and to be true

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[57] Catriona Gourlay, "Partners Apart: Managing Civil-Military Co-Operation in Humanitarian Interventions," *Disarmament Forum*, No. 3, 2000, pp. 33-44, reprinted in *Warfighting*, Book 2, 14th ed., Maxwell Air Force Base, Air University, 2003, p. 421.

[58] NSPD-44 mandated that: "The Secretary of State shall coordinate and *lead* integrated United States Government efforts…." (emphasis mine). This may necessitate a return to "unity of command", even if the command is civilian.

followers when necessary.

Conclusion

Organizations by their very nature tend to respond to their environments with enduring patterns of behavior that are resistant to change.[59] I served in Iraq with wonderful federal employees, contractors, allies, and US service members. The weaknesses observed were rarely personal, but were organizational. The human beings were up to the tasks, but the organizational structures and their modes of behavior need modifications. The ad hockery that comes from a flexible response to real situations encountered on the ground, as opposed to the theoretical or assumed situations that underlie plans, says something positive about how we select, train and use our human resources; it also tells us that we can learn as we go.

Academic literature, though, is replete with examples of the difficulty of promoting lasting change in large, complex human organizations, particularly in military settings. A scary thought is that Stability Operations in the future might look like ORHA, the CPA or IRMO. In such a scenario the chaos of war causes equally chaotic ad hoc organizing in the US whole-of-government response, in a continuation of General Zinni's "ad hoc as status quo" that NSPD-44 and the creation of S/CRS was intended to end once and for all. In short, the previous pattern would endure.

This article sought to describe briefly the clash of cultures between – and the organizational responses of – DoD, the State Department and the rest of government in response to the challenges of OIF. The objective was also to analyze what these observations might tell us about the future prospects for civilian-military integration. The experience of stability operations in OIF is a mixed bag. The DoD

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[59] See Wilson p. 221. Cited in Waddell, p. 349.

and uniformed military are further along in the organizational change process, having re-written their doctrine and revamped their training and units. Placing "stability operations" on a par with offensive and defensive operations is a dramatic change to thinking that suggests an enduring change to the military's subroutines – one which may portend a fundamental change to the military culture.[60] The change in the State Department and the rest of the civilian interagency – minor structural change without adequate budget or personnel – suggests a defensive peripheral change. This may not endure without continued pressure from political leadership external to the agencies and commitment from leading civilian officials inside the agencies.

The OIF experience also suggests that simply relying on coordination through "unity of effort" may yield less than satisfactory results. To be effective in Stability Operations as we now conceive them, State will have to shift its mindset to become more outcome-oriented while developing the ability and desire to lead, and must also be given the clear authority to do so. This will require the common organizational language and common staffing tools normally embedded in a common doctrine.

The seeds of change are planted. Most officers in the Army and the Marines, and many senior officers in the Navy and Air Force, now have years of personal experience in stability operations. The same is true for many officials in the State Department and other civilian agencies. This is a substantial foundation on which to build governmental capability for future operations. The accomplishments in Iraq are worth remembering. Despite the chaotic nature and suboptimal ad hoc organizations, a coalition of 40 nations maintained boots on the ground in combat for almost six years. That effort created an Iraqi Security Force of 700,000, completed thousands of construction and

[60] See the discussion of such changes related to structural and human resource views of organizations in Waddell, pp. 349-369.

civil society projects, and supervised five democratic elections. These positive results came from the quality of the leadership at the top and from the personal commitment of those involved at lower ranks to overcome any cultural or organizational impediments.

The salient question remains: how do we optimize the use of such wonderful resources?

Preparing Civilians for Deployment to Civilian-Military Platforms in Combat Environments: The Evolution of Staffing and Training for the Civilian Mission in Afghanistan

J. Edward Fox

"To advance security, opportunity and justice – not just in Kabul, but from the bottom up in the provinces –
we need agricultural specialists and educators, engineers and lawyers. ...
And that's why I'm ordering a substantial increase in our civilians on the ground."
U.S. President Barack Obama[1]

The challenge

America's national security challenges in the twenty-first century require civil and military agencies to work together to accomplish cross-agency tasks of unprecedented complexity, often to do more with less. The list of security undertakings is a lengthy one. It includes, but is not limited to: fighting terrorism, assisting evolving democracies, combating transnational crime, countering asymmetrical threats to world order, and supporting humanitarian or peace operations. The thread that binds nearly every significant security undertaking is the demand for interagency teamwork.

Even before the 9-11 attack, there was a general recognition of the increasingly complex challenges of the post-Cold War period and a need for an integrated approach. For example, President Clinton cited the need for such a "whole-of-government" approach in his

[1] President Barack Obama, *A New Strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan*, The White House, March 27, 2009.

1998 United States National Security Strategy: "Our response to these threats is not limited exclusively to any one agency. . . . National security preparedness – particularly in this era when domestic and foreign policies are increasingly blurred – crosses agency lines; thus, our approach places a premium on integrated interagency efforts to enhance U.S. security."[2]

With the advent of the conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq, the demands on the military to take on these non-kinetic responsibilities became a major burden and concern. As Secretary of Defense Robert Gates observed in a 2007 speech, "the Department of Defense has taken on many of these burdens that might have been assumed by civilian agencies in the past. … Still, forced by circumstances, our brave men and women in uniform have stepped up to the task, with field artillerymen and tankers building schools and mentoring city councils – usually in a language they don't speak. They have done an admirable job. … and our armed forces will need to institutionalize and retain these non-traditional capabilities. … But it is no replacement for the real thing – civilian involvement and expertise."[3]

Development of Integrated Teams

From the beginning of the Afghan campaign, the war planners recognized the importance of the civilian and developmental aspects of the counter-insurgency strategy (COIN). These elements are needed to expand the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) and Afghan Government reach, and thus improve the chances of success. Among the requirements are three things. First is the need to integrate more skilled civilians into the effort. Second is the need to be able to take the development process to the local level. Third is the importance

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[2] William J. Clinton, *A National Security Strategy for a New Century*, The White House, October 1998, p.6.

[3] Secretary of Defense Robert Gates, speech at Kansas State University, November 27, 2007.

of recognizing that successful development efforts require a secure environment. These requirements led to the creation of U.S.-led Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) in Afghanistan, followed by civilian-led PRTs on a different model in Iraq.[4]

United States Forces-Afghanistan (USFOR-A) established the first PRT in Afghanistan at the end of 2002, at Gardez in Paktia Province, co-located with U.S. Special Forces "A" team members. A Civil Affairs team provided the daily contact with locals and tribal leaders. A contingent of the 2nd Battalion, 504th Infantry Regiment, 82nd Airborne Division provided security in and around the compound. When the PRT became fully operational on February 1, 2003, the civilian complement was a single State Department Foreign Service Officer.[5]

Subsequent PRTs evolved into integrated civilian-military organizations designed to meet these three basic objectives: improve security, extend the reach of the Afghan government, and facilitate reconstruction in priority provinces. In theory, a PRT would be better able to penetrate the more unstable and insecure areas because of its military component. This would enhance the effort to stabilize these areas because of the combined capabilities of its diplomacy, military and development components. In keeping with the overall policy environment at the time, the central focus was on maintaining a light international security "footprint" and on building the capacity of Afghan institutions to address instability in remote, ungoverned regions.

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[4] For a detailed analysis of the challenges facing PRTs and similar platforms in Afghanistan and Iraq, see Christopher M. Schnaubelt, editor, *Operationalizing a Comprehensive Approach in Semi-Permissive Environments,* Forum Paper #9, NATO Defense College, June 2009 at http://www.ndc.nato.int/download/downloads.php?icode=79

[5] Mr. Thomas Praster, now retired, regularly served as Subject Matter Expert at the Interagency Civilian-Military Integration field training in Indiana.

When the capabilities brought by the military component of the PRT are no longer needed, the military will withdraw and move on to the next region. The PRT could then evolve to a more traditional civilian, self-sustaining unit with both diplomatic and development components. Some PRTs in much more unstable areas will require a longer military presence. Others may begin to draw down their military component sooner, once the civilian agencies become more capable of successfully operating without military assistance.

The importance of the PRT to the ISAF mission has become clearer over time. By 2006, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) had concluded in a major field assessment that PRTs have been an effective tool for stabilization in Afghanistan, strengthening provincial and district-level institutions and empowering local leaders who support the central government. In many locations, PRTs have helped create conditions that make increased political, social and economic development possible. Furthermore, USAID recommended actions needed to better coordinate military and civilian preparedness and capabilities: "Military and civilian personnel tour lengths should be aligned to ensure team development, and personnel must have appropriate experience and training for PRT duties. The USG needs to develop team training for all PRT personnel."[6]

By 2008, the typical U.S.-led PRT in Afghanistan was commanded by an Air Force or Navy military officer, generally of the rank of Lieutenant Colonel or Commander (O-5). He/she was supported by an Army civil affairs team, active and reserve Air Force and Navy medical, engineering and public affairs staff, and a platoon of Army National Guard soldiers for security. The staff generally numbered between sixty and one hundred persons. The civilians were often mid-level officers, or short-term new hires to the government.

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[6] U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), *Provincial Reconstruction Teams in Afghanistan an Interagency Assessment* (PN-ADG-252), June 2006.

The typical fully-staffed model featured one Department of State (DOS), one USAID, and one Department of Agriculture (USDA) representative, who together with the military commander, formed an "integrated command team."

Today there are 27 ISAF PRTs in Afghanistan, of which 13 are U.S.-led and the remaining 14 led by non-U.S. NATO allies and partners. In the U.S.-operated PRT, the military commander is the titular head, but in theory no individual department or agency is the lead. The civilians and the military commander often form an executive committee of "equals" which develops a strategy for the PRT. This partnership would draw on the expertise of all contributing agencies as they focus on extending the reach of the central government into the provinces. In reality, this ambiguity of leadership has been the source of some friction between the military and civilian officers. This is in sharp contrast to the more recently formed Iraq PRTs, where civilian control was established from the beginning.

An important part of the evolution of the command structure of the Afghan PRT is the effort to enhance the civilian component and change their image of being mainly military institutions. There has been long been a desire on the part of the civilian side to turn over the lead in the U.S.-run PRTs to civilians rather than military personnel. The first attempt at this effort came in 2006, with the establishment of a civilian-led PRT in the Panjshir Valley. It should also be noted that a number of the non-U.S.-run PRTs have established civilian-led and predominantly civilian-staffed models, beginning with the Netherlands in Taron Kowt in March 2009.[7]

A second step in this direction has been the continuing expansion

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[7] For detailed information on PRTs, to include specific information on each PRT, see Congressional Research Service (CRS) Report RL30588, *Afghanistan: Post-War Governance, Security and U.S. Policy*, by Kenneth Katzman.

of the various civilian-military field platforms. In addition to the PRTs, civilians play an important role in the rapidly expanding use of District Support Teams (DSTs). As described in a New York Times article, the "work of distributing aid and fostering good government has been carried out largely by officials in provincial-reconstruction teams." While the PRTs will continue to do their mission, "the new plan drives the effort to the local level, placing a district-support team in critical areas, especially in the contested south and east of the country."[8]

As a logical next step in the civilian upsurge, the DST is "the diplomatic equivalent of sending soldiers out to remote combat outposts, instead of keeping them on large forward operating bases." The PRTs "are usually based in or near the provincial capital; their primary relationships are built with the local governor and provincial-level officials. This would involve sending diplomats, aid workers or agricultural experts out to critical districts, where they would potentially have the most impact. As the military has learned, building relationships with district sub-governors and local police chiefs is key."[9]

Furthermore, new civilian positions have been created in U.S. military units at the division, brigade and battalion level. These subject-matter experts provide guidance and programming on development, governance, agriculture and rule of law directly to their military counterparts, while promoting better civil-military cooperation and understanding. In addition, new positions for civilian planners at all levels ensure that civilian and military planning is integrated in the districts, the provinces, and the capital.

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[8] "Afghanistan's Civic War", James Traub, *The New York Times*, 06/15/2010.

[9] "Danger Room in Afghanistan: Crossing the District Line", Nathan Hodge, *Wired Magazine*, November 2009.

Integrated Civilian-Military Training

In March 2009, the Obama Administration undertook a strategic review of U.S. Afghanistan policy that eventually resulted in a comprehensive new strategy for the U.S. and ISAF forces. The degree to which the civilian component had become an integral part of that strategy became clear over the next several months.

Later that summer, General Stanley McChrystal, the newly appointed U.S. and ISAF Commander, drafted a comprehensive overview of the situation. He stated in very stark terms that a "failure to gain the initiative and reverse insurgent momentum in the near-term (next 12 months) – while Afghan security capacity matures – risks an outcome where defeating the insurgency is no longer possible." He continued that "Afghan social, political, economic, and cultural affairs are complex and poorly understood. ISAF does not sufficiently appreciate the dynamics in local communities, nor how the insurgency, corruption, incompetent officials, power-brokers, and criminality all combine to affect the Afghan population."[10] All of these challenges require the help of civilian expertise and experience.

To achieve this objective, he recommended a new way forward in the region that requires a significant increase of the number of US civilians. This new version of the Counterinsurgency approach recognizes that the reconstruction and development mission needs as much attention as the military mission, particularly in areas outside the Afghan Capital. To better integrate this parallel 'civilian surge' or civilian 'uplift' (as it is now called) requires better civil-military coordination by all U.S. government civilian agencies, as well as a new allocation and usage model for these resources. In his report to Secretary Gates on the new strategy, McChrystal declared flatly that:

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[10] Memo from General McChrystal to the Secretary Gates, *Initial United States Forces -Afghanistan (USFOR-A) Assessment*, August 30, 2009.

"ISAF cannot succeed without a corresponding cadre of civilian experts to support the change in strategy and capitalize on the expansion and acceleration of counterinsurgency efforts", including "immediate and rapid expansion into newly secured areas."[11]

The traditional view of civil-military integration had always acknowledged a role for civilian expertise and participation in post-conflict, non-kinetic reconstruction and stabilization operations. These missions generally followed natural disasters and post-conflict reconstruction and stabilization situations. Such an approach also included support of long-term development projects which the military was more than willing to hand over to its civilian counterparts. Such tasks involve skills and timelines that the military does not have or cannot effectively support.

Now, however, the new COIN doctrine envisions conducting these very operations while kinetic operations are underway. Its priority is not development per se, but to help pacify the local population through short-term efforts as a means of defeating the insurgency. Insuring civil-military cooperation and operations integration is therefore much more critical to this kind of military strategy. As pointed out by military analyst Tony Cordesman in his overview of the new Obama strategy, "This is war, not post-conflict reconstruction. Integrated civil-military operations must begin to be successful in the field in 2010-2011, or the war will be lost."[12]

Predeployment Training in the Past

In the beginning, the U.S.-led PRTs were formed in theater

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[11] Ibid.

[12] Anthony Cordesman, *The Afghan War: A Campaign Overview - Finding the Path to Victory: The Afghan Campaign and the Tools Needed to Win It*, Center for Strategic and International Studies, June 2010.

without the personnel (military or civilian) having prior contact or collective familiarization with the culture in which they would work, be it the culture of civilian or military integration or that of a foreign land (particularly the military). Teams could include a mix of service personnel from the regular Army, Navy and Air Force to reserves and National Guard, in addition to representatives from various civilian agencies and departments. However, the challenges of a lack of civil-military coordination and standard operating procedures were further compounded by unsynchronized length of tour arrangements and arrival/departure dates for military and civilian members. Over time, however, the case has been made that uniformed rotations can negatively affect continuity and institutional memory; thus the military is now exploring ways to stagger the deployment cycles for PRTs.

By 2006, military personnel assigned to deploying PRT units were required to report to Fort Bragg, North Carolina for several weeks (up to three months) of pre-deployment unit training. Civilian PRT training, on the other hand, was initially ad-hoc, inconsistent and generally not mandatory. Most civilians were offered a general U.S. Department of State Diplomatic Security counter-threat course. A few State Department Foreign Service Officers received Dari or Pashto language training. Most positions, however, did not include language training. In some cases, a two-week area studies course on Afghanistan and South Asia was offered, but only at certain times during the year.

Beginning in March 2007, some deploying civilians were required to train with the military at Fort Bragg. As a result, the State Department and USAID soon developed a companion three-week training module that included courses on military culture and planning, weapons familiarization, and basic combat lifesaving skills. In addition, they were also given a chance to participate in the Fort Bragg final combined military “mission readiness exercise” (MRX). However, this civilian training option was very limited because the

military PRT deployment schedule was limited to one training cycle every nine months. Because of the unsynchronized assignment and deployment cycles, some civilians trained with PRTs that had deployed and completed much of their tour before the civilians arrived at their post.

Civilian Training for, by and about Civilians

In January 2009, there were 320 official U.S. Government civilians working throughout Afghanistan as a part of the overall effort, with the vast majority assigned to U.S. Embassy Kabul. By January 2010, that number had climbed to nearly 1,000 in response to the President's call. In addition, there were plans to expand the civilian footprint even more. These new civilian hires included civil service employees, retirees, former private sector specialists, and other Federal employees from across the government. While many of the new hires brought specific, needed skill sets, and extensive overseas experience, most did not have prior exposure to working in Afghanistan, in a war zone, or under an Embassy structure. The increasing pressure to put more civilians in the field has led to the realization that there was an urgent need for a new approach to training. The general view was in favor of something similar to what was being done at Fort Bragg, but available more often than just every nine months.

The debate about the need for more formal civilian training came to a head on May 2, 2009. The Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan (SRAP), Ambassador Richard Holbrooke, and the Commander for U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM), General David Petraeus, had met to discuss, among other things, the urgent need to address this issue. Ambassador Holbrooke acknowledged that "one of our greatest weaknesses in Afghanistan is the lack of adequately coordinated U.S. civilian and military activities at every level from Kabul to the local villages." General Petraeus concurred

by responding that "we need to fix this through appropriate training at home." Holbrooke agreed, indicating that "this is exactly the problem and we need to collectively fix the training inadequacies."[13] This led to the decision to authorize for the first time an integrated and interagency approach to civilian training that better reflects the true US mission in Afghanistan.

In response, a SRAP Interagency Training Working Group was formed to develop a civilian-military training program for Afghanistan-bound civilians. As stated by the Working Group chair, SRAP Senior Advisor Dereck Hogan, the proposed civilian training was "about getting them prepared enough so they can hit the ground running, so they can know what they're getting into before they get out there." The primary partners in the working group included the State Department's SRAP and S/CRS (Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization), as well as USAID/OMA (Office of Military Affairs), the Office of the Secretary of Defense Policy and Resources (OSD P&R) and the Indiana National Guard. The objective of the training would be also to meet a Congressional directive to "ensure that civilian personnel assigned to serve in Afghanistan receive civilian-military coordination training that focuses on counter-insurgency and stability operations."[14]

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[13] Policy discussion between Ambassador Richard Holbrooke and General David Petraeus, National Defense University, May 2, 2009.

[14] Amendment offered by Senators Kaufman, Lugar and Reed on May 20, 2009 to the bill H.R. 2346, making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2009, and for other purposes, as follows:

"On page 71, between lines 13 and 14, insert the following:

(g) Training in Civilian-Military Coordination. – The Secretary of State, in consultation with the Secretary of Defense, shall seek to ensure that civilian personnel assigned to serve in Afghanistan receive civilian-military coordination training that focuses on counterinsurgency and stability operations, and shall submit a report to the Committees on Appropriations and Foreign Relations of the Senate and the Committees on Appropriations and Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives not later than 90 days after the date of the enactment of this Act detailing how such training addresses current and future civilian-military coordination requirements."

Civilian Course Development

The Working Group's mandate was to create a robust, mandatory multi-week training program that would cover politics, history, culture and policy as well as anti-corruption and good governance practices, agricultural and community development. The only specific instructions were to proceed based upon three major assumptions. First, the training was needed as soon as possible and was in direct response to the requests made by the SRAP, the CENTCOM Commander, and Congressional oversight committees. Second, the various participating civilian agencies across the government would be asked to step up and proportionally provide the Subject Matter Experts (SMEs) funding for Afghan role-players, and also cover the related logistics expenses. Finally, the training would be made mandatory for all United States Government civilians being deployed to Afghanistan under Chief of Mission authority.[15]

The State Department's Foreign Service Institute (FSI) was charged with developing and delivering the new training curriculum. While the FSI's Area Studies programs previously conducted Afghanistan- and Iraq-related training, this new effort would be led by the Stability Operations Division. This division serves as FSI's umbrella for interagency training for cross-cutting stabilization efforts. Its staff included Foreign Service Officers, country experts, educational specialists, and a military liaison officer (added in May 2010). The courses draw expert speakers from across the U.S. government, NGO community and academia. Students come from multiple agencies: State, USAID, DOD, USDA, Commerce, Justice, Treasury, DHS, HHS and others.

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[15] Department of Defense (DoD) civilians enter the theater under COCOM authority and do not go through the FSI training. However, the DoD's new Civilian Expedition Workforce (CEW) and Ministry of Defense Advisor (MODA) programs have incorporated elements of the FSI field immersion exercises in their training regiments.

In addition, the Working Group specifically recommended the addition of a one-week, field-based immersion program focused on civil-military integration. This new Interagency Civilian-Military Integration Field Training[16] would be conducted at the Muscatatuck Urban Training Center (MUTC) in South Central Indiana. MUTC is a component of the Camp Atterbury - Muscatatuck Center for Complex Operations (CA-MCCO), a consortium of the U.S. Army, Indiana National Guard, Purdue and Indiana Universities, and several other partners. Muscatatuck offers a unique setting superbly suited for immersive civilian and military training. Ongoing military exercises occur simultaneously with civilian training, creating an environment that realistically approximates the conditions most personnel will face when deployed. CA-MCCO is also the current training site for all uniformed Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT) members deploying to both Iraq and Afghanistan.

In building the new training course, the FSI enlisted the direct collaboration of three critical players in its design and implementation. They brought together and worked directly with key partners such as the Office of the Under-Secretary of Defense (P&R),[17] the main training arm of the Pentagon, the Indiana National Guard[18] (to provide security operations, and access to Camp Atterbury and the CA-MCCO), and McKellar Corporation[19] (a leading defense consulting firm specializing in training policy and management). Together they created the majority of the vignettes for the program, designed the field immersion exercises, and provided for simulated security operations. The first class was graduated in June 2009. Since that time, nearly 400

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[16] The Interagency Civilian-Military Integration Training Program is also referred to by its FSI course identification number RS512.

[17] Frank C. Di Giovanni, Director, Readiness and Training Policy and Programs, Office of the Deputy Under Secretary of Defense (Readiness), The Pentagon, Washington D.C.

[18] Brigadier General Clif Tooley, Commander**,** Camp Atterbury and Muscatatuck Center for Complex Operations.

[19] James W. McKellar, President, McKellar Corporation, Virginia Beach, VA.

civilians[20] government-wide have completed the training and deployed to Afghanistan.

Field Learning Objectives

The field immersion training course is built around helping the civilians achieve seven basic objectives. These objectives are designed to help them succeed in their civilian missions by exposing them in advance to the most challenging aspects of living and working on a PRT, operating in a military environment, and contending with the challenges of a conflict zone.

The first objective is to prepare the civilians to operate more effectively in a complex environment. The "whole-of-government" approach has produced new training needs. Given the increased demand for civilians, many positions have been filled with non-government individuals hired specifically for Afghanistan. Others have been recruited from U.S. government agencies for their technical skill sets such as agriculture, finance, and commercial or legal expertise. Unlike most officers from the State Department or USAID, some of these civilians being deployed to Afghanistan lack some of the most basic experience and understanding of the challenges of living abroad and working in a cross-cultural environment in the developing world. In addition, even the most seasoned diplomats and aid workers face new challenges in learning to live and work among uniformed forces in a conflict zone.

The second objective is to understand the organization, role, capabilities and limitations of Platoon- to Brigade- and Regiment-sized military units. Some of the civilians, particularly those with prior service,

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[20] As of September 2010, 395 students have completed the FSI training, including 142 from State, 186 from USAID, 35 from USDA, 12 from DoJ, 6 from Treasury, and 14 from DoD.

may have a general understanding of how the military is organized and operates. Increasingly, however, in the post-conscription era of the all-volunteer military, most civilians have never been exposed to, much less worked directly with, military organizations. Even for those with prior experience, it is extremely useful to review such things since the deploying civilians will likely be embedded in such organizations. Their ability to understand the operating environment in Afghanistan will directly affect their ability to do their job.

The third objective is to develop an understanding of the internal functioning of a Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT), District Support Team (DST), Joint Task Force, International Security Assistance Force, Afghan District, and Provincial and National Government. To work effectively in this new environment, they must not only know their respective roles, but also the roles of those around them with whom they must work and on whom they must depend to succeed. They need to understand in some detail their organization, functions, capabilities and limitations.

The fourth objective is to understand better the complexity of development in a counterinsurgency (COIN) or stability operations environment. The PRT is not a "traditional development" platform, but a COIN platform. Civilians need to understand the difference fully. They also need to understand the COIN doctrine, particularly as it is now being articulated and carried out in the Afghan context under the leadership of General Petraeus.

The fifth objective is to demonstrate an ability to interact and work with their Afghan counterparts. First and foremost, this means learning effective communication with and through an interpreter. They need a basic understanding of customs, culture and interactions with the Afghan people at different levels of society, including at the PRT, in the government (civilian, military, and police) and with the

general population.

The sixth objective is to demonstrate an understanding and an ability to interact and collaborate with external stakeholders. Successful strategies will often require that civilians learn to work with, and integrate activities with, other international or non-governmental organizations. These will include, but are not limited to, NATO/ ISAF, international organizations (UN, IOM, etc.), non-governmental organizations (NGOs), donors, and the private sector.

The seventh and final objective is to be able to analyze their mission performance.

Civilians above all must be able to assess the external environment by identifying such things as drivers of conflict and needs of the population. They will need to be able to plan and critique activities, compare and contrast options, and prioritize activities and resources.

These objectives are taught and achieved through the use of a course model based on student immersion. They are integrated within a functioning (simulated) PRT in "Afghanistan" that is co-located with a Brigade HQ on a Forward Operating Base (FOB). All activities outside the FOB require civilian-military planning, coordination at multiple civilian and military levels, civilian and military participation, and collective activity assessment and reporting. While not all trainees are destined for duty on a PRT, all of them will be working in an interagency environment and can thus benefit from this training.

Field Course Design

The field course objective is to simulate as much as possible

situations that deployed civilians might encounter in Afghanistan, from meetings with the governor to planning an all-day convoy to a distant village. A variety of issues including health, agriculture, women's rights, corruption, and consequence management are all woven into a week-long storyline, depending on the current in-country priorities. Prior PRT commanders and civilians are recruited to serve as trainers and mentors.

Trainees live on a FOB and travel by armed High Mobility Multipurpose Wheeled Vehicle (HMMWV) convoys and helicopters to meetings with their Afghan counterparts, played by Afghan-American role-players. They plan, implement, review and evaluate their missions alongside U.S. military personnel. The simulated encounters with Afghan counterparts take place on the campus of the Muscatatuck Center for Complex Operations in realistic, mock Afghan government buildings, marketplaces, farms and jails. The training vignettes require trainees to work through interpreters to collect information, build relationships, and negotiate sensitive situations with Afghan counterparts. Interestingly, most are Afghan expatriates and native speakers, many of whom have just recently fled the violence and are not yet US citizens, but are eager to offer their help. They consider such training to be vital to their country's ability to improve conditions.

The five-day, integrated civilian-military training program at Muscatatuck Center for Complex Operations is designed to train civilian and military attendees vertically from the field/tactical level up to Mission/Force Commander Staff level. Concurrently, the training offers horizontal learning across civilian and military levels through the use of "templated" organizations that provide real-time and ongoing challenges to the training audiences. The core training organization, for example, offers a templated Brigade Commander and Staff along with a paired PRT. Subordinate to the Brigade Headquarters are staffs at each level – Battalion, Company and Platoon – for the civilian

trainees to interface with and learn the organization, capabilities and limitations of each.

On the civilian side, the newly conceived District Support Team (DST) is templated and paired at the maneuver company level, where its mission is matched with that of the units the DST will work with in Afghanistan. The PRT and DST are located in the same province, requiring "nesting" of support plans and activities at multiple levels. This presents trainees with a challenging and realistic opportunity to be immersed in the complexity of work in Afghanistan. Civilian trainees can thus 'plug' into either military or civilian staffs and simulate the activity they will have to perform upon arrival in the country. Assisted by its interagency partners, Muscatatuck Center for Complex Operations provides the challenges offered by in-country and national-level organizations. The concurrent activities at the provincial and district level forces trainees to coordinate and synchronize the planning of activities prior to execution, lest they suffer the consequences of multiple orders of effect as they carry out their activities.

Day-by-day Field Schedule

The five-day course begins upon the arrival of the student trainees in Indiana, as they spend a day in the routine of Reception, Staging, Onward Movement, and Integration (RSOI) into their assigned roles. This "Zero Day" concludes with all trainees on their assigned Forward Operating Base (FOB), their equipment, workspaces and living spaces assigned.

Day One, "Mission Preparation," involves a departure from the FOB for key leader engagements. Trainees learn the mission cycle by planning and rehearsing integrated civilian and military activities.

At the conclusion of Day One, students conduct after-action reviews and a Brigade Staff battle update brief (BUB), under the coaching and mentoring of trainers as well as observer controllers.

On Day Two, "Working Outside the Wire," students continue their missions in the face of diminished security, surprise venue changes, and an ambush. Each trainee will participate in both "high-side" meetings with officials and opinion leaders, and "low-side" visits with farmers and state functionaries. The vignettes on Days Two and Three require increased planning and initiative on the part of the trainees as they investigate reports of corruption, collect information on Afghan legal institutions, and deal with the consequences of an errant U.S. air strike.

On Day Three, "Synchronizing for Success," students are introduced to the complexities of election preparations as well as issues involving local corruption. They also prepare for and (this time) do the actual briefing of the Brigade Staff at a BUB. At the conclusion of Day Three, trainees are successfully planning and organizing for the fourth and final set of vignettes on Day Four.

Day Four, "Connecting People with the Government," simulates the synchronization of activities across the network of players with a stake in the province. The coaches and mentors are now involved in assisting the learning audience in the useful and practical techniques of vertical and horizontal integration among Afghan, U.S., ISAF and all other in-country players. Trainees then prepare for a briefing of the "Ambassador", including an assessment of the situation in the province and their proposed solutions to the challenges.

On Day Five, "Towards Sustainable Development," students meet with and brief the "Ambassador" on their experiences and make recommendations on the future course of action. They also provide

a collective after-action review of the course, to capture the trainees' experiences, perspectives and lessons learned.

Vignette Training Overview

The primary course teaching tool for the field exercises is the use of vignette exercises. They allow the students to comprehend and practice the conduct of PRT-level engagements outside a FOB through a series of encounters with Afghan counterparts, including farmers, merchants, civil servants, police, and government, religious and tribal leaders.

Working in small groups, the students plan encounters with Afghan role-players, and lead and participate in these encounters. Each group works with the support and supervision of a team of mentors composed of a PRT commander, a civilian government mentor, a military Civil Affairs mentor, and a military Observer-Controller/Trainer. They also have access to SMEs from the Department of State, the Department of Agriculture and the USAID, as well as Afghan-American bilingual/bicultural advisers.

Students will either depart from the FOB in HMMWV convoys or by helicopter. They will also engage role-players at the FOB's Civil Military Operations Center (CMOC). The groups conduct separate engagements and then regroup at the FOB to review their experiences in an After Action Review (AAR), and update other members of the PRT on their findings. After that, they begin to plan the next day's engagements. The teams also prepare and brief the Brigade Staff at the prior described Battle Update Brief (BUB). Finally, as a culminating activity, the teams prepare a summary of their activities as well as any recommendations they might have for the Ambassador brief.

The background, learning objectives, materials and role-play talking points for these encounters (or vignettes) are pre-scripted and provided to support staff in advance. The vignettes are generally composed of “high-side” and “low-side” encounters. High-side encounters address mission and task force issues with high-ranking government officials and leaders, while low-side encounters address field and tactical issues with villagers and lower-ranking civil servants. Each group will work on both levels to give each student a thorough learning experience.

The first vignette begins on the afternoon of the first full day. In this scenario, the students are replacing outgoing civilian members of an existing PRT (played by SMEs, mentors or trainers). The initial mission key leader engagement has therefore already been scripted. The group mentors lead Vignette 1 while the students observe and support. As training progresses, engagements are increasingly planned and executed by the students while the trainers step into an observer role. By Vignette 5, students are fully able to plan and lead their engagements. Many of the encounters will be prompted or introduced by prior CMOC engagements.

Upon completion of the final vignette, the students are expected to understand the processes, techniques and procedures for conducting engagements in a semi-permissive environment. They should feel confident coordinating with their military counterparts, and appreciate the relationship of their activities with those of the military and the Afghan population. They should be able to demonstrate an ability to interact and collaborate with external stakeholders and their Afghan counterparts. At the end of the exercise, students will be able to plan, prepare, execute and assess activities related to post-conflict reconstruction and stabilization outside the protection of the FOB.

Along with the training, the FSI has also developed support

platforms for the pre- and post-deployment phases. On the front end, they have created the Office of Orientation and In-processing which handles travel, logistics and administrative issues for most civilians – registration for classes, passports and visas, travel and allowances, and ensuing paperwork. This is particularly useful for those employees new to the federal government. On the back end, they have established the transition center to offer a seminar and outreach program designed to help civilians readjust to life outside after high-stress postings.

Observations

After a recent visit to the Muscatatuck training site, Deputy Secretary of State Jack Lew stated the following:

> "I think it's important to recognize that this is a new approach to training. The traditional approach to training was the military trained the military and civilians trained civilians. This is truly a joint venture. This is military-civilian cooperation beginning with the training and the preparation so that when our folks go out and when they're going to be living together and working together, they know what that's going to look like. They can't be prepared for every situation, but they can be prepared for many kinds of situations. And there are really two aspects to it. One is the training to – for civilians to work in a military setting, which many of the PRTs and the forward-operating bases are. And there's also training to work in an environment that is uniquely challenging, as the Afghan environment is."[21]

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[21] Jacob J. Lew, Deputy Secretary of State for Management and Resources, Press Conference, Camp Atterbury-Muscatatuck Center for Complex Operations, Indiana, November 19, 2009.

The training is still evolving. As the overall mission changes in Afghanistan, and as the civilian staff grows, more areas are identified where civilian and military missions can be integrated. Interagency training for integrated operations lies at the core of the efforts to prepare civilians for Afghanistan. Anecdotal evidence suggests that the field training in particular helps new hires adapt to the military culture, and understand the war zone environment. It helps prepare civilians for working with Afghans and other agencies. It also allows civilians to become more effective faster upon arrival in-country. In addition, it provides an appropriate level of civil-military interaction and training, often sought but rarely achieved by military-only training supported by civilian role-players.

In addition to the civilian training and related changes, other steps have been taken in the field to improve overall civil-military coordination and cooperation. For instance, in the past, civilians in the field (PRTs and elsewhere) were answerable to their superiors in the traditional "Embassy" horizontal reporting model. A State Department officer attached to a PRT would report directly to the Embassy's PRT office in Kabul. Likewise, a USAID officer would report to the USAID mission PRT office (two separate offices located on the same USG compound). Now, a civilian field structure has been created that matches the military chain of command. This has led to the creation of civilian partners and counterparts at every level. All the civilians at the PRT now come under the leadership of a designated civilian, and they all report to a civilian at the Battalion level, who reports to a civilian at the Brigade level.

Over time additional needs and assumptions have emerged, including the eventual civilian control of PRTs (as in Iraq) and newly forming DSTs. This will mean a larger role and responsibility for the State Department and other civilian agencies as they assume command. Additional comprehensive training will clearly be needed. However,

in response to the current challenges several questions remain: What has been the assessment so far? What has been achieved so far? How ground-breaking has it been? How responsive has it been to needs? Thus far, this new approach to civilian-military training has developed responsively to the challenges of the PRT mission. The new field training has met these challenges through ground-breaking accomplishments which can be summed up under the following headings:

Accomplishments

- Implementation of a fully immersive final exercise simulating the environment, work tempo and typical challenges of interagency civilians deployed in Afghanistan, preparing them to be more effective in the field and to need less time to adapt to their surroundings.
- Leveraging of the coordinated initiative and commitment of key actors in the whole-of-government reconstruction and stabilization effort – the National Guard bureau, the Indiana National Guard, USAID, State Department, USDA, U.S. Army Civil Affairs and, during one training exercise, a Marine Expeditionary Unit. These organizations have each contributed to varying degrees from their own resources, without special funding or compensation from the lead agency, to make the training successful.
- Application of classroom learning at FSI to real-world situations. This provides students with the confidence and experience they need to work effectively overseas.

Ground-breaking

- Equipping students to train simultaneously on two cross-culture objectives: working with the military

and working with Afghans.

- Establishing the first civilian-military training program to focus primarily on the training requirements of interagency civilians, rather than those of the military.
- Embedding students in a thoroughly immersive civilian-military training environment – the Forward Operating Base at Muscatatuck Urban Training Center. Students set out from the FOB each day with their SECFOR in HMMWV convoys, to carry out engagements with Afghan role-players.
- Use of Afghan role-players in non-kinetic scenarios, to simulate encounters focused on interagency civilians deployed in Afghanistan.
- Unprecedented degree of interagency and civilian-military cooperation in preparation and implementation.

<u>Responsive</u>

- Course designed specifically to meet the training requirements of interagency civilians for the Afghanistan civilian uplift (civilian-oriented, immersive, Afghanistan-specific).
- Development of training in less than two months – from conception to implementation – in order to meet the immediate requirements of the civilian uplift.
- Monthly frequency, in order to keep pace with personnel requirements in the field.
- Maximized efficiency of training time by training multiple objectives simultaneously (i.e. convoy safety, civilian-military planning, development issues and obstacles in Afghanistan, and using interpreters). Since many of these civilians deployed on 12-month contracts, a crucial requirement

was training to become effective quickly in theater.

- Month-to-month adaptation to changes in training requirements, based on the evolving political and military situation in Afghanistan, with input provided by trainers fresh from the field and a comprehensive monthly review process.
- Subject Matter Experts, some recently returned from Afghanistan, working with students throughout the week to provide guidance and answer questions as they arise.
- Adaptation of training to meet ongoing feedback by SMEs/Mentors and students.

James McKellar, who helped design the course and continues to run the program as Project Manager for FSI, said he observed firsthand during his time in Iraq how Defense Department civilian workers without training were thrown into situations for which they weren't prepared: "In some cases, people got to Iraq and just quit. They got to the Green Zone and said, 'This is not what I signed up for.' " The civilian side didn't know what the military was doing and the military didn't know what the civilians were doing: "Civilians were more afraid of getting on a helicopter than they were of al-Qaida." He clearly believes that the answer is training. As McKellar sums it up, "civilian-military training allows deploying civilians to do their jobs better, sooner."

Recommendations

The ISAF strategic vision, beginning in 2008, has included a pledge by NATO to "provide all the PRTs the training needed to enhance their unity of effort, strengthen their civilian component and further align their development strategies with Afghan Government priorities until such time as Afghan Government institutions are strong

enough to render PRTs unnecessary."[22]

One specific policy recommendation for improving ISAF PRTs, so as to facilitate reconstruction and development, is that minimum-standard predeployment training should be instituted for both military and civilian ISAF PRT components, including orientation on the role and operating norms of the civilian assistance community. This is exactly the recommendation made by Natasha T. Adams in her study of the role of NATO PRTs in development in Afghanistan: "A training program similar to the US three-week interagency Afghan PRT predeployment training program conducted at the State Department Foreign Service Institute and a U.S. military base could serve as a model because it brings together both military and civilian PRT personnel for a broad-based training program to develop their relationships and provide practical training for work on the ground."[23]

As General Stanley McChrystal stated in his summer 2009 memorandum to Secretary Gates (and General Petraeus has recently re-affirmed): "ISAF cannot succeed without a corresponding cadre of civilian experts to support the change in strategy and capitalize on the expansion and acceleration of counterinsurgency efforts," including "immediate and rapid expansion into newly secured areas".[24]

Efforts should be made, if possible, to provide fully integrated civilian-military training across the board in ISAF operations. This would mean that civilians would no longer participate just as "role-players," but with true civilian learning objectives integrated into the overall uniformed PRT exercises. It should not only bring together

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[22] *Declaration by the Heads of State and Government of the Nations contributing to the UN-mandated NATO-led International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan,* NATO, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_8444.htm, 05/03/2008.

[23] Natasha T. Adams, *Policy Options for State-building in Afghanistan: The Role of NATO PRTs in Development in Afghanistan*; Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), 05/13/2009.

[24] Memo from General McChrystal to Secretary Gates, *Initial United States Forces -Afghanistan (USFOR-A) Assessment*, August 30, 2009.

military and civilian components, but should include people who have previously served in PRTs, both military and civilian. All participating organizations should receive comprehensive briefings on PRT guidance and the roles, responsibilities and authorities of different actors. The training briefings should also provide candid discussions about the challenges past PRTs faced, as well as the strengths and weaknesses of all participating groups.

By using a variety of training methods, trainers can increase success rates among a wider variety of students. Methods that have proved effective include classroom presentations and briefings, round-table discussions with experts from inside and outside the government, coaching and mentoring, and role-playing in complex scenarios designed to simulate conditions in-country. Military personnel should provide force protection training for civilians to ensure the security of PRTs and those working directly with PRTs.

No Strategy, Please, We're German – The Eight Elements that Shaped German Strategic Culture

Jan Techau

Introduction

As Germany has entered its third post-unification decade, questions about where it stands as a foreign policy player and as a leader in Europe abound. German government policies on foreign and security issues seem to be inconsistent and hard to classify. Most observers seem to agree that the foreign policy posture of the country has changed since 1990. Some say it has only changed fairly recently. But into what it has changed to seems to be less clear. Studies and articles trying to assess the country's course are numerous. Almost all of them focus on German positions, actions and the motivations of the government's leading personnel.

Another way, however, of assessing a country as a foreign policy player is to look at its strategic culture, i.e. the long-term "soft" factors shaping foreign policy, defense and security decisions. This article will attempt to define, if not "the" strategic culture as such, at least some of the decisive factors shaping this culture as it currently prevails in Germany.[1] It will attempt to provide an additional tool for

[1] A small handful of articles have been written on the subject of German strategic culture. Many of them offer excellent original insights on the topic or provide useful theoretical approaches. None of them, however, takes a closer look at the underlying root causes for key German choices such as "restraint" or "multilateralism". Instead, they let these aspects stand as starting points of their deliberations. This paper attempts to fill that gap, thereby adding to the valuable work done by other scholars on this issue. The aforementioned studies include: Anja Dalgaard-Nielsen, The Test of Strategic Culture: Germany, Pacifism and Pre-emptive Strikes, in: *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 36, No. 3, September 2005, pp. 339-359, Arthur Hoffmann and Kerry Longhurst, German Strategic Culture in Action, in *Contemporary Security*

analysts and political practitioners to better understand the positions and the behaviour of a country with a very special past and a crucial role for the future of Europe.

Strategic Culture as an Analytical Concept

While the interconnectedness of culture and political behaviour was already known to ancient authors like Thucydides, the concept of strategic culture as a systematic analytical tool in policy analysis first emerged in the United States in the late 1970s. The West's strategy of deterrence at that time developed out of the ongoing Cold War debate about the concept of nuclear deterrence. Against this background, scholars such as Colin Gray, Jack Snyder and Carnes Lord suggested that the effectiveness and, indeed, the entire rationale of Western strategy hinged on the fact that the two opposing parties subscribed to the same fundamental assumptions about the use of military force and, more basically, about the value of human life and one's own survival.[2] The concept of deterrence as followed by the West would be made useless, they argued, if the Soviet Union, infused by revolutionary communist zeal, considered the goal of overcoming capitalism and Western-style open societies so valuable as to willingly sacrifice its own existence. For the entire concept of deterrence with its reliance on power and counter-power was based on the assumption that also the Soviets, in the end, wanted to survive, just as everybody else did, and that mutually assured destruction would therefore render any Soviet

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Policy, Vol. 20, No. 2, August 1999, pp. 31-49; Constanze Stelzenmüller, *Die selbstgefesselte Republik*, in Internationale Politik, Januar/Februar 2010, pp. 76-81; Daniel Göler, *Die strategische Kultur der Bundesrepublik – Eine Bestandsaufnahme normativer Vorstellungen über den Einsatz militärischer Mittel*, in Angelika Dörfler-Dierken and Gerd Portugall (eds.), *Friedensethik und Sicherheitspolitik*, Wiesbaden: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2010, pp. *Weißbuch 2006 und EKD-Friedensdenkschrift 2007 in der Diskussion* 185-199; Sebastian Harnisch and Raimund Wolf, *Germany-The continuity of change*, in Emil J. Kirchner and James Sperling (eds.), *National Security Cultures*, London: Routlegde, 2010, pp. 43-65.

[2] See: Jack L. Snyder, *The Soviet Strategic Culture: Implications for Nuclear Options*, R-2154-AF, Santa Monica: The Rand Corporation, 1977; Colin S. Gray, *Nuclear Strategy and National Style*, Lanham, Hamilton Press, 1986.

nuclear attack on the West meaningless – and thus prevent it from happening.

According to this school of thought it was therefore of critical importance to undertake a deep analysis of Soviet strategic culture, i.e. the underlying soft factors informing Moscow's policy decisions. Generally speaking, these soft factors typically include patterns of social and political conduct in a given political system, its typical policy preferences, its preferred mode of conflict resolution, its values, tastes and customs. Despite the lack of a cohesive theoretical model and frequent accusations of loftiness and imprecision, the concept of strategic culture has, since then, widely gained traction in academic and foreign policy debate.[3]

This paper defines strategic culture as follows:

> *Strategic Culture is that set of shared beliefs, assumptions, and modes of behavior, derived from common experiences and accepted narratives (both oral and written), that shape collective identity and relationships to other groups, and which determine appropriate ends and means for achieving foreign policy and security objectives.*[4]

It is noteworthy that this definition does not confine the term "strategy" exclusively to the military realm. Instead, it widens the concept of strategy to encompass the full range of a nation's external affairs. The reason is simple. War never stands isolated from the politics that preceded it, brought it about, or seeks to prevent or end

[3] For a good survey of the history of the academic debate about strategic culture and the contending theoretical approaches, see Alastair Iain Johnston, Thinking about Strategic Culture, in *International Security*, Vol. 19, No. 4, Spring 1995, pp. 32-64.

[4] This definition is an adapted version of the one used by Jeannie L. Johnson and Jeffrey A. Larsen in their Comparative Strategic Culture Course for the U.S. Government's Defense Threat Reduction Agency. See Jeannie L. Johnson and Jeffrey A. Larsen, *Comparative Strategic Cultures Syllabus*, 20 November 2006, at. http://www.fas.org/irp/agency/dod/dtra/syllabus.pdf (accessed on 11 September 2010).

it. Clausewitz was right; war belongs in the realm of the political. This is doubly true today, in the age of the Comprehensive Approach, with its emphasis on embedding military action into a wider civilian, economic, cultural and environmental game plan. Strategic culture is that sub-section of the political culture of a state or a nation that relates to all of its external dealings, including the use of military force.

In Search of Germany's Strategic Culture

Today's German strategic culture is almost entirely a product of the post-World War II era. In the late 1940s and early 1950s, this culture emerged, and was framed in deliberate contrast to the country's immediate past. Very few elements of the intellectually rich pre-Nazi era foreign policy and military traditions were embraced after the foundation of the Federal Republic of Germany.[5] The few that were did not have a decisive impact on the country's way of thinking, talking and decision-making in foreign affairs. As a consequence, the post-war German strategic culture is a largely generic one.[6] It therefore lacks the self-assuredness, the sense of direction and purpose, and the natural ease that tend to come from traditions formed over long periods of uninterrupted, evolutionary growth.

Naturally, this can (and probably must) be perceived as a deficit. On the other hand, Germany is the rare case of a political system's successful comprehensive reboot of a political system under

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[5] This paper focuses on post-war developments in West Germany (i.e. the Federal Republic of Germany) only. In the German Democratic Republic, the absence of free public discourse and competitive politics, and the overpowering influence of Soviet thinking created an artificial political culture that lacked legitimacy and collapsed immediately when the Cold War ended. This is not to say that East German notions and attitudes did not have an influence on Germany's strategic culture after unification. Assessing this influence, however, is not the subject of this paper and would require a separate study.

[6] This is not to say that there were no unbroken traditions of German political thinking during that era. Of course there were. The geographic location and the collective memory of a people reach farther back than just a mere 12 years. But these traditions played out differently after 1945 than they did before and were also partly compounded, partly trumped by the new, generic culture that grew out of the mental and physical rubble of the Holocaust and the Second World War.

democratic conditions. In the light of the enormous challenges of the time (i.e. the reconstruction of a functioning and productive society after the deepest imaginable cultural, political, moral, economic and military rupture), this "clean slate" situation could also well be perceived as an advantage.

The political and strategic culture that came out of this reboot is a mosaic of eight key factors. These factors have, between 1949 and now, shaped the German strategic culture and hence German political behaviour. Some of them are closely interlinked and logically emerge as a consequence of others. Some have developed simultaneously but independently. Still others emerged later but turned out to have a lasting impact. Remarkably, the key elements that shaped the strategic culture of the country from the very beginning remain largely intact today.

The First Element: Shame and the Rejection of "Normalcy"

The realization of the full extent of Nazi atrocities and the full scale of crimes committed by Germans during the Second World War and the Holocaust created a lasting, dominant feeling of shame in German society. Shame for the past, to this day, is a powerful sentiment amongst Germans, although its influence on the political culture of the country has somewhat lessened in recent years. In the realm of strategy, shame led the Germans to freely relinquish any claim to self-determined political foreign policy action. Not that they had much of a choice. The country was under strict allied supervision and not to regain substantial sovereignty for some time to come.

But even when putting this harness aside, Germans themselves had a strong feeling that it was morally appropriate to remain passive and not develop too much of a profile for themselves. After the excesses

of the Nazi era, the notion of "normalcy" (whatever its meaning) was rejected. Germans realized that their moral claim to normalcy had been forfeited for quite some time to come. Not being normal, i.e. not having the same rights, obligations and manoeuvring space as other nations had, became the new norm. The culture of guilt, shame and being "abnormal" has so deeply embedded itself in German thinking that this sentiment remain potent today.[7] Still today, claims of German "normalcy", meaning its successful emancipation from the ghosts of the past, and its return to universally applied standards of state behaviour, can lead to significant irritation and publicised dissent.[8]

This had huge ramifications, most importantly in what must be considered the decisive element of any strategy debate: the debate about German interests. As Germans deemed themselves unworthy of normalcy, they also rejected for themselves what was normal for others. Germans started to believe that having interests was deeply inappropriate for them, as it implied that one would actually try to pursue them, potentially against other peoples' interests. Had that not lead to disaster? Should not Germans have learned to be smarter and transcend the selfish non-enlighted notion of interest? Should not everybody act for the common good, not just for one's own?

Whenever the notion of a German interest implied that Germans could possibly act in their own favour instead of pure altruism, Germans reacted with a strong allergic shock. Even in academia,

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[7] Ironically, the rejection of normalcy based on shame was markedly distinct but psychologically related to the traditional and long-standing belief of German cultural exceptionalism which had been a rather powerful element of the newly unified German Empire after 1871.

[8] From among the countless English and German language articles, comments, op-eds and analysis on the issue of German "normalcy" that bear witness to the German (and international) pre-occupation with the notion of German "normalcy", the following examples illustrate the debate: Constanze Stelzenmüller and others, Is Germany Normal?, *The American Interest*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 2009, Hans W. Maull, Normalisierung oder Auszehrung? Deutsche Außenpolitik im Wandel, in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, No. 11, 2008; Timo Behr, The normality debate, in Renaud Dehousse and Elvire Fabry, Where is Germany heading?, *Notre Europe Studies and Research* No. 79, Paris, 2010, pp. 37-44.

talking about interests both in theoretical and in policy-related contexts was met with scepticism, even hostility. This was still quite virulent during the 1990s and, despite a more relaxed atmosphere today, the general suspiciousness Germans feel about interests is still palpable. Politicians try to avoid the word and, when they do use it, often do so in conjunction with qualifying disclaimers. The warped relationship Germans have with the idea of the national interest remains one of the most characteristic traits of the German strategic culture.

Guilt, shame and the rejection of the notion of normalcy have also had an impact on another important realm of strategic culture: the very language used to debate these issues. After 1945, Germans preferred to avoid a whole dictionary's worth of words that had been freely used, and frequently abused, by the Hitler regime. Among the words so tabooed were rather neutral and fundamental terms such as "power", "geopolitics", "nation", "national interest" (as seen above), "war", and even "strategy" itself. It was as if Germans wanted to shield their new-found moral purity from being contaminated by incriminated terminology. Only very recently did Germans muster the strength to slowly re-conquer the forbidden vocabulary from the posthumous veto power the Nazis were exercising over it. For a long time, the strategic debate in German was thus lacking the very language required to make it meaningful and precise. In sum language (or rather the lack thereof), i.e. the primary bearer of culture, played an important role in shaping the country's new strategic culture.

The Second Element: Militant Pacifism and Anti-Militarism

A logical and direct result of the culture of shame that was pervasive in the post-war era was the development of a pronounced and demonstratively embraced pacifism as a cornerstone of the mental constitution of the new country. The newly-founded West German Republic had not been equipped with its own military forces and

Germans, by and large, were happy to have it that way. The military traumas of large parts of the population, millions of dead and wounded combatants and civilians, the absorption of the *Wehrmacht* into Hitler's murderous totalitarian system, Germany's far-reaching military aggression, and the wasted sacrifice of both civilians and soldiers had made Germans war-weary and suspicious of the military in general.

Anti-militarism at home went hand in hand with an overwhelming longing for peace in international affairs. When, in the course of the Cold War, re-armament was put on the political agenda in the early 1950s, this caused a fundamental political crisis in West Germany. Germans had no appetite for wearing uniforms again at a time when not even all German prisoners of war had been released from Russian internment. As part of their coming to grips with the past, Germans rejected the military logic of the Cold War and feared being obliterated in a nuclear stand-off between the Soviet Union and the West. The slowly solidifying separation between the two German states furthered this sentiment, as building a new West-German military would further reduce hopes of unification, and a war between the two blocs would have meant Germans shooting at Germans.

How elementary pacifism and anti-militarism had become in the German psyche is illustrated by the political and societal fallout created in the late 1970s and early 1980s in the wake of NATO's dual track decision. Not only did the decision to deploy U.S. missiles in German draw the largest public protests in Germany's post-war history, it also ushered in a fundamental change in the Federal Republic's party system. The Green party, an amalgamation of environmentalists and the peace movement, initially built its agenda on fundamental pacifism which it only half-heartedly shed two decades later, during the Kosovo war. By then, they were an established political force, born out of one of the key elements of German post-war strategic culture.

An important side-effect of German anti-militarism is the irrelevance of the country's military, the Bundeswehr, for the political discourse and the institutional fabric of the country. It was from the beginning, and still is, effectively marginalized.[9] After German re-armament in the mid 1950s, the social status of the military profession has always been relatively low, and has never recovered to levels observed elsewhere.

Equally important, the public debate of security issues is largely devoid of any meaningful or relevant contribution by the military. While in other countries the professional expertise of soldiers is a welcome addition to the discussion of security-related issues, military personnel remained (and still remain) regularly silent in Germany.

The Third Element: Vergangenheitsbewältigung, or: the Entitlement to be Left in Peace

Germans pride themselves on the thoroughness and depth with which they have tackled the ghosts of the past. The process of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*, i.e. the coming to grips with Germany's dark past by intensively analyzing, documenting and debating it, was timidly started by the allies during their de-nazification campaign right after 1945. But it only really got real traction in the mid 1960s when a new post-war generation started to challenge its parents about their role during that dark period.

With remarkable straightforwardness, pain and soul-searching, the Germans faced the past, tried to understand it and make up for it, and eventually attempted to come to terms with it. Germany's frankness with itself has been acknowledged abroad and has also, at

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[9] In German opinion polls, the *Bundeswehr* regularly earns high degrees of trustworthiness as an institution, but this high esteem has never translated into an elevated social or political status. The former German Federal President Horst Köhler characterized the German attitude vis-à-vis its armed forces as "friendly disinterest".

times, been compared favourably to similar but lacklustre attempts in other societies (most prominently Japan). But Germans did not simply leave it at that. During the 1980s, and increasingly so after unification, the model character of their own historical exorcism created pride and a certain proselytizing smugness. Even more important for the nation's strategic culture, it also created a feeling of entitlement to staying clean in the presumably dirty business of international politics.

A mentality of "we Germans know what will come of power-mongering around the world, so please leave us out of it" became pervasive in public discourse. This is illustrated by the many statements invoking Germany's past when assessing other nation's foreign policy decisions, most notably during the Vietnam, Gulf, Kosovo and Iraq wars. This sense of entitlement is still a decisive, yet slowly weakening, element of Germany's strategic culture. It frequently leads to a refusal to acknowledge that the nation's responsibility is not only to retroactively oppose Hitler but also to provide services for the stability of the world today. Instead, invoking Germany's exemplary self-purging had become a pretext for remaining passive, especially in all security- and military-related matters. The preoccupation with one's own dark past was turned into a pseudo-moralist political bingo chip. No analysis of today's German culture should ignore this very specific and uniquely German predisposition.

The Fourth Element: The Lack of Sovereignty

The regaining of sovereignty was a recurrent motif in the policies of successive pre-unification West German governments. The lack of sovereignty itself turned out to be a decisive factor in the shaping of the strategic culture of the post-war country. As long as the four Western Allies held reserve powers over German politics, specifically its foreign affairs, Germany was not a legally sovereign member of the international community. Germany only regained full

national sovereignty in the Two-plus-Four Treaty of 1990, which paved the way for unity and in which the four victorious powers of World War II ceded all rights that had been theirs since 1945.

The prolonged period of 45 years under Allied political supervision had a profound effect on the mental setup of both Germany's elites and the population. In both groups it created a feeling of ultimately not being responsible for the fate of the nation, especially its decisive foreign and security policy decisions. This was reinforced by the widespread (and largely correct) perception of Germany's own powerlessness when it came to shaping its own political fate.[10] There were exceptions, of course, mostly at the highest leadership level, exemplified by strategic thinkers such as Manfred Wörner, Helmut Schmidt, and Helmut Kohl. But by and large, the big thinking about strategic questions was left to Americans and other key NATO allies. This led to an under-cultivation of strategic-level thinking and to a remarkable parochialism in the German foreign policy debate. It also served as a counter-incentive for young and aspiring politicians to select foreign policy as their career field. More often than not, the best and the brightest in all parties, if they ever dreamed of being appointed or elected to high office, decided to make a name for themselves by dealing with issues such as labour, welfare, education, taxes and the economy.

As a consequence, the strategic community remained small, intellectually weak and isolated, and most foreign and defense ministers had little or no experience in their fields prior to entering office. Also, remarkably, there was (and is) no mandatory strategic-level education for military or civilian leadership personnel within

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[10] This crucial element of the newly emerging post-war strategic culture of Germany stands in stark contrast to the unbroken traditions of neighbouring France. Here, according to Bruno Colson, one of the "most characteristic preoccupations of French strategic culture is to keep control over one's own fate." See Christian Malis, The Rebirth of French Military Thinking after the second World War, in *Défense Nationale et Securité Collectif*, November 2009, pp. 16-26, here p. 22.

the German government. The German Armed Forces College and the military universities do not offer cohesive strategic education. Instead, they weave bits and pieces from the classic strategic curriculum into their more general and more tactical-level education. The sole government-related institution that offers strategic-level education, the *Bundesakademie für Sicherheitspolitik* (BAKS), is a smallish venue, founded only in 1992, and its courses are attended on a voluntary basis only. No surprise then that German strategic thinking was never on a par with the quality created by the lively debates in the stake-holding societies. The effect is profound: the lack of legal sovereignty of the country has, in the end, transformed itself into a lack of intellectual sovereignty in the field of strategy.

The Fifth Element: Restraint, Passivity, Timidity

Scholars seeking to characterize Germany's post-war foreign policy typically begin by pointing at Germany's culture of restraint. In this paper's list of elements, restraint is not in first place, as it is the result of the previous four elements, not the starting point of the analysis. Germany had very little leeway for its own foreign policy immediately after 1949. With the country slowly emancipating itself from complete Allied oversight after it joined NATO and the European Communities in the mid-1950s, German governments slowly gained more space for their own initiatives. Mostly, their activities centered on re-establishing Germany as a proper member of the community of nations and on tackling some of the bilateral issues stemming from the war (such as diplomatic contacts with the state of Israel and negotiations to free German prisoners-of-war still held in the Soviet Union). For the most part, however, the young German republic remained restrained, mostly out of necessity, but increasingly also out of choice. There are a number of reasons for this.

First of all, the allies simply would not let Germany go about its

own business. Mistrust of Germany and Germans, after the experiences of two major wars, stayed alive for a long time.[11] Also, there were serious doubts about whether Germans, this time around, would be successful in their latest experiment with democratic government. So the allies kept the short leash on Chancellor Adenauer's government. (German chancellor Konrad Adenauer's creative and sometimes rather cheeky but mostly symbolic attempts to lengthen the leash became legendary.)

Secondly, the Germans maintained a high level of insecurity about themselves, not knowing where the new system would lead them. Immediate, concrete matters such as economic survival, housing, and re-industrialization were prevalent. The country was very much in an inward-looking mode, allowing for only little time and few intellectual resources, let alone material ones to be spent on foreign policy. This inward-looking mode, in an astounding case of history repeating itself, was adopted again in Germany after 1990, when the unified country spent an entire decade digesting the unprecedented process of merging two societies into one, only to be rudely awakened to the realities of the outside world by the Kosovo war in 1999. Arguably, the post-unification period finally ended for good with Chancellor Schroeder's open and demonstrative opposition to the American invasion of Iraq in 2002/2003.

Thirdly, Germany had completely lost a rather important driving force behind foreign policy activism: a national mission. Nothing was left of the erstwhile pride and confidence in the superiority of the German way of going about things. By purging the Nazis, Germans had thrown out the baby with the bathwater: suddenly, not only the Nazi era, but all of its history looked suspicious. No source of pride was

[11] This is nicely illustrated by the reluctance to embrace the possibility of German unity by European political leaders such as Margaret Thatcher, François Mitterrand or Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers in 19989/1990.

left. What, at any time in history, has driven American, British, French and Russian foreign policy, i.e. the urge to spread the good gospel, the values, the culture and the civilisation these nations believed they stood for, had completely disappeared in Germany. (A faint shadow of "mission" was to resurface only much later, both passively, in the form of the above-mentioned entitlement mentality, and actively, within the framework of the European Union in the early days of the 21st century.)

Fourthly, Germans also greatly enjoyed the retreat into the realm of the private, reviving, in a way, the apolitical and restorative *Biedermeier* culture of the early 19th century. They also did not find it uncomfortable to be relieved of the heavy lifting on the international political front. In essence, the foreign policy passivity that followed the founding of the Federal Republic was in the interest of almost everybody involved. It also served the country well, paving the way for international recognition, trust and, ultimately, influence. Germans learned that demonstrative passivity was sometimes very much what was needed in order to reach a foreign policy goal that otherwise would have been pursued actively.

Initially, Germany and its neighbours and partners geratly benefited from the new culture of timidity. As a consequence, this culture wrote itself deeply into the DNA of the new emerging German society. It remained a guiding element of German strategic culture long after the parameters of German foreign policy had fundamentally changed, and long after those interested in restraint at an earlier stage were openly seeking a more active stand of the country. Finding the right balance between activism and restraint, between leadership and passivity, remains the crucial political challenge in Germany's foreign policy today.

The Sixth Element: Europe as Ersatz-Religion, or Attritional Multilateralism

When Germans set out to create a livable, functioning and internally peaceful society after the war, the concept of the nation was not available to them as a crystallizing point around which a new society and a new identity could be constructed. What once had been so hard fought-for during the long way towards German unity in the 19th century, a sense of national belonging, could not be invoked as a foundation for the new post-war society. But not only was the idea of anything "national" rejected as being tainted, discredited and potentially dangerous, it was also unavailable because West Germany clearly could not speak for the entire German nation. A large chunk of that nation was on the other side of the Iron Curtain, and was unable to partake in the new Western experiment with democracy. So the idea of the nation became doubly unserviceable.

In its stead Germans embraced the idea of Europe, reconnecting themselves with an idealistic idea from the 1920s[12]. Europe, henceforth, served as the concept and the project into which Germans could freely project their hopes and dreams about a better future. That Europe was a vague idea at best and, initially, did not entail any more than unified markets for basic commodities (coal, iron ore, steel), was all the better, as it made the projection even easier. Germans, willing to transcend the nation and to demonstrate their willingness to live in peace with themselves and their neighbours, developed into exemplary Europeans (*Mustereuropäer*). The multilateralism that was at the heart of any European idea or project was much after Germans' post-war taste for a politics of inclusion and mediated conflict. It also allowed for an elegant, constructive negation of their own stained nationality.

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[12] The Paneuropean Union was founded by Count Richard Nikolaus von Coudenhove-Kalergy in 1922 and had a lasting impact on cosmopolitan and integration-minded European elites.

The same multilateralism was to be found in NATO and, later, in the United Nations, all three of which became the irreplaceable pillars of German foreign policy. Multilateral organizations became the living embodiment of the German urge "to never again go it alone".[13] Crucially, Germans instinctively learned about the usefulness of the paradoxical: that by relinquishing sovereignty, they could gain it back. Giving up national rights and feeding them into a multilateral conflict-resolving apparatus benefitted the Germans massively. This way, they reassured their neighbours and partners about their good intentions while, at the same time, as one of the bigger players in the game, they gained influence and affluence far beyond what would have been possible for Germany on its own.[14]

Furthermore, multilateralism, for the first time, made the Germans fit in comfortably with their geopolitical location in the center of Europe. No longer were they the awkward, unguided, unbound big boy in the middle of the neighbourhood. They were now where they belonged: peacefully embedded in the center of Europe.

In sum, multilateralism was, and still is, one of the key elements of German strategic culture. Some of the other elements of German strategic culture have over time become less important, or have even turned from an asset into a liability. By contrast, multilateralism remains an imperative for a country that is bigger than any of its nine

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[13] Germany's focus on multilateralism is illustrated in the famous slogan "never again, never alone", which has become a standard catchphrase for describing the country's foreign policy. See: Hanns W.Maull, *Germany and the Use of Force: Still a Civilian Power?*, paper prepared for the Workshop on Force, Order and Global Governance - An Assessment of U.S., German and Japanese Approaches, The Brookings Institution, Washington, DC, July 1-2, 1999. "Never again, never alone" is now so widely accepted that it is being used in official German government information on German foreign policy. See, for example, the website of Germany's diplomatic missions in the United States: http://www.germany.info/Vertretung/usa/en/05__Foreign__Policy__State/02__Foreign__Policy/03/__Law.html, accessed on 30.09.2010.

[14] The cunning politics behind Germany's demonstrated multilateralism were once called "attritional multilateralism" by Timothy Garton Ash. He defined it as "the patient, discreet pursuit of national goals through multilateral institutions and negotiations".See: Timothy Garton Ash, Germany´s Choice, in *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 73, No. 4, July/August 1994, p. 71.

immediate neighbours, and that is closely tied into the EU, NATO and the United Nations. Germany's taste for multilateralism is also its most important contribution to the EU and NATO. Whether the presumed new German assertiveness will change the country's instinctive attachment to multilateralism remains to be seen. If so, this could turn out to be a problem – for all of Europe.

The Seventh Element: The Great Transatlantic Bargain of 1949

The former U.S. ambassador to NATO, Harlan Cleveland, once famously described the post-war European security architecture as the product of a great transatlantic bargain.[15] This bargain, Cleveland explained, put Europe under American military protection in return for serious commitments by the war-weary European allies to carry a part of the defense burden against the Soviet Union. More recently, this bargain has been described slightly differently by Robert Shapiro, a former economic advisor to President Bill Clinton. In his version of the deal, America gave protection to Europeans in return for a disproportionate U.S. influence on European political affairs (primarily administered through NATO).

But the Europeans did not only gain in security. They were also able to invest the saved money (which, without U.S. engagement, they would have been forced to spend on defense themselves) to create substantial and far-reaching welfare states.[16] US engagement (and investment) thus not only kept the Warsaw Pact at bay, it also enabled the Europeans to maintain the fragile social peace in their conflict-ridden post-war societies.

For Germany, the bargain was a perfect deal. It completely

[15] Harlan Cleveland, *NATO: A Transatlantic Bargain,* New York: Harper and Row, 1970.

[16] Robert Shapiro, *Futurecast: How Superpowers, Populations, and Globalization Will Change the Way You Live and Work*, New York, St. Martins's Press, 2008, p. 219.

accommodated its strategic leanings while (a) providing the much-needed security guarantee and (b) relieving the empty post-war coffers of a potentially heavy defense burden. Essentially, this deal remains functional to this day. Ultimately, German security (in the widest sense, as it also includes the protection from potential external political blackmail) still relies on the U.S. nuclear umbrella in return for which the country contributes the relatively small recompense of around 1.3 per cent of its GDP as defense spending.

The bargain however, also had its detrimental effects on the development of a viable German strategic culture. First of all, it reinforced the tendencies of passivity and pacifism as it lessened the need of Germans to spend the minimal amount of money, thinking, creativity and political capital on defense issues. Furthermore, it created only a rudimentary understanding in the German public about the real nature of security threats. The Cold War threat by the Soviet Union had always been a rather abstract one for many Germans, as could be observed in the peace movement and the large German demonstrations against NATO's dual track decision. Used to this kind of strategic complacency, Germans even today find it difficult to accept that the world is essentially a dangerous place and that Germany is amongst the nations potentially threatened by international terrorist networks.[17]

Differing threat perceptions remain a key challenge to the partners in the great transatlantic deal. Most importantly, however, the great bargain has completely distorted the understanding of a healthy

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[17] In a popular annual poll focusing on what political, economic and private issues Germans are fearful of (conducted by a major insurance company and met with large media resonance each year), foreign policy-related issues did not feature prominently on the list of fears. The highest-ranking issue was terrorism, ranking ninth on a list of sixteen, with 46 percent of Germans saying that they feared it. Fear number one was economic meltdown, garnering 66 percent of the vote, with unemployment (65 percent) and inflation (63 percent) following closely behind. On this list, war – the only other foreign policy-related issue of notable relevance – was ranked thirteenth, with 31 percent of those polled saying they were fearful of it – a comparatively low number. See: *Die Ängste der Deutschen 2009*, Wiesbaden: R+V Versicherung, 2009.

relationship between security as a public good and the assets needed to produce and sustain it. To put it more bluntly, the great bargain, as practical and useful as it was (and still is), has lastingly spoiled the prices for security in Europe. Germans believe, by and large, that they can have it on the cheap.

This unintended side-effect of the great bargain is a most relevant one. It has shaped an important part of Germany's strategic culture and permeates almost all security-related thinking in Germany, down to the most recent plans for the reform of the German armed forces, proposed by former German Defense Minister Karl Theodor zu Guttenberg in the summer of 2010. With the great bargain increasingly being challenged by both a changing security landscape (Europe is of less strategic importance to America, Europe is less willing to follow America), and dwindling resources on both sides of the Atlantic, this problem is prone to become even bigger.

America already demands more contributions from its allies to the shared task of providing stability services around the globe. And America's need for support will increase. With the relative decline of American ability and willingness to project its power around the globe, Europeans might some day wake up to a world in which they will have to see after their strategic interests themselves. All of that will cost a lot more money than Europeans, and particularly Germans, have been used to spending under the great bargain.

The Eighth Element: The Great German Foreign Policy Consensus

In essence, the West German foreign policy posture created after the war, flowing from the described elements of strategic culture, rested on a "three-plus-three" pillar consensus. The first three pillars represent Germany's multilateral embeddedness, i.e., the country's leading role in the European Union, its firm support for the United

Nations, and its military integration into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The additional three pillars include the nation's key bilateral relationships, namely, close ties with the United States, reconciliation and real friendship with France, and a pragmatic, yet distanced relationship with the Soviet Union/Russia. By the mid 1970s, after the successful implementation of Willy Brandt's Ostpolitik and the accession of both German states to the United Nations (1973), all elements of this posture were firmly in place and had been fully absorbed by the relevant mainstream political forces and by the public in general.

Then, in the mid 1990s, the newly unified – and now fully sovereign – country was asked to develop a more proactive stance on international affairs, most notably in its approach to the deployment of military forces abroad[18]. Ever since then, successive governments, regardless of their ideological background, have changed Germany's foreign policy significantly, yet went to great lengths to keep these changes rhetorically within the established consensus. Meanwhile, Germany has slowly but surely expanded its international military footprint, most notably in the 1999 Kosovo campaign and, starting in 2002, in Afghanistan.

Despite some minor flare-ups of controversy, this process of change was largely accepted by the public, although it was never fully explained or justified by the political leadership. A widespread public debate on Germany's geostrategic interests, obligations and capabilities

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[18] No longer exempt from the demands of the international community and its allies in NATO and in the EU, Germany was forced to reconsider its niche-like position in international affairs. Military deployments in, e.g., Cambodia, Somalia, Bosnia, Kosovo and Afghanistan followed. Both Gulf Wars demanded a political positioning of unified Germany. Similarly, the drive towards a more cohesive EU foreign policy led to a – so far incomplete – learning process in terms of Germany's strategic interests and responsibilities. For an analysis of these changes, see: Anja Dalgaard-Nielsen, The Test of Strategic Culture: Germany, Pacifism and Pre-emptive Strikes, in *Security Dialogue* No. 3 (2005): 339-359; and Arthur Hoffmann and Kerry Longhurst, German Strategic Culture in Action, in *Contemporary Security Policy* No. 2, 1999, pp. 31-49.

was never held. Although, step-by-step, the elements of Germany's strategic culture either lost their historic urgency or even turned into liabilities (most notably in form of high parliamentary hurdles which complicate swift military action) both the public and large parts of the political elite kept embracing the established consensus as a sacrosanct truth that could and must not be challenged.[19] Voters were equally complacent. They never requested political parties to present any vision of Germany's foreign affairs, and, in turn, politicians were only too eager to avoid these issues altogether. Indeed, as recently as during the parliamentary election campaign of 2009, this tacit agreement did its part in keeping foreign policy issues mute in public – despite the large number of pressing and imminent issues that could well have generated debate (such as Afghanistan, Iran, energy security, the EU's Lisbon Treaty, etc.).

The agreement to keep unchallenged a foreign policy posture formed more than a generation ago is evidence of how firmly established the elements of German strategic culture are. Changing prevailing beliefs, preferences and perceptions is one of the most difficult and demanding social undertakings imaginable. It requires firm political leadership, stamina, and a dedication on behalf of the leaders to be in for it for the long run. One can argue that, in the light of an increasingly complicated international system, emerging new threats and an appalling lack of direction in the EU, Germany would be in urgent need of that change. But this change would also entail altering some of the fundamentals of the nation's self-perception. Whether the country has the leaders (and the appetite) to accomplish this task is doubtful.

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[19] See: Sebastian Harnisch and Raimund Wolf, *Germany-The continuity of change*, p. 46.

A Strategic Culture that Doesn't Produce Strategy

Having identified the elements that shape German strategic culture, how then can this culture be characterized as a whole? What kind of output does it produce? The answer is clear. Germany is operating foreign policy in the 21st century with a strategic culture that is deeply steeped in the 1950s. Many of its elements, such as restraint, pacifism and the lack of sovereignty, have either long lost their foundation or have turned into a liability. It thus lies in the nature of Germany's current strategic culture that instead of facilitating and fostering debate about strategic policy choices, it makes the debate about strategy extremely difficult, if not all but impossible.

It also makes that discourse politically costly for politicians, thereby reducing the incentives to hold it. It stifles innovation and under-equips German policy makers and diplomats for the competitive environment of international negotiations and decision-making, thereby reducing German influence in the international arena. Instead of informing the public and enabling it to build opinions based on facts and competing ideas, it hinders public discourse by hiding or cloaking up issues. It does not raise understanding for the geopolitical complexities of Germany's location, nor does it encourage the policy-oriented debate of German interests. It keeps people in the dark about the political and pecuniary price tag attached to security and stability.

Instead, it furthers the belief that the old transatlantic bargain can last forever. It encourages silence on the issue of German leadership in Europe and in the world. Instead, it supports isolationist public tendencies and provincial thinking. It undermines the legitimacy of the political system, as it forces politicians to make decisions without being upfront about the reasons or the full scope of them. Finally, it poses a risk to national security as it leaves the public ignorant about and unprepared for the real threats to their well-being. In other

words: it is dysfunctional. It's a strategic culture that does not produce strategy.[20] For a country with the size, the economic power and the unique historical and geopolitical necessities of Germany, this should be unacceptable.

How damaging the widening gap between an ossified strategic culture and the demands of the real world can be has been proven by two recent incidents. Both illuminate the political price governments and, ultimately, entire societies have to pay when they (voluntarily or involuntarily) decide to ignore reality. On 3 October 2009, the German-led bombing of fuel trucks hijacked by Taliban fighters near Kunduz, Afghanistan, led to a political earthquake in Germany that cost several high-ranking government officials their jobs and seriously undermined Germany's Afghanistan policy. The disproportionate ramifications of that incident were all homemade and had only partly to do with the catastrophic crisis management and communication policies in the immediate aftermath.

The entire discourse about Afghanistan and the official government line on the German troop deployment in Afghanistan since 2002 had been very much in line with German strategic culture, and thus paved the way for problems: the true nature of the mission was from the outset cloaked in euphemistic language. Rarely was the mission explained on the grounds of German interests. Also, it could not be called a war, because Germans don't make war. As a consequence, public (and, at least partly, elite) appreciation for the nature of military action in the field, the stress and fear under which soldiers are operating, and the fog of war they are surrounded by, was severely underdeveloped. When the news from Kunduz broke, Germans acted as if they were surprised that their troops were also doing the shooting, and that, indeed, in war, grave errors can be the

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[20] For an illuminating short analysis on the absence of a German security strategy see Stelzenmüller, *Die selbstgefesselte Republik*, p. 77.

consequence.

Instead of a sober debate about the pros and cons of Germany's participation, a public outcry occurred, followed by small-minded political trench warfare which, for a protracted period of time, bogged down large parts of the decision-making process at the German Ministry of Defense. The government was only able to regain some of its maneuvering space by changing its Afghanistan-related language overnight and by firing the former Defense Minister in charge at the time (who had taken on another portfolio in the meantime), a Deputy Minister of Defense, and the German Chief of Defense. Never before had the old narrative so drastically collided with the new realities. Never had such a clash created so much of a public disturbance. And never had an outdated German strategic culture demanded so high a political price.

The second incident unfolded when the then German Federal President, Horst Köhler, in a radio interview, claimed that the German armed forces also existed to protect German economic interests abroad. What is taken for a natural fact of life in most other nations deeply violated key elements of the German strategic culture, most notably the notions of restraint and pacifism, and the taboo on the concept of national interests. As a consequence, again, an outcry followed, including accusations of "imperialism", "neo-colonialism" and "war-mongering" against Köhler, a known advocate of fair trade and development cooperation. So severe were the attacks on the dumbfounded president (and so timid the support he received from those who know better) that, deeply wounded, he decided to resign from office.[21] Once more the clash between geostrategic realities and the outdated yet still cherished strategic culture had caused a political crisis and severe unforeseen political fall-out.

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[21] See my remarks on the incident in Jan Techau, *Geopolitischer Allergieschub*, Handelsblatt, 31 May 2010.

As these examples show, operating a 21st-century foreign policy on a dysfunctional strategic culture can be harmful for the nation, its interests, its political peace at home, and its international credibility. However, the nation has decided to live with the contradiction of meeting today's challenges with the cultural toolbox of the 1950s. And although, each time, the bridging of this gap comes at a price, this price has so far obviously not been considered too high. It seems that the nation has decided that it would be easier to endure continuous strategic schizophrenia than challenging some of the fundamental beliefs it feels attached to. How long this can be sustained without serious damage to the legitimacy of the political system is a serious question. When the gap between reality (and government action) on the one hand and a firmly established strategic yet anachronistic strategic culture on the other hand widens, there are two possibilities: either government policies fall in line with the culture (thereby leading the country into political never-never land), or the culture will start to change (thereby creating significant cognitive dissonance and substantial pain as a result of change). There are examples for both scenarios in Germany. It is so far undecided which option will prevail.

Blinded by Culture?
(Mis)understanding Arab Strategy

Florence Gaub

Understanding strategy from a cultural perspective is neither a new nor an exclusively civilian approach, dating back as it does to the times of Thucydides and Sun Tzu. In a more structured fashion, the strategic culture approach of the 1970s attempted to formalize the influence of culture on strategic choices, and thus marks the beginning of the current academic debate about the relationship between culture and strategy. Based on observations of 'obvious' differences in culture and 'obvious' differences in military behavior (at that time focusing mostly on the United States and the Soviet Union), it was concluded that the first was the source of the second. Standing in stark contrast to the historical, non-culturalist, neorealist approach, this framework introduced culture as a key factor in strategic thinking.

Strategy is here understood less as the outcome of education and professional training than as the result of different cultures. Capturing the beliefs and assumptions that frame somebody's choices about international military behaviour, particularly those concerning decisions to go to war, strategic culture explains preferences for offensive, expansionist or defensive modes of warfare, and defines the levels of wartime casualties that are acceptable.[1] It is thus "the sum total of ideas, conditioned emotional responses, and patterns of habitual behavior that members of a national strategic community have acquired through instruction or imitation".[2]

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[1] S.P. Rosen, "Military Effectiveness - Why Society Matters", *International Security,* Spring 1995, Vol. 19 No. 4, pp. 11 – 12 (5 – 31).

[2] R. Uz Zaman, "Strategic Culture: A 'Cultural' Understanding of War", *Comparative Strategy*, 28, 2009, p. 73.

Yet this concept has so far failed to deliver a comprehensive analysis of the Arab world, instead focusing on the United States, Western Europe, the former Soviet Union and some Asian countries – which is surprising considering the fact that, since 1945, the Middle East has seen five major and several minor wars involving outside powers to a significant extent. Worse, the little that exists has delivered merely a collection of commonplaces that ultimately lead to miscalculations in times of war and conflict when it comes to this particular area of the world. The main reason for this failure of analysis resides in two errors: the flawed application of the strategic culture approach in a general manner, and the flawed understanding of Arab culture as a specific case. The following article will highlight the shortcomings of existing analyses of Arab strategic culture, show how it leads to fatally wrong conclusions, and attempt to develop a new approach to understanding Arab strategic culture.

Strategic Culture – The Debate

The discussion revolving around the strategic culture approach oscillates between two extremes that see culture either as the key influence on strategic choices, or as having no influence on strategy at all.[3] What little strategic culture material exists on the Arab world situates itself on the far end of the scale, attempting a deterministic understanding of Arabs at war exclusively through the cultural lens, imprisoning people in their culture bound by specific norms.[4]

Between these two extremes lies a third way which has emerged as a result of the ongoing debate between the 'cultural' school and

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[3] A.I. Johnston, "Thinking about Strategic Culture", *International Security*, Vol.19, No.4, Spring 1995, pp. 32 – 64. C. Gray, "Strategic Culture as context: the first generation of theory strikes back", *Review of International Studies* (1999) 25, pp.49 – 69.

[4] P. Porter, *Military Orientalism: Eastern War Through Western Eyes*, Hurst & Company, London, 2009, p.19.

the ‘neorealist’ school, and which posits the strategic, rational man irrespective of nation or culture – namely the cultural, realist approach that offers a context for understanding rather than explanatory causality for behavior. Culture is thus one among several factors in strategic choice-making and should be understood as such.

Although I concur to a large extent with the idea that culture matters and that there is no such thing as a universal strategic man, the excessive application of this concept to the Arab world has been faulty for several reasons. To begin with, it deduces reasons for failure from culture, thereby putting the cart before the horse. In a uni-dimensional fashion, causation is claimed where there might be only correlation. Secondly, it understands Arab strategy as a monolithic bloc, while it can be argued that, although there are similarities between Arab armed forces, they might be the result not so much of a common culture as of common historical influences like colonialism and affiliation to the Ottoman Empire. Thirdly, it leaves out other factors such as geographical, political and material constraints to the military, which arguably has its own common culture across different societies. Fourthly, it negates an element of rationality that evaluates a strategy on its feasibility, its suitability, its acceptability and its sustainability.[5]

To cut a long story short: the only possible conclusion is that culture cannot suffice as the only variable to explain strategic behaviour or, worse, outcomes of war.

However, such discussion detracts from the other, more important challenge in the application of the strategic culture approach, namely an adequate understanding of the very concept of culture. Since an analysis based upon strategic culture necessarily relies upon the influence of a specific culture, a misunderstanding of that particular culture will obviously nullify the framework. This is

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[5] I would like to thank Col. S. Guptill for his input on this aspect.

particularly the case when it comes to the Arab world, which has been and remains one of the prime victims of Western misunderstanding of culture.[6] The main reason for a flawed approach to Arab strategic culture is a culturally myopic approach that is used to explain the success and failure of Arab armies as essentially being the outcome of a collective Arab culture. Locked into images of 'the Arab mind', a strategic culture approach is hampered by the stereotypes it has itself created. Coincidentally, strategic culture comes mostly into play when we are at loss for explanations, which is currently the case for the Arab world. Seeking refuge in an ill-defined area of international relations, anything goes when it comes to analysis – because culture is so difficult to define and understand, it offers wide room for interpretations that will eventually satisfy any inexplicable outcome.[7] When based upon ill-conceived perceptions of a poorly understood society, a strategic cultural approach easily lends itself to tautological explanations.

Although there is essentially nothing wrong with the idea that culture "pervades the combatants and their military organisations"[8], the very notion of culture used here is so vague that it becomes all-encompassing. Just as strategy is not uni-dimensional, neither is culture.[9] The fact that the debate about strategic culture focuses more on strategy than on culture highlights its key deficiency: while debating the impact of poison on a certain plant, we have not defined which poison we are actually taking about. The weak spot in this reasoning is thus the notion of culture. Which one are we talking about: national, local, or

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[6] E. Said, *Orientalism,* Vintage Books, London, 1979. H. Morgan, "American School Textbooks – How They Portrayed the Middle East 1898 – 1994", *American Educational History Journal*, Vol. 35, No.1, pp. 315 - 330. M.*B. Qumsiyeh, "*100 Years of anti-Arab and anti-Muslim stereotyping", http://www.ibiblio.org/prism/jan98/anti_arab.html

[7] J. Snyder, "The Concept of Strategic Culture: Caveat Emptor", in C.G. Jacobsen (ed.) *Strategic Power: USA/USSR,* New York: St Martin's Press, 1990, p. 7.

[8] C.S. Gray, "Strategic Culture as context: the first generation of theory strikes back", *Review ofInternational Studies*, 1999, p. 25, p. 63.

[9] A.I. Johnston, "Thinking about Strategic Culture", *International Security,* Spring 1995, Vol. 19 No. p. 4, p. 37.

professional culture? Does a closed, highly organized institution such as the military really mirror the host society?[10] And, more specifically: is there really such a thing as a uniform Arab culture encompassing 300 million people? If so, what does it look like, and how does it influence strategic choices? How can we assess strategic failure of a certain culture if our understanding of that culture is wrong? And more importantly – were past Arab strategies really the outcome of a certain Arab culture or of other, non-cultural factors?

Arab Strategic Culture – A Distorted Assessment

Arab Strategic Culture is generally analyzed and perceived as being monolithic, even though the Arab world is extremely varied and complex. Because the term 'Arab' does not correspond to Western identities in any way, there exists a general difficulty in grasping its dimension. 'Arab' stands for an identity much tighter-knit than 'European', but it does not correspond to individual European national identities either. Thus 'Arab' is an identity term *sui generis* that most likely corresponds roughly to pre-1871 'German' – a cultural identity that might carry a potential for political ambition, but not necessarily so. 'Arab' has thus to be understood as a notion of identity that sits comfortably next to other identities ranging from tribal to national ones.

The complexity is enhanced by the fact that there are today 17 Arab countries[11] that not only have been independent for six decades, but also have very different histories of statehood – while some, such as Egypt, Morocco or Algeria existed as entities well before Western colonialism in the area, others, such as Jordan, Lebanon or Iraq were

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[10] M. Weber, "The Meaning of Discipline" in *From Max Weber Essays in Sociology*, H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, trans. and ed., New York, Oxford University Press, 1958, p. 253.

[11] Although the Arab League today counts 22 members, there are 17 countries that overwhelmingly speak Arabic – plus the Occupied Territories.

created by Great Britain and France. ‘Arab’ is not an ethnic term, with several ethnic groups in different parts of the Arab world arabized by the Islamic conquests. Mostly, Arab is a cultural notion that is strongly connected to the Arabic language and Islam as the religion unveiled in this language. And yet, the Arab world also has a long history of Christian and Jewish inhabitants. Being an Arab thus means sharing a certain history, identifying oneself as an Arab and usually speaking the language – which, however, has evolved into so many different spoken versions that they differ not only from each other, but also from classical Arabic. In sum, while there undeniably is something like Arab culture, it is actually many different cultures and not just one.

The reason for the failure to grasp Arab culture is largely that Western cultures are so different from the Arab world. The continuous perception of the region through our an ethnocentric understanding of sociological and historical constructs – together with the application of pre-conditioned images of states, societies, identities and, for that matter, strategy – affects the analysis of Arab strategic culture. Thus, there is a static vision strongly influenced by pan-Arabism, orientalism and ethnocentrism, picturing a unified Arab world ranging from Mauritania to Iraq just as under the 12th-century Abbasid Dynasty.

As mentioned earlier, the first error of scholarly debate on Arab strategic culture is that it starts from the wrong end, namely the result of Arab strategy. Military defeats by Israel and the United States, just like failure to regain Palestine or the Golan or to accomplish a quick victory over Iran, are taken as the basis for analysis. By choosing the result as the starting point, and by choosing the cultural prism as the key vector, we limit our understanding from the very start because other factors such as strategy and military capabilities as well as logistical and geographical considerations are excluded.

The second – and even more important – error is, however, the understanding of Arab culture in this context. Arab strategic culture alternates between different, and sometimes even antagonistic, perceptions of the 'Arab mind'. The existing literature features essentially three currents of analysis, each emphasizing one dimension of Arab culture as the preponderant influence on strategic choices: Bedouin values, tribal structures and Islamic influence.

The Bedouin lifestyle continues to shape the perception and analysis of this region significantly even today. Viewed through this lens, Arab values such as shame, honour and collectivism are inherited Bedouin values and determine strategic choices to a great extent. In consequence, Arab strategy will supposedly be determined to avoid the loss of face and will rely on a perception that will deny a possibly unpleasant reality:

"An Arab, then, fantasises a world the West cannot recognize in order to evade shame and protect honour; inwardly dubious, outwardly bold, he lives a life often subservient to the opinions of others. Eager for admiration, he works in spurts and calculates his gestures."[12]

The influence on strategy is clear: rather than achieving results, Arabs will be more concerned about their image. Thus, prone to exaggeration, glorified self-image and lying, they are not capable of assessing their capacities and deficiencies, and therefore build strategies on sand: "The Arab has no scruples about lying if by it he obtains his objectives. His consciousness possesses an interesting elasticity."[13] Equally, the command will not be interested in separating true from false reports – and will gladly accept the latter. A frequently cited example is a taped telephone conversation between Gamal Abdel

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[12] J.B. Bell, "National Character and Military Strategy: The Egyptian Experience, October 1973", *Parameters*, Vol.5, No.1, 1975, p. 8.
[13] S. Hamady, *Temperament and Character of the Arabs,* New York, Twayne Publishers, 1960) p. 36.

Nasser and King Hussein, where the former claimed that the Egyptian Air Force was bombing Israeli airfields – although the Egyptian Air Force had been completely destroyed at this point. Consistent Arab claims of victory in spite of different facts on the ground led to the Western assessment that "Arab analysis of reality does differ considerably from that of the West".[14]

Shame and honour become so determinant in this vision that every Arab failure is explained by untruthful communication and the need to take revenge in order to re-establish one's honour.[15] In this framework of analysis, attacks on coalition troops in the Iraqi Sunni triangle can be linked to typical Bedouin values as their driving force: avenging the blood of a relative, demonstrating manliness in battle and upholding honor.[16] The same is true for the insurgency of Falluja:

"The local grievances demanded the obligatory retaliation or vendetta, and this in turn guaranteed a continuous supply of willing tribal fighters from throughout the region. The segmentary nature of tribes facilitated the activation of widely dispersed military networks and unified clans and tribes in a shared religious belief that the Americans were invaders and that every Muslim's duty was to fight the unbelievers."[17]

There are two problems with this reading of events from a Bedouin value angle: it reduces phenomena to a distinct expression of Arab/Muslim culture, and it can easily be disproved by other examples. Revenge and resistance against invasion are not uniquely

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[14] J.B. Bell, "National Character and Military Strategy: The Egyptian Experience, October 1973", *Parameters*, Vol.5, No.1, 1975, p. 7.

[15] Y. Harkabi, "Basic Factors in the Arab Collapse during the Six-Day War", *Orbis*, Fall 1967, pp. 677 – 686.

[16] M. McFate, "The military utility of understanding adversary culture", *Joint Force Quarterly*, 38. July 2005, p. 43.

[17] W.S. McCallister, "Anatomy of a Tribal Rebellion", *Small Wars Journal*, August 2007, http://smallwarsjournal.com/blog/2007/08/30-august-anatomy-of-a-tribal/

Arab or Bedouin values, as shown by the Corsican or Sicilian concept of vendetta – or even the French Resistance under German occupation. Communication patterns along extended family lines are not exclusive to the tribal structure as such, and the over-emphasis of the role of honour in Bedouin warfare conveniently ignores the fact that the concepts of honour and manliness exist in Western military organizations just as much as in Bedouin culture.[18] Also, exaggeration (such as during the wars of 1967 and 1973) in times of war is certainly a common element of any propaganda campaign, whether by Nazi Germany, Arab states or the United States.

In addition, this approach does not explain the absence of war against Israel since 1973. Surely Syria would want to re-establish its honour by taking the Golan back or die trying? If family ties are such a strong determinant, why did Arab nations participate in the first Gulf War?

The second stream in Arab strategic culture analysis focuses on tribal warfare. According to this perception, Arabs, who used to live in tribes in the desert, have an inherently tribal approach to warfare which influences their strategic choices. Although only 10% of Arabs nowadays live as tribal Bedouins, and although urban settlements have existed throughout the Middle East for several thousand years, it is still commonly understood that this particular lifestyle and its values continue to have a major influence on Arab strategic culture.

The reason for this is the conflation of tribes and Bedouins. While it is true that Bedouins usually live in tribes, the majority of tribes are not Bedouins. Iraqi society, for instance, is highly tribally structured, yet there are hardly any Bedouins left. There is thus uncertainty over what ‘tribal warfare’ actually is – is it the warfare conducted by Bedouins living in tribes in the desert, or is it the

[18] P. Robinson, *Military Honour and the Conduct of War*, Routledge, New York, 2006.

warfare conducted by modern, urbanized Arabs who still have tribal connections? More importantly – what are tribes in this context? Can we understand them in the same way as African nomads roaming the desert?

Irrespective of the regional context, tribes are essentially pre-state social structures that resemble an extended family, although real blood ties are not necessary. Because tribes have vanished in the Western world, there is an ethnocentric perception that they are pre-modern, thus anachronistic. Many Arab countries to differing degrees show signs of tribal structures, which are actually strong in some cases, though this does not equate with nomadic lifestyles. It is here that the confusion between nomads and tribes begins.

Assuming that the notion of tribal warfare essentially means 12th-century warfare as conducted by Arab tribes in the desert, we can distil elements such as the use of deception, secrecy and delay, but also the emphasis of individualism (strangely opposed to the Bedouin value of collectivism) and surprise attacks as distinctly tribal influences in Arab strategic culture. Other elements are evasion ("running away was never considered shameful but rather intelligent"[19]), subterfuge and indirection.

However, tribal warfare is the outcome of strategic circumstances rather than the expression of a certain culture. Nomadic desert warfare does not make strategic sense in an urban guerrilla war situation.

Yet, because the Western understanding of tribal structures (especially in coexistence with modern state structures) is flawed, conclusions based on them are very likely to be wrong. The existing tribal structure of Iraqi society, for instance, led to the conviction that

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[19] N.B. DeAtkine, "The Arab as Insurgent, September 28, 2009, http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/item/2009/0709/comm/deatkine_insurgent.html

tribes should be included in the security architecture. Although the inclusion of the tribes regrouped under the Sons of Iraq significantly improved security (because it won a large group of insurgents over), this does not prove the importance of tribal structures for security. Iraqis still feel most comfortable with the state holding prime responsibility for it: asked who they felt responsible for security in their neighbourhood, 25% Iraqis identified the Iraqi Army and 40% the Iraqi Police, as opposed to >5% for their respective tribes.[20] Contrary to common belief, state structures where thus deemed more important than tribal ones.

The tribal feature of evasion is used as an explanation for alleged Arab avoidance of direct confrontation, such as in the war of 1967, and for deception, as in the Egyptian Army's 1973 crossing of the Suez Canal in Operation Badr.[21] The same holds true for the war against Iran, which endured as a stalemate for several years. In this perception, Western armies prefer the offensive shock and the use of infantry to close with the enemy by fire and destroy him in close combat, while Arabs will use it to seize territory until the enemy recognizes the contest of arms. Likewise, Arabs will use surprise attacks as in 1973 (although the fact that it was Israel who used the allegedly tribal surprise attack in 1967 is usually overlooked). And yet, most of these elements are, again, not exclusively tribal. Evasion, for instance, was widely used in European medieval war, where the Welsh and Scots used raids and retreats against English invasion.[22] Stalemates in war are known in Europe (just remember World War I), and the use of aerial bombardments (Kosovo, Iraq) by Western powers can be understood as standoff weaponry – as a matter of fact, a tool

[20] Department of Defense, *Measuring Stability and Security in Iraq*, Report to Congress In accordance with the Department of Defense Supplemental Act 2008, Section 9204, Public Law 110-252, March 2010, p. 37.

[21] J.W. Jandora, "War and Culture: A Neglected Relation", *Armed Forces and Society*, Summer 1999, Vol.25, No.4, p. 547.

[22] J.F. Verbruggen, *The Art of Warfare in Western Europe during the Middle Ages,* Oxford 1977, pp. 327 – 335. S. McGlynn "The Myths of Medieval Warfare", *History Today*, 44:1, 1994, pp. 28 – 34.

which is considered cowardly by many Iraqi officers.[23]

Another element recurrent in the understanding of Arab strategy is the influence of Islam. Two currents are joined together here: one bases its observations on battles fought under the Prophet Mohammed according to historic documents, while the other looks into the Qu'ran to explain Arab strategic behaviour. The two, although closely related, are not identical. While the Qu'ran was dictated to Mohammed by the archangel Gabriel, historical documents are written by contemporary followers. The normative power of the two is thus not the same.

When the Prophet conducted war against non-believers, he relied a lot on the threat of force rather than the actual use of it, for instance the catapult. The psychological element of his strategy was thus much more important than the factual strength of his followers, and enabled him to win battles without fighting them.[24] Bloodless victories are, according to this school of thought, a typical form of Islamic warfare; however, they are also elements of Caesar's and Cromwell's strategy.[25] This, as well as the practice of raids against Medinan caravans, corresponds much more to the warfare prevalent at that time in that particular region, rather than being a distinctly Islamic form of fighting. One should not forget that desert terrain shapes strategic choices. The availability of hiding places for attacking forces and the visibility of targets from a distance influence the opportunities for surprise attack. Also, one should keep in mind that the Prophet had a mission, namely to create followers for Islam rather than to defeat enemies. Avoiding battles brought him closer to this objective than a bloody battle could have.

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[23] Interview by the author iwith Iraqi military personnel, Baghdad, July 2010.

[24] N.B. DeAtkine, "The Arab as Insurgent:, September 28, 2009, http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/item/2009/0709/comm/deatkine_insurgent.html

[25] S.K. Malik, *The Quranic Concept of War,* Adam Publishers, Delhi, 1992, p. 52.

The Qu'ranic warfare considered in this analysis conveniently leaves out major Muslim countries such as Turkey and Indonesia. It essentially narrows down Islamic warfare to an Arab-Islamic one. The Qu'ran thus incites the reader to target the hearts and minds of the enemy by using their fear, and to impose a quick decision.[26] Based on these quotations, it is understood that terrorism – especially the practice of suicide bombings – is a typical element of Muslim/Arab strategy because it induces fear. The fact that stalemate, as mentioned in the above discussion of tribal warfare, is the opposite of a quick decision is frequently overlooked.

The idea of a typical Islamic form of warfare ignores several facts: not only has suicide as a tactic played a far more important role in other cultures such as the Japanese one, it has also been used throughout history and by many cultures. Tamil Tigers, Irish and German terrorists, and Russian Anarchists are among those who have used suicide as a method to achieve a goal. It should also be noted that Western culture in general acclaims martyrdom just as much as Arab culture does. The US Marine Corps automatically awards the Medal of Honour for throwing oneself on a grenade.[27] Worse, it is often overlooked that Islam explicitly forbids suicide. In addition, historical explanations are offered for a single, uniform body of Arab strategic culture that has supposedly not changed throughout time. According to this view, suicide as a tactic would date back to the 11th century, when the Assassins used it to get rid of enemies.

More importantly, suicide is nothing else but a typical form of warfare in an asymmetric situation. What the three currents of Arab strategic culture interpretation have in common is the denial of enemy rationality. Rather than seeing the antagonist as a strategic actor, a

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[26] S.K. Malik, *The Quranic Concept of War,* Adam Publishers, Delhi, 1992, p. 58.

[27] P. Porter, *Military Orientalism: Eastern War Through Western Eyes*, Hurst & Company, London 2009, pp. 78-80.

universally cultural being is created that will think and act along cultural lines at all times. Yet, this interpretation is very selective, partly ahistorical, and does not add anything to a sound understanding of Arab strategic culture.

Wrong Assessment, Wrong Conclusions

These misconceptions would be a purely academic problem if they did not have real repercussions on strategy formulation and expectations of enemy behaviour. The case of the July 2006 war between Israel and Hezbollah highlights this clearly: because the Israeli military had formed a distinct image of 'Arabs at war', based on previous experiences with Palestinian insurgents and Arab armies, it failed to realize how well prepared Hezbollah actually was. In Israeli perception, "the enemy (is) a passive object, whose consciousness can be quickly altered by a show of force"[28] – note the similarity with alleged Islamic warfare that operates on fear. Thus, underestimating the militia's capacity, Israel developed a strategy with ends that exceeded its military means from the start, while Hezbollah's strategic goal, survival, was much more realistic. Israel's problem was thus not that it discarded culture, but that it based its analysis on a static vision of 'Arabs at war'. As a result, some analysts jumped to the conclusion that tribal/Bedouin/Islamic warfare is generally more suitable for guerrilla warfare, ignoring the fact that the militia defies not only all three currents of classification, but also popular conceptions of conventional and guerrilla warfare. Constituting a hybrid force that mastered techniques of hedgehog defense, it fought to hold territory rather than using purely population-centric methods.

Underestimation of the enemy and overestimation of one's

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[28] P. Porter, *Military Orientalism: Eastern War Through Western Eyes*, Hurst & Company, London, 2009, p. 171.

own resources will more often than not result in military failure. Similarly, Iraq underestimated Iran and overestimated itself in the early 1980s – coupled with a lack of operational experience due to rapid expansion of the military, this proved to be the main cause of its inability to bring about a quick decision. For some analysts, however, this is an indication of a typical Arab strategy of delay.[29] More than cultural elements, strategic expectations about enemy behaviour and estimations of his and one's own resources determine the outcome of a conflict – when these expectations are based on a cultural preconception that is deterministic and simplistic, there is dangerous potential for miscalculation.

While unrealistic expectations in strategy-making are not necessarily related to a misunderstanding of adversary culture, there is a strong component in expectations that is related to enemy image. Careful analysis of this image is crucial to avoid pitfalls such as the Israeli one, yet requires an understanding of culture that needs to be complex rather than one-dimensional.

Arab Strategy– A Culturally Realistic Assessment

So, how does one understand cultural influences on Arab strategic choices if not through the Bedouin, tribal, or Muslim lens? To begin with, a clear definition of culture is needed. A concept talked about at length yet difficult to define, many people simply view culture as a set of visible symbols such as language, religion, food and clothes; yet, it is much more complex than that. Culture is a set of shared meaning systems that direct the orientation of action, it is a collective programming of the human mind that distinguishes the members of one group from another,[30] it is the input that gives meaning and

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[29] E. Karsh, "The Iran-Iraq War: A Military Analysis", *Adelphi Papers*, No.220, Spring 1987, p. 15

[30] Kluckhohn, F. & Strodtbeck, F., *Variations in Value Orientations*, Evanston, IL, Row Peterson, 1961;

motive to human behaviour.[31] In other words: culture makes humans think and act the way we do. Like an onion, culture thus has outer and inner layers, with the visible elements (such as clothes, music, greeting formulas) outside, and the invisible ones (basic assumptions about the world, patterns of thought structure) inside. The problem is – and the previous examples highlight this – that it is generallyfocused on the outer layer. Thinking in emotional terms of the exotic and inherently inexplicable 'Other', perceiving the Arab world in a deterministic fashion through an 800-year-old cultural perception that has been created by Western perceptions, using selective elements of culture that aredeemed fit. The key question then is: how do Arabs really think and act, and how does this affect their strategic thinking?

A good way to grasp culture without its emotional ingredients is through the dimensions of culture,[32] namely power distance, collectivism, avoidance of uncertainty, time relations and use of context. If analyzed in this framework, we find that Arab culture is a rather hierarchical one in which authority is centralized. This explains why decisions are usually made at the highest level, and why officers generally show a rather low interest in their enlisted men – social classes determine social relationships and have to be respected.[33] The educational system relies, for the same reason, on rote learning which is often understood as an anachronistic way of teaching (although countries such as Japan, Italy and Greece use the same method).

Schweder, R. *Thinking Through Cultures: Expeditions in Cultural Psychology*. Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press, 1991; Goodenough, W. *Culture, Language and Society*, Reading, MA, Addison-Wesley Modular Publications, No.7, 1971; Parsons, T. *The Social System*, New York, Free Press, 1951; Schein, E.H. *Organizational Culture and Leadership*, San Francisco, Jossey-Bass, 1985; Hofstede, G. *Culture's Consequences. International Differences in Work-Related Values*, Newbury Park, CA, Sage, 1991.

[31] Quote by Dean Grant T. Hammond, March 2010

[32] Hofstede, G., *Cultures and Organizations. International Differences in Work-Related Values*. Newbury Park, CA, Sage, 1991. Hall, E.T. *The Hidden Dimension*, New York Doubleday 1966. Hall, E.T., *Beyond Culture*, New York, Doubleday, 1976.

[33] K.M. Pollack, *Arabs at War: Military Effectiveness 1948-1991,* University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 2002, pp. 4-13.

Arab culture is also collectivist, emphasizing the group over the individual. Open criticism is therefore usually avoided, being famously understood as face-threatening. In a military environment, it might infringe on important feedback, but it provides a strong basis for cohesion as well.

Arab culture also ranks high on the avoidance of uncertainty dimension, meaning that decisions are made once all information is available, and preference exists for clear guidance. In a situation of conflict, this means that decision-making might take longer than ideal – and yet, other cultures (such as the German one, for instance) also rank high on the avoidance of uncertainty scale without being labeled as generally ineffective at war.

While the Arab relationship with time is a polychronic one, this does not only mean that they will take appointments less literally. Polychronic cultures generally structure their thoughts differently than monochronic ones – rather than thinking linear, as many Western cultures do, it is thought in associative circles, and often starts with the conclusion. In terms of strategy planning, this could imply a different procedure from a typically Western approach.

In terms of communication, Arab culture tends to be a lot higher in context than Western cultures. This means that greater emphasis is placed on indirect information. In a strategic setting, this might imply that messages within the strategic community might not be understood in the intended way by outsiders from a low context background.

In addition, Arab strategy is also influenced by geographic elements, history and strategic lessons, society and political structure. Strategic culture thus evolves slowly over time and is never static; this analysis can therefore never be more than a snapshot of current Arab strategic culture.

In the 20th century, several wars have been fought in the Arab world: between Iran and Iraq, Iraq and Kuwait, Israel and Egypt, Syria and Jordan, Morocco and the Western Sahara, Libya and Chad, Israel and the Palestinians and, to some extent, Syria and Jordan, Algeria and Morocco. One noticeable element in these wars is the rhetoric that is used before, during and after the conflict – it seems emotional and aggressive to Westerners, and is often understood as face loss and its avoidance. While there might be an element of truth to that, it could actually be reframed in a culture that not only communicates differently from ours, but is also set in autocratic political systems which use the game of blaming outsiders to rally internal support. As we have seen from the case of Nasser in 1967, this rhetoric can be dangerous once it scares enemies into preventive action. Sometimes, the rhetoric itself replaces strategic action – while continuously slamming Israel, no Arab country has attacked it in decades.

An interesting element in Arab strategic behavior used to be the reliance on mass manpower in war. While this numerical strength eventually led to dangerous overestimation of their own capacity, it is related to two elements: the large young male population in these countries provides a suitable man pool, while the strong Soviet input into Arab military planning influenced the outlook of the newly independent armies. In a way, this input is part of a long tradition of foreign intervention in regional politics, but it highlights an interesting aspect: why did Egypt, for instance, rely on a counter-offensive strategy inspired by their Soviet mentors, while Nasser's rhetoric was entirely offensive? Why was a strategy used that was not suited to the goals (assuming that the goal was the destruction of Israel)? One could assume that the constant meddling of foreign powers, coupled with a strong hierarchical culture that shuns questioning, led to the establishment of a strategy that was considered superior but eventually inadequate.

Yet, Arab strategic culture has integrated lessons learned from the past: expelling Soviet military counselors in 1972 and taking its military affairs into its own hands,[34] Egypt learned from Israel and used a surprise attack in 1973. The absence of major wars against Israel since then could be explained by the rational insight that a war is too costly and not suitable to solve the Palestinian issue.

The main conclusion from this example, as from the stalemates between Morocco and Western Sahara, Israel and the Palestinians, and Syria and Lebanon, seems to be that war fatigue is prevalent in the region. While low-intensity conflicts are scattered all over the Arab world, economic and political considerations prevail over the possible inclination to restore honor. Arab strategic culture, just like Arab states and societies in general, seems to be undergoing a painful phase of growing to maturity while it has yet to reach its final destination.

As said earlier, cultural realism will offer us culture as a context for understanding rather than as an explanatory causality. Culture is thus not the reason for a certain strategic choice, but it will conveniently be coupled with it in order to connect people and cause in a more sustainable fashion. While insurgency, for instance, is mainly the outcome of strategic circumstances in an asymmetric situation, it might carry traits that root themselves in culture and history. While the expansionist war of Saddam Hussein against Kuwait responded to a certain political self-conception, his declaration of the *jihad* was rooted in the hope for its mobilizing effect on the Iraqi people, just as Syria asserts an historical entity of Greater Syria in order to justify its claims to Lebanon, Jordan and Palestine.

The importance of culture in the strategic realm thus has to be understood not as a causal factor, but something more likely to be the

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[34] C. Herzog, *The War of Atonement: October, 1973*, Little, Brown & Co., Boston 1975, p. 274. P. Razoux, *La Guerre Israelo-Arabe d'Octobre 1973,* Economica, Paris, 1999, p. 33.

dependent rather than independent variable. Culture is used to explain and justify strategic choices, to mobilize people in the interest of the cause. Like a film of oil, it thinly covers essentially rationalist choices. That does not lessen its importance: recourse to historical and cultural themes is frequent in times of war and conflict, and influences the outcome to the extent that it influences the people. Yet, it is important to understand that culture, traditions, and identities are constructed rather than primordial.[35] They are not unalterable givens, but rather serve a specific purpose. Choice of a certain cultural theme (i.e., the *jihad*) will tell us more about the strategic circumstances of the chooser rather than the other way around.

By turning the approach upside-down and understanding strategy through cultural choices, rather than understanding strategic choices through culture, we might gain more useful insights into the enemy's strategic circumstances and also be less susceptible to the danger of blinding ourselves with self-constructed enemy images.

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[35] E. Hobsbawm & T.Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1992.

Medvedev's Modernisation: Towards a Russian Strategy?

Andrew Monaghan

Addressing the Federation Council in November 2009, President Dmitri Medvedev outlined a number of principles for a "new political strategy". The foundation of his vision, he stated, is the "firm conviction that Russia can and must become a global power on a completely new basis".[1] Medvedev thus reiterated and emphasised the tenor of his article published in September called "Russia Forward!", in which he set out priorities for technological and economic development, the need for the modernisation of the political system and the strengthening of institutional capacities. Acknowledging that the targets would be difficult to obtain, the Russian president nevertheless believed that they were realistic – and that detailed plans had already been developed.[2] Indeed, he has presided over a major overhaul of Russian strategic and doctrinal documentation since his election and inauguration in spring 2008, an overhaul which includes the Long-term Development Plan for the Russian Federation to 2020 ("Strategy 2020"), a new Foreign Policy Concept, and a new National Security Strategy to 2020. As a result, a strategic horizon, albeit one that is vague but ambitious, has been sketched out to 2020.

The publication and promotion of such a strategic overhaul poses a series of questions for the Euro-Atlantic community, not least about Moscow's goals and the nature of Russian policy. What does

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[1] Medvedev, D. Presidential Address to the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation, 12 November 2009. English language transcript available at http://eng.news.kremlin.ru/transcripts/297 (accessed 5 August 2010).

[2] Medvedev, D. "Go Russia!", 10 September 2009. English language version available at http://eng.news.kremlin.ru/transcripts/298 (accessed 5 August 2010).

the overhaul suggest about the practical elements of Russian policy and its longer-term goals? And regarding the nature of Russian policy, since Medvedev became President, it has become customary among Western policy-makers and observers alike to seek to identify both a "vertical" split between the ruling tandem of President Medvedev and Prime Minister Putin,[3] and a consequent change in Russian domestic and foreign policies – in other words, away from the more robust and assertive stance adopted during Vladimir Putin's second presidential term and towards a more 'liberal' and internationally cooperative approach. Such hopes were again evident following the leak of a foreign policy document to the press in May 2010. In their haste to see a Russia 'coming back' to the West, many observers assumed that the document reflected a new Russian foreign policy – and was just another illustration of the rift between the President and Prime Minister.[4] But how far has Russian policy, either domestic or foreign, actually changed in substance?

Continuity and consensus

One of the most striking aspects of the Russian elite, particularly in comparison to the 1990s and even the early 2000s, is

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[3] See, for instance, "Is a Medvedev-Putin split brewing?", 6 August 2008, http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/insight/articles/pp080708.shtml (accessed 5 August 2010); Wendle, J. "Signs of tensions between Putin and Medvedev?", *Time*, 19 March 2009. http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1886300,00.html (accessed 5 August 2010).

[4] For the leaked document, see "Programma effektivnovo izpolzovaniya na sistemnoi oshnove vneshepoliticheskikh faktorov v tselakh dolgosrochnovo razvitiya Rossisskoi Federatsii", and "Pust opyat budet solntse", *Russian Newsweek*, www.runewsweek.ru/country/34184/ (accessed 5 August 2010). For commentary see, for instance, McDermott, R, "Kremlin Contemplates a Seismic Shift in Russian Foreign Policy", *Jamestown Foundation*, 19 May 2010; http://www.jamestown.org/programs/edm/single/?tx_ttnews[tt_news]=36393&cHash=f2c72323eb (accessed 5 August 2010); "Leaked Russian Document: Could Medvedev Era Tilt More Pro-West?", *Christian Science Monitor*, 13 May 2010. http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Europe/2010/0513/Leaked-Russian-document-Could-Medvedev-era-tilt-more-pro-West (accessed 5 August 2010); "Leaked Paper Calls for Friendlier Foreign Policy", *The Moscow Times*, 13 May 2010. http://www.themoscowtimes.com/news/article/leaked-paper-calls-for-friendlier-foreign-policy/405884.html (accessed 5 August 2010).

the continuity in leadership circles: a team has been built up around a core of experienced senior officials. This works at two levels.

First, there is the leadership of Medvedev and Putin, who have worked closely together in politics for much of the post-Cold War period and particularly at the top in the last seven years: Medvedev was the Director of Putin's Presidential Administration from 2003 to 2005, and then First Deputy Prime Minister from 2005 to 2008. This leadership group also includes other senior figures such as Igor Sechin and Vladislav Surkov. Sechin, appointed Deputy Chief of the Presidential Administration in 2000, and now Deputy Prime Minister and Chairman of state oil company Rosneft, is one of the most important figures in Russian politics; indeed, he is often referred to as the third man in the Russian leadership "triumvirate" alongside Putin and Medvedev. Surkov, who has held positions in the Presidential Administration since 1999, was formerly Putin's chief strategist; he now heads the Presidential Administration's domestic politics department. This involves not only overseeing the major political parties and parliamentary activities but also playing a very active role in developing the conceptual formulations of the Russian leadership, including "Sovereign Democracy", "Conservative Democracy" and "Evolution without Revolution" – political approaches that simultaneously reject foreign intervention in Russian politics and assert a top-down, managed political agenda.[5]

Second, the wider leadership team is reflected in the Security Council, which has become one of the main organs for coordination of strategic thinking. The importance of the Security Council has admittedly fluctuated since its inception; under the direction of Nikolai

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[5] For further discussion of "Sovereign Democracy", see Krastev, I. "Sovereign Democracy Russian Style", *OpenDemocracy*, 16 November 2006, http://www.opendemocracy.net/globalization-institutions_government/sovereign_democracy_4104.jsp (accessed 5 August 2010). For more on Surkov and his role in Russian politics, see *Review of Natan Dubovitsky's "Okolonolia" [Gangsta Fiction]*, NATO Defence College Review Series, October 2009. http://www.ndc.nato.int/research/series.php?icode=9 (accessed 5 August)

Patrushev, who became Secretary of the Council on 12 May 2008, it currently appears to be playing a much more important role as a reservoir of experience and authority. It has supervised and coordinated the development of the strategic overhaul, drawing together the main goals and then authorising the documents. As one commentator has phrased it, "doubts" about the role of the Security Council are now "dispelled", since it is firmly "at the helm of all areas of Russian activity which can be construed as having a bearing on national security, including, from now on, economic development and human rights."[6]

This leadership team has sought to shape a broad consensus about Russia and its role in international affairs that has taken more coherent shape and a more prominent public profile since 2004. Indeed, both the development of the concept of Sovereign Democracy and the early planning of documents began in 2004, building on the narrative that Moscow established of Russia's experiences during the 1990s. Planning and publication have been stop-start processes as the leadership team has debated the draft documents and returned them to planning for improvement. Nevertheless, it appears that a broad overall plan is taking shape, one that stresses a longer-term approach.[7]

The consensus is based on two main assumptions, as sketched in the new strategic documents. The first of these is that Russia has passed through its transition phase. Russia has overcome the difficulties of the 1990s and, as senior officials like to say, has stood "up off its knees". As stated in the Foreign Ministry's yearly survey of Russia's

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[6] For an overview of the formation and role of the Security Council, see Vendil, C. "The Russian Security Council", *European Security*, 10:2, 2001. For examination of its role in the current strategic overhaul, see Giles, K. "Russia's National Security Strategy to 2020", *NDC Review*, June 2009. http://www.ndc.nato.int/research/series.php?icode=9 (accessed 5 August 2010), p. 2. Giles notes that the Security Strategy, for instance, was prepared by an interdepartmental working group attached to the staff of the Security Council. This working group included representatives of a number of branches of the policy executive: government staff, presidential staff, the staffs of presidential plenipotentiaries to the Federal Districts, the Russian Academy of Sciences and the expert and business community.

[7] Monaghan, A. "At the table or on the menu? Russia's proposals for strategic reform", *NDC Report*, June 2009, http://www.ndc.nato.int/research/series.php?icode=3 (accessed 5 August 2010); Giles, p. 3.

foreign policy and diplomatic activities in 2009, Russia has "finished a stage of 'concentration' and returned to the international arena in the role of one of the world's leading states".[8] As a major international power, a regional power with a global horizon, Moscow believes that Russia is an indispensable partner with responsibilities to contribute to international affairs and attempt to resolve international problems.

This power, as is well known, is built up on two main pillars – the establishment of domestic political stability and energy resources. The Russian leadership has sought to emphasise political stability through the establishment of the "power vertical" of authority and the incorporation of diverse political interests, particularly into the party of power, United Russia. Moscow has sought to use its energy resources – as the most important world energy state, given its oil, gas and coal reserves and nuclear and renewable capacities – to pay off its debts (thus securing economic independence), to generate funds to implement domestic and foreign policy goals, and as both carrot and stick tools in negotiations with partners. Despite the heavy impact of the financial crisis on Russia's economy, thanks in large part to its energy sector Russia retains considerable financial strength, particularly compared to its regional neighbours.

The second assumption is that international affairs are at an important time of change. This has a number of ramifications for Moscow's strategic thinking. Change will be reflected in greater competition for ideas, values, influence and resources, and is likely to be accompanied by increasing instability: section two of the National Security Strategy states that "Values and models of development have become the subject of global competition".[9] The attractiveness of the

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[8] Survey by MFA of Russia (2009), *The Foreign Policy and Diplomatic Activities of the Russian Federation in 2008*. Moscow, March. http://www.mid.ru/brp_4.nsf/429325aedb9cc616c32573bd0049238f/c77fbfe0819669b9c32575e100338b95/$FILE/THE%20FOREIGN%20POLICY%20AND%20DIPLOMATIC%20ACTIVITIES%20OF%20THE%20RUSSIAN%20FEDERATION%20IN%202008.pdf (accessed 5 August 2010).

[9] *Strategiya national'naya bezopasnosti Rossiiskoi Federatsii do 2020 goda*, 12 May 2009. II.8. http://

West as a model – particularly as reflected in Anglo-Saxon values – is seen to be receding as the USA loses influence after the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. Furthermore, given the rise of other regional powers and ongoing problems such as instability in Afghanistan and Pakistan, the current international architecture is seen to be not just unrepresentative, but ineffective. There is thus a need for international architectural change – a need which lies at the heart of Moscow's proposals for security, energy and financial reform.[10]

On the basis of these assumptions, more practical goals have emerged. The first is the need to establish Russia as an international financial, energy and security hub in the Eurasian region, thus forming one of the major "poles" in a multipolar world. This reflects the point that Russian domestic and foreign policy are intimately linked. As Medvedev stated in a speech to Russian ambassadors and the diplomatic community on 12 July 2010, Russian foreign policy instruments must be used more effectively for pursuing domestic objectives, for modernising Russia, its "economy, its social life, and to some degree, its political life".[11] This means investing in infrastructural improvement and conversion of the Russian economy into a high-tech hub, particularly through the development of a Russian version of Silicon Valley – a high-tech research and development hub at Skolkovo.

Moscow also seeks to establish Russia as an international financial centre, and in spring 2009 announced and then published its proposals for the reform of the international financial architecture in the build-up to the G20 summit in London. Although this goal

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www.mid.ru/ns-osndoc.nsf/0e9272befa34209743256c630042d1aa/8abb3c17eb3d2626c32575b500320ae4?OpenDocument (accessed 5 August 2010.)

[10] Monaghan, "At the table or on the menu?"

[11] Medvedev, D. Speech to ambassadors and permanent representatives in international organizations, 12 July 2010, http://www.mid.ru/brp_4.nsf/0/3062555089EE739FC325775F001EA31E (accessed 5 August 2010).

temporarily receded in the face of the financial crisis, it has again emerged as the Russian economy has begun to recover. In spring, Finance Minister Alexei Kudrin outlined plans to issue treasury bonds on the international market denominated in Russian roubles as a means of creating their own financial market.[12] In May, Medvedev established a working group to create a financial centre (and the rouble as a regional reserve currency) in Moscow and Alexander Voloshin, a senior figure with long experience at the heart of Russian politics, has been appointed to lead the initiative.

Moscow has also attempted to spread Russian influence by supporting the activities of regional international organisations such as the Collective Security Treaty Organisation (CSTO) and the Eurasia Economic Community (EurAsEC), through which Moscow has also sought to establish a customs union and a regional anti-crisis fund. Deals on energy supplies and transit infrastructure also play an important role in the Eurasian hub goal.

Importantly, Moscow seeks to establish Russia as a political hub and model in Eurasia. Senior political figures such as Konstantin Kosachov have proposed the need for the sovereign democratisation of the state's individual democratic development in response to the West's "democratic messianism" or "export model of democracy".[13] Other senior officials, including Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov, have suggested that Russia should become politically, economically and culturally attractive.[14] In so doing, therefore, Moscow proposes a different economic and political model that seeks to attract developing states in the region by showing them that their societies and economies can be organised in ways different to the EU and NATO – which would entail significant and expensive reform. According to prominent Russian

[12] Naumov, I. "Kudrin vuivodit ruble v mirovie rezervui", *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, 1 April 2010.
[13] Kosachov, K. "Russia and the West: where the differences lie", *Russia in Global Affairs*, 4, October-December 2007.
[14] "Interview with Sergei Lavrov", *Izvestiya*, 31 March 2008.

thinkers, many neighbouring states are already "eager to emulate" Russia's sovereign system.[15] If values and models of development are to be a source of competition, Moscow seeks to promote Russia as a valid and attractive value centre in its own right.

These strategic assumptions and practical goals form the basis for what has become known as the "Medvedev proposals". Most western attention has focused on the security proposals, outlined by Medvedev in a speech in Berlin in June 2008.[16] These security proposals, which have been reiterated by other senior Russian officials at almost every opportunity since, asserted the need for a new architecture for a new epoch – for confirming the commitments to sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence as the basic principles of security and international affairs. Medvedev also called for the confirmation of the non-use of force or its threat in international relations, guarantees of symmetrical security and the establishment of basic arms control parameters and definitions of new security threats. Indicative of Moscow's concerns about being excluded from Euro-Atlantic security decision-making and the inherent fragmentation of European security, the proposals included the demand that no individual state or organisation should wield exclusive rights to maintaining peace and security in Europe.[17] The first stage in this process should be a general European summit to start the drafting of a legally binding treaty on

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[15] Karaganov, S. "A new epoch of confrontation", *Russia in Global Affairs*, 5:4, 2007. http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/number/n_9791 (accessed 5 August 2010).

[16] Medvedev, D. Speech at Meeting with German Political, Parliamentary and Civic Leaders, Berlin, 5 June 5 2008 An English language transcript of the speech can be found at http://www.ln.mid.ru/brp_4.nsf/0/C080DC2FF8D93629C3257460003496C4 (accessed 5 August).

[17] In making such proposals, it is worth noting that they draw heavily on and emphasise the framework established in the Platform for Cooperative Security, a document providing the basis for inter-institutional dialogue which Moscow asserts sets out the principles, agreed in the Charter for European Security in 1999, that should govern interaction among organizations in the OSCE area. The document particularly notes the relevance of cooperation in conflict prevention and crisis management, and calls on participants to support the OSCE's concept of common, comprehensive and indivisible security, as well as the notion of a common security space free of dividing lines. *Platform for Cooperative Security*, Istanbul, 1999. http://www.osce.org/documents/mcs/1999/11/17513_en.pdf

European security which Moscow claims could comprehensively resolve the security and arms control concerns in Europe.

In fact, however, there were three sets of proposals rolled out by Moscow: alongside the proposals for the reform of the Euro-Atlantic security architecture, Moscow has called for the reform of the European energy architecture and the international financial architecture. In the Berlin speech, Medvedev called for a "greater Europe" – both a treaty on security and also the idea of establishing international consortia that would operate transit pipelines. He repeated the call for both security and energy reform in Helsinki in spring 2009, and simultaneously announced a series of proposals for the reform of the European energy architecture. A draft treaty for European security was published and distributed in November 2009.

The three sets of proposals are deeply couched in Moscow's assumptions and thus form a central element of foreign policy – in fact, although Medvedev has played an important role in launching the ideas to a higher level, and they have gained importance because he supports them, the initiatives do not reflect 'new' thinking by Moscow. They reflect a longer-standing rejection, widely held in Moscow, of the current architectures, which, as noted above, are considered to be ineffective and unrepresentative of today's international realities, and an attempt to formulate a reconsideration of the rules that is emphasised at every opportunity. In their rejection of the current situation, they should therefore be seen as intertwined with other unilateral policies such as the suspension of the Treaty on Conventional Forces Europe and the non-ratification of the Energy Charter Treaty.

Since launching the proposals, Moscow appears to believe that in some respects it holds the initiative and is able to implement its strategy – as noted above, senior officials argue that the economy is recovering, suggesting that Russia will emerge from the crisis quicker

than other major states. Some Russian analysts even argue that the crisis has demonstrated the effectiveness of the model Russia espouses, of greater state involvement in the economy.[18] Others assert the end of NATO's enlargement process after the Russo-Georgian war as a positive result for Moscow, just as they consider Russia's improved relations with neighbours such as Ukraine a success. Medvedev himself notes the progress being made regarding the proposals for the reform of the Euro-Atlantic security architecture as reflected in the Corfu Process, stating recently that "the initiative … has become the subject of lively discussions not only with our traditional partners, Germany, France and Italy, but with the majority of participants in the Euro-Atlantic security system".[19]

The Difficulties of Strategy

Strategy, however, is not just the formulation of an idea, but the prioritisation and coordination of its elements. It is also about its implementation. In fact, Moscow faces significant difficulties in composing and coordinating the detail of a strategy and then in having it implemented. If there is broad agreement among the leadership concerning Russia's evolving development and what it does not like about the international environment, and this consensus is roughly sewn together in "Strategy-2020", the Foreign Policy Concept and National Security Strategy, it is less clear that it has forged a positive agenda. This is in large part because, while there is consensus among the team at the top, there appears to be a shortfall of bureaucratic capacity at working or mechanical levels to provide the substance and ability to develop and formulate the strategic overhaul and turn its

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[18] See discussion in Krastev, I, Leonard, M. & A. Wilson (eds.), *What Does Russia Think?* European Council on Foreign Relations, September 2009, particularly in Fadeev, V. "Has the economic crisis changed the world view of the Russian political class?".

[19] Medvedev, D. Speech to ambassadors and permanent representatives in international organizations, 12 July 2010.

initiatives into more detailed practical policies.

The Medvedev proposals, therefore, and particularly the security proposals, contain numerous inconsistencies and contradictions, exacerbated by the very events that Moscow sees as confirming their need. Most notable among these are the calls for the rejection of the use of force in international affairs and respect for international law, territorial integrity and the sovereignty of states – points which to many in the West seem inconsistent with Moscow's actions during the Russo-Georgian War and Moscow's recognition of South Ossetia and Abkhazia. Further ambiguities also emerge: how do the proposals for a reconsideration of the security and energy architectures sit alongside existing treaties and agreements? Is Moscow seeking to leave arrangements such as the CFE Treaty and ECT? Are the proposals alternatives or complementary? Given the range of proposals, exactly how many treaties does Moscow envisage?[20]

Such tensions are also visible within Moscow's own strategic and doctrinal overhaul. The high profile leaking prior to the publication of the new Military Doctrine (and, indeed, the long delays in its eventual publication) and the leak of the foreign policy document suggest ongoing political manoeuvring and difficulties in establishing priorities and setting an agenda. Furthermore, if the foreign policy document appears broadly in line with the Foreign Policy Concept of 2008, the same cannot be said of the Military Doctrine, which appears to be discordant with the more optimistic National Security Strategy. Indeed, the Military Doctrine itself appears to be the subject of heated internal debate. Despite leaks suggesting that a provision for pre-emptive nuclear strike would be included, it was not. Furthermore, the document hardly acknowledges the ongoing major effort to reform the military – a striking omission given the scale of the attempted

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[20] For more discussion of these points, see Monaghan, A. "At the table or on the menu? Russia's proposals for strategic reform", *NDC Report*, June 2009, http://www.ndc.nato.int/research/series.php?icode=3 (accessed 5 August 2010).

change.[21] So if a Military Doctrine is supposed to reflect a common understanding of threats and approaches to resolving them, the new publication appears to underscore the lack of such concord in Moscow – terminology has to be defined in the text and major issues are ignored. Interestingly, the Chief of the General Staff, General Makarov, was not present at the signing of the Doctrine by Medvedev.

Moreover, strategy, of course, is never shaped in a vacuum, and the domestic context in which the leadership team is trying to shape a consensus is flush with problems, some dating from the Soviet inheritance. Much of the modernisation agenda is dedicated to attempting to manage the Soviet inheritance properly – particularly the limited and aging infrastructure. To be sure, this is publicly acknowledged by the Russian leadership, including Medvedev himself. But there are huge gaps in infrastructure capacity, in terms of both a road and rail network and infrastructure to begin to develop Russia's vast energy reserves. This is of importance given the mature state of current energy fields and the time and colossal resources necessary to explore and then exploit the new fields that will be central to Russia's economic growth. Not only are there infrastructure gaps: much of the existing infrastructure is aging and decrepit. The limitations of the infrastructure are magnified by the heavy workload it bears, often close to maximum, and by the context in which it is operated – particularly limited investment in maintenance and safety measures – which emphasises fatigue. This aging capacity and heavy workload appears to be the reason for numerous accidents, for instance that at the Sayano-Shushenskaya hydro-electric power station in August 2009.

It is not only the Soviet inheritance that impedes Moscow's strategy. Numerous post-Soviet problems also demand constant attention, the clearest example being the North Caucasus and the

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[21] See discussion in Giles, K. "The Military Doctrine of the Russian Federation 2010", *NDC Review*, February 2010, http://www.ndc.nato.int/research/series.php?icode=9 (accessed 5 August 2010).

spread of terrorism. The prominence of this issue was illustrated by the bombings in the Moscow metro and on the Nevsky Express train between Moscow and St. Petersburg, but it is a major ongoing problem across the North Caucasus, where attacks on civilians, law enforcement officers and senior officials take place on an almost daily basis. Vladimir Ustinov, Presidential Envoy to the Southern Federal District, recently announced that terrorist attacks in the North Caucasus increased by 30% in 2009 to 786 acts.[22]

Such problems, both old and new (and those noted here represent just the tip of a large iceberg), have a serious impact on Moscow's ability to develop a strategy, since they dominate the daily agenda. Not only do they absorb huge financial resources for reforms, improvements and repair, and huge investments in economic and social development in the North Caucasus region. The Russian leadership itself is often reduced to dealing with each problem, responding to issues on a day-to-day basis. The leadership has to run time-consuming investigations into accidents such as that at the Sayano-Shushenskaya hydro-electric power station, and the Security Council has repeatedly had its agenda dominated by terrorism in the North Caucasus.[23] Despite the numerous meetings, however, there appear to be few fresh answers in how to deal with the problem: Medvedev has repeatedly tasked the National Anti Terrorist Committee to formulate fresh responses – apparently to little avail.

This leads to the main problem with Moscow's modernisation strategy: the power vertical does not work well enough to implement the goals set. Already the reform agenda is likely to go against deep, vested interests, particularly in the economy. However, the failure of the power vertical is reflected in several ways beyond the shortfalls

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[22] Cited in Monaghan, A. "The Moscow metro bombings and terrorism in Russia", *NDC Research Paper 59*, June 2010.

[23] At the time of writing, it had just met again to seek to address the spread of fires across central Russia.

of capacity to develop ideas to address immediate problems. First, the reliance on loyalty in the vertical serves to close the system of authority and create conditions for the proliferation of corruption. As Medvedev acknowledged in his address to the Federal Assembly in November, a significant amount of state financing for the development of the North Caucasus is "almost openly stolen by officials".[24] Similar concerns apply elsewhere, too, as entrenched corruption absorbs large sums of funding intended for reform throughout the system.

Second, Ministries and power organs do not coordinate well and often appear to be in competition with each other, and information is not shared. A particularly striking example of the power vertical not working, therefore, has been Medvedev's recent criticism of the government for ineffectiveness, and his demand for a list of those who ignore his orders. In the second meeting this year dedicated to how his orders are carried out, Medvedev stated that officials who are not following his orders should be singled out and punished. Six deputy ministers were subsequently reprimanded by Putin for not fulfilling presidential orders in a timely fashion, and all ministries and departments were placed on a special disobedience watch.[25] But these are merely symbolic gestures: this is a long-standing problem, one that Putin himself has faced as president. Strikingly, officials state that in 2010 there has already been a 68% improvement in completion of orders – with only every fifth order completed on time. Russian commentators note that the bureaucracy is so huge and the chain of instructions becomes so lengthy that it is often unclear at which level orders begin to fail.[26]

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[24] Medvedev, D. Presidential Address to the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation, 12 November 2009.

[25] "Putin nashol v cvoyom pravitelstve shest chelovek, kotorie ne slushayutsa Medvedeva", *Newsru,* 7 July 2010. www.newsru.com/russia/07jul2010/neradivie.html (accessed 5 August 2010).

[26] Kholmogorova, V. & A. Kornya, "Kremlin seeks list of punished officials", *The Moscow Times*, 23 June 2010. p. 4. One observer suggested that the list was likely to be "filled with fairly random people whom the government has wanted to fire for some time but lacked a reason".

In the same vein, it is worth noting that Medvedev has also fired senior officials in the Interior Ministry – in February he ordered the firing of 17 Interior Ministry generals and regional interior ministers, and submitted a bill to parliament seeking tougher punishment for police found guilty of corruption. However, a number of those fired in February are already back in senior law enforcement positions – even in ones more senior to those from which they were fired.[27] Given these problems, the government frequently has to rely on "manual control", whereby the most senior executive figures must regularly oversee the management of even low-level problems themselves.

Conclusions: Political Continuity with Limited Effectiveness

In a lucid moment, Churchill defined grand strategy as the art of foreseeing the outlines of the future and dealing with it. In more practical terms, this means the coordinated relationship between political ends and the means with which to achieve them: the art of controlling, prioritising and using the resources of a nation such that its vital interests are effectively promoted and secured. The Russian leadership has framed how it sees the future – as one of multipolar competition in which Russia has emerged from its transition period and must be actively involved as an indispensible partner. These assumptions form the basis of Russian domestic and foreign policy – and until these assumptions change, it is unlikely that Russian policy will change its "ethos" and overall direction.

Thus Russia will not "join the West". Instead, it will seek to attract states to its own model and frame partnership and cooperation as far as possible on its own terms. The "Russia Forward" project thus reflects the fact that Moscow has made considerable strides forward in attempting to shape policy consensus – and is sufficiently confident to

[27] For more discussion of this, see Monaghan, "The Moscow Metro bombings".

assert its agenda internationally.

Yet so far this is tantamount to an aspiration, rather than a strategy. Russia remains buffeted by the wider international – and even its own domestic – context. In many ways, it remains responsive rather than proactively shaping its environment. Despite the broad consensus among the leadership and its energy-based wealth, Moscow does not yet have the capacity to implement its strategic agenda: the art of dealing with the future. This is due less to tensions in the tandem than to "horizontal splits" in authority: beneath the leadership consensus there is a simultaneous lack of bureaucratic capacity to develop policies, and the heavy hand of a bureaucracy that does not effectively implement policies once developed. Indeed, the difficulties of implementing the "Russia Forward" agenda are legion. Although Moscow is able to invest significant sums into its strategy, the resources and authority it has at its disposal dissipate rapidly so that it cannot drive its agenda. The result is political continuity but with limited effectiveness.

What Are You Prepared to Do? NATO and the Strategic Mismatch between Ends, Ways and Means in Afghanistan – and in the Future

David E. Johnson[1]

Wearing down the enemy in a conflict means using
the duration of the war to bring about a gradual exhaustion of his physical and moral resistance.
If we intend to hold out longer than our opponent
we must be content with the smallest possible objects,
for obviously a major object requires more effort than a minor one.[2]

Clausewitz, *On War*

The purpose of the NATO Defense College Contemporary Strategic Issues Workshop, convened 7-9 July 2010, was to "discuss and develop ideas regarding the purpose of strategy and how it should be developed." Participants were asked to "explore the differences and similarities between the approaches typically used by civilian organizations and the doctrinal methods of NATO and the militaries of its member states and partners."[3] The workshop program also highlighted the centrality of the comprehensive approach to success in Afghanistan and future NATO missions:

- It is widely recognized that a comprehensive approach is necessary for NATO to succeed in contemporary missions

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[1] This paper reflects the author's views and not necessarily those of RAND or any of its clients.
[2] Carl von Clausewitz, *On War,* Michael Howard and Peter Paret, eds. and trans., Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1976.
[3] NATO Defense College, "Contemporary strategic issues workshop draft program", dated 28 April 2010.

such as that of the International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan. Indeed, NATO and EU officials frequently talk about the need for a "comprehensive approach" that would integrate the military and civilian components "required to do all the things that NATO has been called upon to do".[4]

- NATO and its member states have generally done poorly in their attempts at putting the concept into practice.[5]
- One of the reasons for this difficulty is the lack of common concepts and approaches towards the development of strategy by the civilian and military elements that must be involved in a comprehensive approach.[6]

Thus, our charter was one of attempting to rationalize the various civilian and military approaches and doctrines that are inputs to the concept of the comprehensive approach, with the expectation that such an exercise will improve strategic performance outcomes.

I agree with the assessment that there are problems with the comprehensive approach in practice as witnessed in ongoing operations, particularly those of ISAF in Afghanistan. Nevertheless, I will argue that the principal difficulties ISAF is experiencing in Afghanistan cannot be blamed on the inadequacies of the comprehensive approach. Instead, ISAF's problems in Afghanistan – and problems which NATO will likely continue to face in the future – are more fundamental and reflect a mismatch in the ends, ways, and means that are central to the formulation of strategy. Any discussion that focuses only on improving the comprehensive approach will only discuss the "ways." At best, we can hope to provide recommendations on how to improve the "process" without ever fully addressing the more important questions of strategic

[4] "Interview with Military Committee Chairman General Ray Henault," *NATO Review*, Spring 2007, http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2007/issue1/english/interview.html, (accessed 14 June 2010).

[5] "Complex Operations and Interagency Operational Art," *PRISM*, December 2009, pp. 37-50. http://www.ndu.edu/press/lib/images/prism1-1/5_Prism_37-50_Schnaubelt.pdf, (accessed 4 June 2010).

[6] "Contemporary Strategic Issues Workshop Draft Program".

purpose and the resources required to achieve that purpose. This would be akin to developing comprehensive architectural and engineering drawings for a new thirty-story skyscraper without fully considering that the proposed building site is in a swamp, that one's budget will only fund two floors of the proposed structure, and that the contracted construction company has experience only in building small houses – much less asking whether or not one even needs a skyscraper of that size to begin with. To paraphrase the famous Clint Eastwood character Inspector Harry Callahan in the movie *Magnum Force*, "An Alliance has got to know its limitations."[7]

In the pages that follow, I will assess difficulties in ISAF operations in Afghanistan. My aim will be to get at the issue of ends, ways, and means that I believe are endemic to large-scale protracted stability and COIN (counterinsurgency) operations, against adversaries who do not pose palpable existential threats to the members of an alliance. I will focus mainly on the U. S. experience. My sense, however, is that U.S. experiences in Afghanistan are shared by other members of ISAF.

Are the "ends" and "ways" clearly articulated in the strategy for Afghanistan?

Before moving to a discussion of means (resources necessary for a strategy), it is important to analyze whether or not ends (policy objectives) and ways (approaches to achieving the ends) are clear and potentially achievable. In the case of Afghanistan, this seems to be the case.

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[7] "Memorable quotes for *Magnum Force*, http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0070355/quotes, (accessed 14 June 2010).

The ends in Afghanistan seem clear

The April 2010 Department of Defense *Report on Progress Toward Security and Stability in Afghanistan* to the U.S. Congress shows that the United States has a coordinated interagency set of objectives or ends, approved by the President, for the way forward in Afghanistan:

- Deny al Qaeda a safe haven;
- Reverse the Taliban's momentum and deny it the ability to overthrow the Afghan Government; and
- Strengthen the capacity of Afghanistan's security forces and the Afghan Government so that they can take lead responsibility for Afghanistan's future.[8]

At a recent meeting in Brussels, NATO defense ministers affirmed that NATO is "fully committed to Afghanistan, which remains the Alliance's key priority, to ensure that it will never again be a safe haven for terrorism and to contribute to a better future for the Afghan people."[9] Thus, the strategic-level policy ends have been

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[8] U.S. Department of Defense, *Report on progress toward security and stability in Afghanistan* and *United States plan for sustaining the Afghanistan national security forces*, dated April 2010, 11, at http://www.defense.gov/pubs/pdfs/Report_Final_SecDef_04_26_10.pdf, (accessed 29 May 2010). This report also notes in the executive summary that it was "prepared in coordination with the Secretary of State, the Director of National Intelligence, the Attorney General, the Administrator of the Drug Enforcement Administration, the Administrator of the United States Agency for International Development, the Secretary of Agriculture, and the Secretary of the Treasury" (5).

[9] NATO, "Press release (11 June 2010) declaration by NATO defence ministers following their meetings in Brussels on 10 and 11 June 2010", http://www.nato.int/cps/en/SID-F9520E37-798F0E49/natolive/news_64321.htm?mode=pressrelease, (accessed 11 June 2010). See also NATO, "Afghan strategy reaffirmed," July 1, 2010, at http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/news_64766.htm?selectedLocale=en, (accessed 19 July 2010). NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen, on the occasion of General David Petraeus's visit to NATO after assuming command of ISAF, reaffirmed the NATO commitment to Afghanistan, noting "*We will all continue the current strategy to take on the Taliban politically and militarily in their heartland; to gradually transfer lead security responsibility to the Afghans; and to help the Government of Afghanistan in providing good governance and delivering basic services to the Afghan people*." Emphasis in the original.

clearly articulated.[10]

The ways are understood

The U.S. administration has also identified the ways in which it will achieve its strategic objectives in Afghanistan:

- A military effort to create the conditions for a transition;
- A civilian surge that reinforces positive action; and
- An effective partnership with Pakistan.[11]

This national-level guidance has been incorporated into the revised ISAF Operations Plan (OPLAN) 38302, which, during the tenure of General Stanley A. McChrystal as the COMISAF [Commander, International Security Assistance Forces], resulted in a strategy focused "on protecting the population and improving rule of law in Afghanistan."[12]

The NATO defense ministers also endorsed General McChrystal's approach and noted its progress:

> Operations across Afghanistan are making measured progress in extending the reach of the Afghan Government, changing the political conditions, and marginalising the insurgency, including through particular efforts in central Helmand and Kandahar. Significant

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[10] See also T. X. Hammes, et al., "Afghanistan: Connecting Assumptions and Strategy," *U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, November 2009, pp. 16-20. This article argues that there are six key assumptions undergirding current U.S. strategy in Afghanistan that need to be revisited, noting: "Connections between assumptions and strategy for Afghanistan accordingly are inseparable, but the architects of U.S. military involvement cling tenaciously to presumptions that simply aren't so" (16).

[11] *Report on progress toward security and stability in Afghanistan*, p. 11.

[12] *Report on progress toward security and stability in Afghanistan*, p. 12. As this paper was being prepared General McChrystal was relieved of command. General David A. Petraeus was nominated to take over as COMISAF.

> challenges remain, and success is not yet assured, but we are encouraged by recent results.[13]

The ministers also talked about the longer-term way forward – Afghanistan providing for its own security:

> All ISAF nations share with the Afghan Government the determination to create the conditions for Afghanistan to assume responsibility for its own security. We welcomed the significant improvement in the capability of the Afghan National Security Forces, and are committed to providing the trainers needed to support that steady progress. Transition to Afghan lead is a crucial part of all our activities including our counter-insurgency efforts and will herald an incremental shift in focus towards long-term training, partnering and capacity-building.[14]

Finally, there was a somewhat veiled admonition towards the Afghan government of President Hamid Karzai:

> We welcome the Afghan Government's efforts to advance the prospects of national reconciliation and reintegration and look forward to the results of the Kabul Conference, at which the Government of Afghanistan will take further steps to deliver on its commitments especially with respect to governance and anti-corruption.[15]

This is an important point, given the centrality of a legitimate host nation government to success in COIN, as noted in *FM 3-24/*

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[13] "Press release (11 June 2010) declaration by NATO defence ministers".
[14] "Press release (11 June 2010) declaration by NATO defence ministers".
[15] "Press release (11 June 2010) declaration by NATO defence ministers".

MCWP 3-33.5: Counterinsurgency:

> Military action can address the symptoms of a loss of legitimacy. In some cases, it can eliminate substantial numbers of insurgents. However, success in the form of a durable peace requires restoring legitimacy, which, in turn, requires the use of all instruments of national power. A COIN effort cannot achieve lasting success without the HN government achieving legitimacy.[16]

ISAF has also stated specifically how it will translate the broad political ends and ways into specifics about the ways in which its ends will be attained: “the strategy is focused on COIN [counterinsurgency] operations designed to protect population centers, support improved governance, and create a sustainable security environment for the Government of Afghanistan.”[17] Furthermore, there has been a concerted effort to improve the comprehensive approach to enable the strategy:

> Crucial to the revised NATO strategy is improvement in NATO and international civil-military coordination. To assist in the coordination and delivery of the NATO civilian effort in Afghanistan, on January 26, NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen appointed former UK Ambassador to Afghanistan Mark Sedwill as the new NATO Senior Civilian Representative (SCR) and as the civilian counterpart to General McChrystal. His appointment will improve the unity of effort between NATO and the United Nations Assistance Mission-Afghanistan (UNAMA), the European Union,

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[16] U.S. Department of the Army and U.S. Marine Corps, *FM 3-24/MCWP 3-33.5: Counterinsurgency*, Washington, D.C., Headquarters, Department of the Army and Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps, 2006, pp. 1-22.

[17] *Report on progress toward security and stability in Afghanistan*, p. 12.

and other international partners.[18]

Thus, the strategic ends and ways have been specified and high-level appointments have been made to ensure a comprehensive approach to ways to attaining them.

At the operational level, this strategic guidance has resulted in a clearly articulated concept of operations and a main effort for the ISAF campaign:

> ISAF, in partnership with the Afghan Government, conducts population-centric COIN operations, enables expanded and effective ANSF, and supports improved governance and development in order to protect the Afghan people and provide a secure environment for sustainable stability. . . . The main effort of the concept of operations is to conduct decisive shape-clear-hold-build-transition operations concentrated on the most threatened population in the southern part of the country to establish population security measures that diminish insurgent influence over the people.[19]

ISAF strategy bumps into reality in Marjah

The first test of the new ISAF approach in Afghanistan came in February 2010 with Operation Moshtarak (Dari for "Together") Phase II. Moshtarak II – which included U.S., United Kingdom, and Afghan forces – was a "governance-focused shape, clear, hold and build operation in central Helmand Province, with the aim of extending the authority of the Afghan Government to the previously

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[18] *Report on progress toward security and stability in Afghanistan*, p. 12.
[19] *Report on progress toward security and stability in Afghanistan*, p. 12.

ungoverned areas of Nad Ali District, including the town of Marjah."[20] The operation was centered "on showing positive trends quickly, protecting the population, expanding the authority of the Afghan Government, separating the insurgent from the population (physically and psychologically), and partnering with the ANSF at all levels."[21] Operation Moshtarak was also touted as being different from previous ISAF-Afghan efforts: "American and Afghan commanders say they will do something they have never done before: bring in an Afghan government and police force behind them. American and British troops will stay on to support them."[22] Lest there be any doubt about the Afghan government's capacity to do this, General McChrystal promised: "We've got a government in a box, ready to roll in."[23]

Although it is too early to fully understand the results of Operation Moshtarak, initial reporting indicates that ISAF did not fully attain its objectives, largely because of insufficient security forces and the disappointing performance of the government in a box:

> There aren't enough U.S. and Afghan forces to provide the security that's needed to win the loyalty of wary locals. The Taliban have beheaded Afghans who cooperate with foreigners in a creeping intimidation campaign. The Afghan government hasn't dispatched enough local administrators or trained police to establish credible governance, and now the Taliban have begun their anticipated spring offensive.[24]

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[20] *Report on progress toward security and stability in Afghanistan*, p. 29.
[21] *Report on progress toward security and stability in Afghanistan*, p. 29.
[22] Dexter Filkins, "Afghan offensive is new war model," *The New York Times*, February 12, 2010, http://www.nytimes.com/2010/02/13/world/asia/13kabul.html, (accessed 5 June 2010).
[23] Filkins, "Afghan offensive is new war model".
[24] Dion Nissenbaum, "McChrystal calls Marjah a 'bleeding ulcer' in Afghan campaign," *McClatchy Newspapers*, May 24, 2010, http://www.mcclatchydc.com/2010/05/24/94740/mcchrystal-calls-marjah-a-bleeding.html, (accessed 17 June 2010).

The situation prompted General McChrystal, under pressure to demonstrate an "irreversible sense of momentum" in Afghanistan, to call Marjah a "bleeding ulcer."[25] Consequently, as Rod Nordland of the *New York Times* reported, "It is not so much what happened as what did not. Marjah did not go nearly as well as hoped, and the area is still not sufficiently controlled for the local government's activities to resume or take root."

The slow progress in Operation Moshtarak Phase II also resulted in the postponement of the follow-on operation into central Kandahar (Phase III), and the operation has been renamed Hamkai (Dari for "cooperation"). This is more than a name change:

> Whereas in Marjah the plan was to carry out a military assault to oust the Taliban, followed by rapid delivery of government services, in Kandahar the approach is now the opposite. Civilian aid workers, protected by an increased military force, will try to provide those services first, before any major military action.[26]

Nordland's assessment of the basis for this change in operational approach seems quite plausible: "Marja, with 60,000 residents, is far smaller than Kandahar, with more than a million in the city and the surrounding districts. If Marja [*sic*] was hard, planners worried, what might Kandahar be?"[27]

The revised approach will rely heavily on "a steady increase of experts from the United States Embassy and NATO and aid workers

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[25] Nissenbaum, "McChrystal calls Marjah a 'bleeding ulcer' in Afghan campaign".
[26] Nordland, "Afghanistan strategy focuses on civilian effort," *the New York Times*, June 8, 2010, http://www.nytimes.com/2010/06/09/world/asia/09kandahar.html?pagewanted=print, (accessed 17 June 2010).
[27] Nordland, "Afghanistan strategy focuses on civilian effort".

– a ‘civilian surge’ – accompanied by a quiet increase in American troops to provide security for them.”[28]

Inadequately resourced ways are a problem

Marjah could be viewed as a failure of the relatively new U.S. COIN concepts and doctrine that are articulated in the joint U.S. Army and Marine Corps *Counterinsurgency* field manual. As Anthony Cordesman observed, “There is nothing more tragic than watching beautiful theories being assaulted by gangs of ugly facts.”[29] That said, it can be argued that there has yet to be a true test of U.S. COIN doctrine in Afghanistan. This is not an endorsement of the doctrine; an analysis of the viability of COIN doctrine is beyond the scope of this paper. Instead, what Operation Moshtarak should prompt is an assessment of why ISAF should have expected a better result from the COIN “way” (population-centric counterinsurgency) when the resources (means) are not in place to execute the concept, right or wrong. This is classic mismatch between ends, ways, and means, originating in the reformulation of the strategy for Afghanistan that began with the appointment of General McChrystal as COMISAF in the summer of 2009.

The debate that never took place

In August 2009 General McChrystal submitted his initial assessment of the situation in Afghanistan and his recommended way forward, which was leaked to the media. In September, the U.S. executive branch began a separate review of Afghanistan policy. Most of the discussion at the time focused on whether General McChrystal’s

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[28] Nordland, “Afghanistan strategy focuses on civilian effort”.

[29] Anthony Cordesman, “*Realism in Afghanistan: rethinking an uncertain case for the war*”, Washington, D.C., Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2010.

proposed counterinsurgency approach (protecting the population) or the alternative counterterrorism approach (isolating and killing terrorists) advocated by Vice President Joseph Biden was the better one for going forward in Afghanistan. Both of these approaches sought the same result: keep Afghanistan from becoming the terrorist sanctuary it was before 9/11.[30]

In December 2009 President Barack Obama agreed to support General McChrystal's new counterinsurgency campaign and an increase in troop strength.[31] President Obama announced the administration's way forward in a 1 December speech at West Point, stating that he had "determined that it is in our vital national interest to send an additional 30,000 U.S. troops to Afghanistan. After 18 months, our troops will begin to come home. These are the resources that we need to seize the initiative, while building the Afghan capacity that can allow for a responsible transition of our forces out of Afghanistan."[32]

The central assumption in this announcement was that the resources the President allocated would be sufficient for executing the COMISAF's strategy to conduct "an integrated civilian-military counterinsurgency campaign that earns the support of the Afghan people and provides them with a secure environment."[33] This includes the creation of Afghan military and governance capacities: "we must grow and improve the effectiveness of Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) and elevate the importance of governance."[34]

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[30] Peter Baker and Elisabeth Bumiller, "Obama considers strategy shift in Afghan war", *New York Times*, September 22, 2009, http://www.nytimes.com/2009/09/23/world/asia/23policy.html (accessed 18 June 2010).

[31] This strategy is outlined in Headquarters, International Security Assistance Force, "COMISAF'S initial assessment", dated 30 August 2009, http://media.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/politics/documents/Assessment_Redacted_092109.pdf (accessed 14 June 2010).

[32] The White House, "Remarks by the President in address to the nation on the way forward in Afghanistan and Pakistan", 1 December 2010, http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-address-nation-way-forward-afghanistan-and-pakistan, (accessed 21 June 2010).

[33] "COMISAF'S initial assessment", p. 1-1.

[34] "COMISAF'S initial assessment", p. 1-1.

The key question President Obama wanted answered during the review of Afghan strategy was thus both to the point and fundamental: Could McChrystal's strategy succeed with the forces the President was willing to allocate, in the timeframe to which the President was willing to commit? Jonathan Alter, in his book *The Promise: President Obama, Year One,* recounts that President Obama specifically addressed these issues with General David A. Petraeus, Commander of U.S. Central Command and therefore General McChrystal's hierarchical superior:

> [President Obama]: I want you to be honest with me. You can do this in 18 months?
> [General Petraeus] Sir, I'm confident we can train and hand over to the ANA [Afghan National Army] in that time frame.[35]

Alter also writes that Secretary of Defense Robert M. Gates and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Admiral Michael G. Mullen agreed with General Petraeus's assessment.[36]

Means testing in COIN

ISAF's new approach in Afghanistan has to solve two problems. The long-term issue is creating Afghan capacity which, as already noted, was assessed to require eighteen months. The short-term problem is "protecting the population from insurgent coercion and intimidation", which McChrystal stated required a "persistent presence and focus." Thus, he stressed that ISAF had "to gain the initiative and reverse insurgent momentum in the near-term – while Afghan security capacity matures."[37] This assessment, particularly

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[35] Jonathan Alter, *The Promise: President Obama, Year One,* New York, Simon and Schuster, 2010, p. 390.

[36] Alter, *The promise,* p. 390.

[37] "COMISAF'S initial assessment", pp. 1-2.

given recent events in Marjah, seems optimistic and illuminates the fundamental means problem with the ISAF strategy in Afghanistan: the assumptions that the "surge" of military personnel and civilian experts will be sufficient in quantity and quality to shield the Afghan population from the insurgents and that the ANSF can grow sufficiently, with international training assistance, to take over the task from ISAF forces within eighteen months.

Events in Marjah have already resulted in renewed discussion of the eighteen-month deadline for withdrawal from Afghanistan. Many argue that the deadline signals to the Taliban and others that we are leaving, regardless of conditions. Thus, the July 2011 withdrawal date encourages the insurgents to "wait out" ISAF, while those who are neutral are reluctant to commit to the Afghan government given the future uncertainties they have about an Afghanistan-absent ISAF. That said, Marjah should also spur an assessment of whether or not the resources committed to Afghanistan are sufficient even without a deadline for leaving.

The COIN troop calculus – quantity becomes quality and matters greatly

Fundamental to a successful COIN strategy is the premise that the people must be protected by security forces. The quantity of security forces (resources) that will be in Afghanistan to execute the new ISAF strategy conflicts with U.S. COIN doctrine, the way in McChrystal's strategy, which calls for a security force ratio of 20 to 25 counterinsurgents for every 1,000 residents for success.[38] Afghanistan's population of approximately 28.4 million means the combined ISAF

[38] *FM 3-24/MCWP 3-33.5, Counterinsurgency*, 1-13. See also James T. Quinlivan, "Force requirements in stability operations", *Parameters,* Winter 1995, pp. 59-69, and James T. Quinlivan, "Burden of victory: the painful arithmetic of stability operations," *RAND Review*, Summer 2003, pp. 28-29.

and Afghan security forces would need to number between 568,000 and 710,000. The importance of sufficient security forces is discussed in detail in *FM 3-24/MCWP 3-33.5: Counterinsurgency*:

> No force level guarantees victory for either side. During previous conflicts, planners assumed that combatants required a 10 or 15 to 1 advantage over insurgents to win. However, no predetermined, fixed ratio of friendly troops to enemy combatants ensures success in COIN. The conditions of the operational environment and the approaches insurgents use vary too widely. A better force requirement gauge is troop density, the ratio of security forces (including the host nation's military and police forces as well as foreign counterinsurgents) to inhabitants. Most density recommendations fall within a range of 20 to 25 counterinsurgents for every 1000 residents in an AO. Twenty counterinsurgents per 1000 residents is often considered the minimum troop density required for effective COIN operations; however, as with any fixed ratio, such calculations remain very dependent upon the situation . . . . As in any conflict, the size of the force needed to defeat an insurgency depends on the situation. However, COIN is manpower intensive because counterinsurgents must maintain widespread order and security. Moreover, counterinsurgents typically have to adopt different approaches to address each element of the insurgency. For example, auxiliaries might be co-opted by economic or political reforms, while fanatic combatants will most likely have to be killed or captured.[39]

It is also clear that in Afghanistan this doctrinal security force-

[39] *FM 3-24/MCWP 3-33.5, Counterinsurgency*, pp. 1-13.

to-population ratio is understood and used as a planning metric by ISAF operational commanders. During Operation Moshtarak, planners in British-led Task Force Helmand "identified the necessary COIN ratio to be twenty-five counter-insurgents per 1,000 population, and this produced an imperative to generate more friendly forces."[40]

The security forces that will be available by the current July 2011 date to begin withdrawing U.S. forces are almost fully in place. The Afghanistan National Security Forces (ANSF) are "broadly on track to meet targeted growth figures of 134,000 ANA and 109,000 ANP by October 2010."[41] The United States and other ISAF nations will have approximately 153,500 troops in place in Afghanistan by late summer 2010, assuming the commitments from ISAF contributors for 9,000 additional forces are met.[42] This will bring the total number of coalition security forces in Afghanistan to 396,000 – nowhere near the U.S. Army's and U.S. Marine Corps' own doctrinal guidelines, as stated in *FM 3-24/MCWP 3-33.5: Counterinsurgency*. This best case number also does not subtract the anticipated loss of 1,705 Dutch

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[40] Theo Farrell, *Appraising Moshtarak, the Campaign in Nad-e-Ali District, Helmand*, http://www.rusi.org/news/rss/ref:N4C223C1F023C7/ accessed (23 June 2010), 6.

[41] *Report on progress toward security and stability in Afghanistan,* 6. This report also projects that the ANSF will have 171,600 army and 134,000 police forces by October 2011. There are many reports and articles that raise doubts about the ability of the ANSF to grow to this level. Illiteracy, desertions, corruption, etc. are cited as some of the most compelling reasons. See, for example, Office of the Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction, "Actions Needed to Improve the Reliability of Afghan Security Force Assessments," June 29, 2010, http://media.mcclatchydc.com/static/pdf/Youssef-SIGAR.pdf (accessed 29 June 2010); Tim McGirk, "Will Afghanistan's military ever be fit to fight", *Time*, June 14, 2010, http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1993886,00.html (accessed 21 June 2010); Anthony Cordesman, "Realism in Afghanistan: rethinking an uncertain case for war", http://csis.org/publication/realism-afghanistan-rethinking-uncertain-case-war (accessed 16 June 2010); Christine Spolar, "To speed recruits, U.S. cuts Afghan police training to six weeks: decision prompted by shortages of training camps and instructors", *Huffington Post*, 15 March 2010, http://huffpostfund.org/stories/2010/03/speed-recruits-us-cuts-afghan-police-training-six-weeks#ixzz0iJR0kA7e (accessed 21 June 2010); George Will, "Waiting games in Afghanistan", *Washington Post*, June 17, 2010, a:21; and Walter Pincus, "U.S. fights trainer shortage, illiteracy in Afghanistan", *Washington Post*, March 17, 2010, a:2. See also Farrell, *Appraising Moshtarak.* There is also a problem with Afghan Army unit strengths. Farrell notes that "Afghan National Army companies are 100 strong on paper, but typically half of these will be on leave or have deserted. Thus, the actual company strength is typically between forty-five and fifty-five men" (7).

[42] *Report on progress toward security and stability in Afghanistan,* 5-6, p. 87.

troops by December 2010 and 2,830 Canadian troops in 2011, which a recent U.S. Department of Defense report on progress in Afghanistan notes will "create demands for additional forces in the near future."[43]

Adequate numbers of security forces are critical to executing the clear-hold-build operations in a way that makes it difficult for the Taliban to fade away in the face of ISAF operations as they did in Marjah.[44] Furthermore, aggregating sufficient forces for Operation Moshtarak required pulling them from elsewhere. This happened in Zabul Province on the eve of Operation Moshtarak. In December 2009 a battalion from the U.S. 5th Stryker Brigade was moved to Helmand Province in preparation for the upcoming operation. This reduced "the U.S. presence in Zabul from approximately 1,800 troops to 1,000, in a province that is home to 300,000 people."[45] Zabul has some 2,500 remote villages. Unfortunately, for the residents of Zabul, "U.S. military officials argue that protecting the people is not only exceedingly difficult but also peripheral to a new American strategy in Afghanistan, which focuses on protecting more densely populated areas."[46] The move caused great concern among the provincial leadership. Nevertheless, such decisions are inevitable when the

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[43] *Report on progress toward security and stability in Afghanistan,* 17. Dutch and Canadian troop levels from "International Security Assistance Force Key Facts and Figures," http://www.isaf.nato.int/images/stories/File/Placemats/100607Placemat.pdf (accessed 18 June 2010). See also Alissa J. Rubin, "Afghans to form local forces to fight Taliban", *The New York Times,* July 15, 2010, http://www.nytimes.com/2010/07/15/world/asia/15afghan.html?src=mv (accessed 15 July 2010). This article discusses the recent initiative in Afghanistan to create local defense forces and states the program could have "as many as 10,000 people enrolled." This program could help with to increase the security force to population ration, particularly if it expands.

[44] See Farrell, *Appraising Moshtarak.* Farrell offers a useful definition of UK/U.S. concepts of clear, hold, and build: "UK and US counter-insurgency doctrine both emphasise the 'clear-hold-build' sequence of operations. 'Clear' is the tactical mission to eliminate or eject insurgents from the area of operations. 'Hold' involves restoring government authority, protecting the population, and creating the security infrastructure in the area of operations. 'Build' centres on winning the consent and support of the population, mostly through influence operations and military support to development and reconstruction" (1).

[45] Josh Partlow, "Zabul province seeks U.S. troops, but is caught in Afghan numbers game", *Washington Post,* March 9, 2010, http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/03/08/AR2010030804916.html?sid=ST2010030900076 (accessed 4 May 2010).

[46] Partlow, "Zabul province seeks U.S. troops".

number of forces available in Afghanistan is below doctrinal norms. U.S. Brigadier General Frederick B. Hodges, Director of Operations for Southern Afghanistan, summed up the issue quite clearly, noting: "I personally failed to fully appreciate the psychological impact in moving forces away from there [Zabul] over toward Helmand. . . . But if you ever want to concentrate somewhere, you have to take from somewhere else."[47]

Sufficient security forces are also necessary to provide protection to local government leaders, frequently the target of Taliban reprisals and intimidation, and to aid workers engaged in reconstruction and development, as emphasized in a March 2010 UN report:

> Abductions and assassinations of community leaders and clerics not only discourage the population from cooperating with the Government, but also undermine the protection provided to aid workers by local communities. The number of attacks against the aid community remained consistent, with abductions of national staff increasing, while attacks on convoys and facilities decreased. The freedom of movement of unarmed civil servants has suffered as a result of intensified fighting and increased campaigns of intimidation and assassination. In comparison with December 2008, access for civil servants decreased in 39 districts (out of a total of 364), with 30 per cent of districts only partly accessible to unarmed Government officials. Direct attacks against the aid community have limited the accessibility of development programmes in 94 districts considered very high risk and 81 districts assessed as high risk.[48]

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[47] Partlow, "Zabul province seeks U.S. troops".

[48] United Nations, *The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security*, A/64/705–S/2010/127, 10 March 2010, http://unama.unmissions.org/LinkClick.aspx?link=SG+Reports

Finally, given the number of military forces available to ISAF, many support functions are performed by contractors. Indeed, in September 2009, there were 104,101 U.S. Department of Defense contractor personnel in Afghanistan, compared to 63,950 U.S. uniformed personnel.[49] In the case of logistics, the contractors have to provide for their own security. The security approach taken by these private security forces is much less restrained than that of military forces and can work at cross purposes to ISAF's stated policies of protecting the population. A recent report for the U.S. House of Representatives noted:

> Most of the prime contractors and their trucking subcontractors hire local Afghan security providers for armed protection of the trucking convoys. Transporting valuable and sensitive supplies in highly remote and insecure locations requires extraordinary levels of security. A typical convoy of 300 supply trucks going from Kabul to Kandahar, for example, will travel with 400 to 500 guards in dozens of trucks armed with heavy machine guns and rocket-propelled grenades (RPGs).
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> The private security companies that protect the convoys are frequently involved in armed conflict with alleged insurgents, rival security providers, and other criminal elements. . . . Many of the firefights purportedly

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%2Fmarch172010-SG+AFGHANISTAN+REPORT.pdf&tabid=3919&mid=3690 (accessed 21 June 2010). See also Joe Klein, "Barack Obama's big fat Afghan dilemma", *Time,* June 28, 2010, http://www.time.com/time/nation/article/0,8599,1997241,00.html (accessed June 23, 2010). Klein notes: "U.S. efforts to provide economic assistance were curtailed when three USAID workers were killed in Marjah in March. The Taliban quickly regrouped and are pressing the fight once again, conducting assassinations of locals who have cooperated with the Americans."

[49] Moshe Schwartz, *Department of Defense contractors in Iraq and Afghanistan: background and analysis*, Washington, D.C., Congressional Research Service, 2009, 5. See also U.S. Government Accountability Office, *DOD needs a strategic plan and better inventory and requirements data to guide development of language skills and regional proficiency*, Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Accountability Office, 2009.

last for hours and involve significant firepower and frequent civilian casualties. Indeed, in an interview with the Subcommittee staff, the leading convoy security commander in Afghanistan said that he spent $1.5 million on ammunition per month.

From one perspective, the HNT [Host Nation Trucking] contract works quite well: the HNT providers supply almost all U.S. forward operating bases and combat outposts across a difficult and hostile terrain while only rarely needing the assistance of U.S. troops. Nearly all of the risk on the supply chain is borne by contractors, their local Afghan truck drivers, and the private security companies that defend them. The HNT contract allows the United States to dedicate a greater proportion of its troops to other counterinsurgency priorities instead of logistics.

But outsourcing the supply chain in Afghanistan to contractors has also had significant unintended consequences. The HNT contract fuels warlordism, extortion, and corruption, and it may be a significant source of funding for insurgents. In other words, the logistics contract has an outsized strategic impact on U.S. objectives in Afghanistan.[50]

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[50] Subcommittee on National Security and Foreign Affairs, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, U.S. House of Representatives, *Warlord, inc.: extortion and corruption along the U.S. supply chain in Afghanistan,* June 2010, http://www.cbsnews.com/htdocs/pdf/HNT_Report.pdf?tag=contentMain;contentBody (accessed 23 June 2010). Emphasis in the original.

The impact of force sufficiency also becomes very clear when one looks at the ISAF campaign plan depicted in Figure 1.

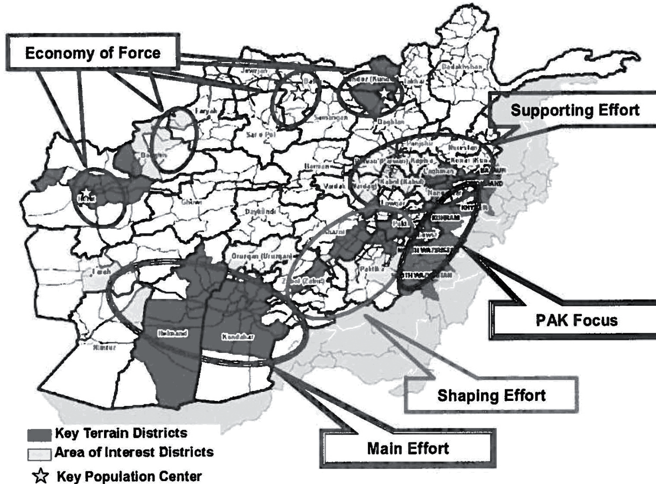

Figure 1. ISAF Concept of Operations

Source: *Report on progress toward security and stability in Afghanistan, 25.*

The fact that so much of the country is not included in the main effort, supporting effort, shaping effort, economy of force, and PAK [Pakistan] focus would seem to indicate that ISAF forces are spread thin. More problematic is the fact that much of the country is now a de facto sanctuary for the Taliban and borders are largely unguarded because of the relative absence of ISAF or ANSF security forces in many districts. Furthermore, the goal of training ANSF is being impeded by a shortage of trainers. According to Anthony Cordesman, ISAF has "only deployed 23% of the required trainers as of early May 2010."[51]

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[51] Cordesman, "Realism in Afghanistan".

The quantity of ISAF military forces is what is available

Why is there such a sharp disconnect between the doctrinal requirements for forces and the number that will be in place after the surge? A reasonable conclusion is that the number of additional forces allocated to ISAF was not based solely on an assessment of the number of troops necessary to execute a COIN strategy in Afghanistan, but also on the number of forces ISAF contributors could reasonably be expected to provide. This is particularly true in the U.S. military, where ongoing deployments to Iraq, Afghanistan, and elsewhere have stretched the force, particularly the Army. The earlier cited possibility that ISAF might ask for more troops in the future is probably based on an expectation that more U.S. forces will be available as the draw down in Iraq progresses.

ISAF's COIN capabilities are also a result of the nature of the forces available

There is also the issue of the COIN capabilities ISAF will be able to muster given the very nature of the forces. As General McChrystal's assessment pointed out, the ISAF "is a conventional force that is poorly configured for counterinsurgency, inexperienced in local languages and culture, and struggling with challenges inherent to coalition warfare."[52] This characterization is correct and largely not changeable in eighteen months, if ever, because ISAF's strengths and deficiencies are due to the fundamental nature of the forces provided to General McChrystal by the forty-plus ISAF members. Thus, ISAF's ability to execute doctrinal COIN is a quality as well as a quantity issue.

A U.S. Department of Defense program started in November

[52] "COMISAF'S initial assessment", 1-2.

2009 – the AFPAK (Afghanistan/Pakistan) Hands Program – is the first sustained U.S. effort to prepare military members to serve as a cadre of experts for repetitive assignments to Afghanistan and Pakistan.[53] The program aims to create a "group of experts – specifically trained to become experts in the Afghan and Pakistani cultures."[54] Once fully implemented, these AFPAK Hands will fill approximately 280 in-theater positions. Initial training consists of sixteen weeks of language and cultural training and then recurring assignments in Afghanistan and Pakistan, supplemented by additional in-country training.[55] Obviously, this effort will take time to bear fruit, particularly given the short period of initial language training, and does not assuage the reality that U.S. military services have to rely largely on contractors to provide interpreters.[56]

There is also the issue of tour durations, which causes constant turbulence within ISAF, and the relationships between military units and the population. For example, the U.S. Army tour length is twelve months, the U.S. Marine Corps tour is seven months, while UK forces stay for six months. Additionally, these forces deploy as units. When a unit departs, all of their in-country knowledge, save what can be passed on in a brief orientation with their replacement unit, leaves with them.

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[53] "First AF-PAK hands grads deploy overseas," American Forces Press Service, April 23, 2010, http://www.centcom.mil/en/news/first-af-pak-hands-grads-deploy-overseas.html (accessed 1 May 2010).

[54] Matthew Chlosta, "AFPAK hands begin immersion training in Afghanistan," International Security Assistance Force HQ Public Affairs, 2 May 2010, http://www.isaf.nato.int/article/news/afpak-hands-begins-immersion-in-afghanistan.html (accessed 22 June 2010).

[55] "First AF-PAK hands grads deploy overseas".

[56] See Kevin Sieff, "At Afghan Cup in Virginia, recruiters offer big money for interpreters", *Washington Post*, July 11, 2010; A01. The shortage of ISAF military and civilian Pashtu and Dari speakers has not surprisingly created a demand for contract interpreters. Sieff's article discusses a recruiting effort for Dari and Pashtu interpreters at a soccer match in Virginia. The article also reveals the high cost of contracting for interpreters: "The soccer pitch in Woodbridge was plastered with ads from companies – backed by more than $1.3 billion in government contracts – looking to sign up U.S. citizens to make more than $200,000 a year working as Dari and Pashto interpreters in Afghanistan. One company, SOS International, handed out 500 T-shirts that read, in Pashto: 'If you can read this, we might have a job for you." Several teams wore the names and logos of recruiting companies on their uniforms'."

Finally, there is the ongoing issue of national caveats:

> restrictions that individual troop-contributing countries impose on their own forces' activities. Caveats tend to be informed by domestic political constraints – a government may consider, for example, that only by limiting its troops' activities, and hedging against taking casualties, can it guard against strong popular domestic opposition to its troop contribution. As a rule, troop-contributing countries state their caveats explicitly; but additional constraints may surface when unanticipated requirements arise and contingents seek additional guidance from their capitals.[57]

These caveats serve to "limit the conduct of operations by an Ally's or partner's forces", and as of April 2010 only "22 of 43 troop contributing nations are 'caveat-free'".[58] Additionally, there is variance in the operational capabilities among the various ISAF contributors.

These rotation policies and caveats make a great deal of sense towards the ends of sustaining all-volunteer militaries and creating cohesive units, thereby improving their military effectiveness, and for maintaining public support for ongoing operations. Nevertheless, they do have a deleterious effect on solving the qualitative cultural understanding and coalition warfare issues raised by General McChrystal. This all highlights a much more important issue that should be clearly understood when assessing the available military means for current and future operations: the small size of western militaries and the limits on their utilization.

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[57] Steve Bowan and Catherine Dale, *War in Afghanistan: Strategy, Military Operations, and Issues for Congress*, Washington, D.C., Congressional Research Service, 2010, p. 17.

[58] *Report on progress toward security and stability in Afghanistan*, pp. 17-18.

Nations raise and sustain military forces as a means of insurance against existential threats to the state. Alliances – like NATO – form to provide collective security against clear threats, e.g., the Warsaw Pact during the Cold War. During periods of clearly recognized danger military forces are larger and better resourced and trade-offs are made in other areas, particularly domestic programs. Additionally, it is politically feasible to resort to measures like conscription that provide more labor (soldiers) at lesser costs than volunteer forces during these conditions of high existential threat. However, without a clear threat, the political will to maintain large forces diminishes and defense expenditures will compete with domestic programs and economic pressures for reduced spending. These pressures were obviously exacerbated during the recent period of economic distress and have led to a condition in NATO where "there is a growing gap between aspirations/agreed concepts and the willingness of nations to meet commitments," largely because "the public finances of most allies are under severe pressure."[59] This combination of the absence of broadly acknowledged existential threat and domestic pressures to spend elsewhere understandably results in pressures to cut defense spending. This has resulted in a condition in Europe described by historian James J. Sheehan, whereby:

> In the early twenty-first century, national defense is no longer the duty of each citizen; it is a matter for professionals who are paid to assume the risks and bear the burdens that come with their jobs. Like police officers and firefighters, professional soldiers deal with emergencies that threaten civilian life. These professionals

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[59] Julian Lindley-French, "Operationalizing the Comprehensive Approach," *Atlantic Council Issue Brief*, June 2010, http://www.acus.org/files/publication_pdfs/403/ComprehensiveApproach_SAGIssueBrief.PDF (accessed 19 June 2010). See also Stephen Fidler et al., "In Europe, U.S. Allies Target Defense Budgets," *Wall Street Journal*, June 25, 2010, http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052748703900004575324400873066256.html (accessed 4 July 2010). This article discusses cuts in defense spending in several European countries, most notably France, Germany, and the UK.

> are necessary, even admirable, but no one would suppose that they represent the ideal citizen or that such emergency services are somehow “schools of the nation.” Defending the civilian state has become a job like any other. [60]

My sense is that this is also the case in the United States. Furthermore, the professionalization of militaries, and the end of conscription in most NATO states, has had the effect of raising the cost of labor. Soldiers are increasingly expensive and, absent a compelling threat and in the face of other spending pressures, they are attractive targets for cost savings. Clearly, if the political rhetoric portraying the war in Afghanistan as a *vital* NATO interest were in fact sellable to domestic constituencies forces would be made available for its prosecution.

This leads to a situation described by RAND researcher Jim Quinlivan in 1995 that seems even truer today in Afghanistan:

> The populations of many countries are now large enough to strain the ability of the American military to provide stabilizing forces unilaterally at even modest per capita force ratios. Many countries have populations so large that the United States could participate in their stabilization only through multilateral forces that bring together major force contributions from a large number

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[60] James J. Sheehan, *Where have all the soldiers gone?: The transformation of modern Europe,* Boston, Mariner Books, 2009, p. 223. See also Stephen M. Walt, “Time to get real on NATO,” March 4, 2010, http://walt.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2010/03/02/time_to_get_real_on_nato (accessed 28 May 2010). Walt has a rather harsher interpretation than Sheehan and cites comments by U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates: “Secretary of Defense Robert Gates stated: ‘The demilitarization of Europe – where large swaths of the general public and political class are averse to military force and the risks that go with it – has gone from a blessing in the 20th century to an impediment to achieving real security and lasting peace in the 21st’”. Walt’s interpretation is that: “The demilitarization of Europe, however, means that NATO has succeeded in its fundamental mission – that Europe no longer fights wars is a good thing. Moreover, Europe has no incentive to contribute to global security missions so long as America takes the lead. Europe has every incentive to free-ride on American power and NATO perpetuates that.”

> of countries. And we must finally acknowledge that many countries are simply too big to be plausible candidates for stabilization by external forces.[61]

The civilian expert surge – curb your expectations

The challenges posed by ISAF force levels and national caveats are at least predictable. The ISAF staff has a reasonable expectation of force proficiencies and skills when a military unit deploys to Afghanistan. In the case of the U.S. military this is because of two key characteristics of the forces. First, deploying units are certified as trained, organized, and equipped for the mission in Afghanistan. Second, soldiers have to deploy or face prosecution under U.S. military law. This simply is not the case with other U.S. agencies.

There is no excess capacity in civilian agencies

The challenges the U.S. government agencies face in filling requirements in Afghanistan and other hazardous duty locations (e.g., Iraq) are partly a result of the fact that they have never had the excess capacity or resources inherent in U.S. Armed Forces, which are maintained as a hedge against existential uncertainty. There have never been battalions of ambassadors-in-training preparing for future threats. The reality is that the State Department "has fewer officers than positions, a shortage compounded by the personnel demands of Iraq and Afghanistan".[62] In April 2009, this resulted in "1,650 vacant

[61] Quinlivan, "Force requirements in stability operations," p. 69.
[62] U.S. Government Accountability Office, *Statement of Jess T. Ford, Director, International Affairs and Trade: persistent staffing and foreign language gaps compromise diplomatic readiness,* Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Accountability Office, 2009, 3. Mr. Ford also noted that "as of September 2008, State had a 17 percent average vacancy rate at the posts of greatest hardship" (3). He also gave an example of the impact of an officer leaving a post in Russia to fill a position in Afghanistan: "An official told us that a political/military officer position in Russia was vacant because of the departure of the incumbent for a tour in Afghanistan, and the position's portfolio of responsibilities was divided among other officers in the embassy. According to the official, this vacancy slowed negotiation of an agreement with Russia regarding military transit to Afghanistan" (4).

Foreign Service positions in total".[63] Quite simply, the assignment of foreign service officers to meet a surge in Afghanistan is a zero sum game – other positions will go vacant to meet this demand. Again, other U.S. government agencies face similar issues. This is the quantity dimension of the problem.

Quality is also an issue

There is also a quality dimension. The missions for which State and other U.S. government agencies prepare their officers generally do not involve direct action capacity, e.g., leading PRTs (provincial reconstruction teams). Therefore, even if they were larger it is not a given that these agencies would be prepared for what they are being asked to do in Afghanistan. These agencies have also relied on volunteers to meet their requirements for Afghanistan. Given the hardships inherent in these assignments they have created incentives for volunteering. At State these incentives include increased pay, the opportunity to serve in "up stretch jobs" (jobs above current experience level), student loan repayments, one-year tours of duty, promotion consideration, and follow-on assignment priority.[64]

The assignment of officers to positions above their grades is an area where the quality issue arises, defined for our purposes as the ability of the officer to perform to the expectations of the position. In September 2008, before the increased demands in Afghanistan, "over 40 percent of officers in Iraq and Afghanistan were serving in above-grade assignments."[65] Additionally, in one key area – contracting officer's representatives – there has been a chronic shortage of

[63] U.S. Government Accountability Office, *Additional steps needed to address continuing staffing and experience gaps at hardship posts*, Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Accountability Office, 2009, p. 8.
[64] U.S. Government Accountability Office, *Additional steps needed to address continuing staffing and experience gaps at hardship posts*, pp. 18-20.
[65] *Statement of Jess T. Ford, Director, International Affairs and Trade: persistent staffing and foreign language gaps compromise diplomatic readiness*, p. 3.

experienced personnel. Given the reliance on contractors across the gamut of activities in Afghanistan, this has proven to be a significant problem for contract oversight and quality assurance.[66]

Another quality issue is that of language proficiency. The State Department has language-designated positions. In September 2008 in Afghanistan, "33 of 45 officers in language-designated positions (73 percent) did not meet the requirement."[67] Again, this is before the major increases in State personnel in Afghanistan to meet the civilian surge.

Finally, State and other agency officers are almost all on one-year or shorter tours, thus creating the same turbulence and continuity issues with local Afghans experienced in military units. One key difference, however, is that these officers are generally assigned as individuals, so whole groupings do not necessarily leave at the same time.[68]

Absent having done the research on the practices of other ISAF contributors in filling civilian billets, I am hesitant to generalize from the U.S. experience other than to say I would not be surprised if they are similar. Thus, a key means in the overall strategy – "a steady increase of experts from the United States Embassy and NATO and

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[66] See for example, "Testimony of Gordon S. Heddell, Inspector General Department of Defense before the Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Subcommittee on Contracting Oversight on 'Contracts for Afghan National Police training'," http://hsgac.senate.gov/public/index.cfm?FuseAction=Hearings.Hearing&Hearing_ID=6ad2b464-2877-4107-9159-da85dc461030 (accessed 8 May 2010).

[67] *Statement of Jess T. Ford, Director, International Affairs and Trade: persistent staffing and foreign language gaps compromise diplomatic readiness*, p. 5.

[68] See also Bernard Carreau, ed., "Lessons from USDA [U.S. Department of Agriculture] in Iraq and Afghanistan," *Prism*, vol. 1, no. 3, June 2010, pp. 139-50. This article reports on a "workshop sponsored by the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) to capture the experiences of USDA agricultural advisors deployed to ministries and Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) in Iraq and Afghanistan" (139). It is interesting because many of the issues – insufficient officer grade, lack of training, inappropriate expertise, lack of overlap between incoming and outgoing officers are similar to issues noted in the State Department.

aid workers" – is perhaps less robust than might be necessary.[69] In the words of Anthony Cordesman:

> It was all too easy to formulate a new strategy based on "shape, clear, hold, build, and transition" as long as the civil side of "hold, build, and transition" was conceptual, and did not have to be implemented in rural areas like Marjah and the far more challenging conditions of a largely urban area like Kandahar. It was clear from the start, however, that any practical application of this strategy lacked operational definition on the civil side, that the aid community was not ready to implement it and any civilian "surge" would still leave civil activity highly dependent on the US military, and that building Afghan capabilities would be a slow effort that had to occur at every level from local to central government. In short, implementation was never a military-driven exercise in finding the right troop to task ratio, but always a politico-economic exercise in resource to experiment ratio.[70]

What does this mean for NATO?

This rather overly long discussion of the difficulties in Afghanistan is not a critique of U.S-NATO-ISAF policies or objectives in that country. They are clear and generally well understood. Additionally, whether or not one agrees with the premises of COIN doctrine, it is the agreed upon way to achieve ISAF ends. What I hope has emerged in this essay is an appreciation of the fundamental disconnect in Afghanistan between ends and ways and the means that have thus far been allocated. This is particularly true for civilian

[69] Nordland, "Afghanistan strategy focuses on civilian effort".
[70] Cordesman, "Realism in Afghanistan".

expertise, which is based almost totally on volunteerism.

A continued focus on fixing processes and rationalizing concepts is a necessary, but not sufficient exercise if it is not informed by a full assessment of what resources can reasonably be expected to realize a comprehensive approach. This is not unlike the cyclical U.S. exercises to redesign the interagency process or improve military jointness. What is generally at the center of these discussions is the expectation that reorganizing, flattening, streamlining, or eliminating redundancies will somehow reduce the demand for resources, be they money or manpower. Nevertheless, these exercises rarely confront the critical question: What should be done when you know – or if your doctrine says – that success *requires* a set of resources that you know you cannot or will not be devoted to the problem? As we are seeing in Afghanistan, the quantity and quality of resources really matters if one is to do what one says needs to be done.

This question of resources is perhaps the pivotal issue for NATO as it grapples with devising a new strategic approach in a time of economic domestic pressures and growing public anxiousness about operations in Afghanistan – or elsewhere in the future. Quite frankly, this moment in NATO's history might be the apogee of its post-Cold War capacity. Understanding the limitations in its means, informed by the experiences in Afghanistan, should be central to discussions about what NATO can be prepared to do in the future. And this discussion must be informed by the principle that one's strategy should be tempered by a ruthless assessment of the means that will be available over time.

In this regard, the comments of U.S. Senator Dick Lugar are highly relevant:

Our resources are finite, and they must be focused effectively.

We need to know if some missions that currently are receiving resources are not intrinsic to our objectives. We also need to know what missions are absolutely indispensible to success, however it is defined.[71]

Being content, as Clausewitz recommended, "with the smallest possible objects" – and rigorously crafting one's strategic ends and ways in consonance with the means available to attain them – is likely the surest way to attain the "least worst" possible outcome. And it should be clearly understood that these means will still be largely measured in the age-old currencies of conflict: blood and treasure.

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[71] Dick Lugar, "Cause for Concern in Afghanistan", July 14, 2010, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/sen-dick-lugar/cause-for-concern-in-afgh_b_645805.html (accessed 19 July2010). This excerpt is from Senator Lugar's remarks during a July 14, 2010, Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearing on Afghanistan.

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The views expressed in these chapters are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the official positions of the NATO Defense College, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, or any of the institutions or governments represented by the contributors.

All information and sources are drawn from unclassified material.

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Mr. Fox's background includes more than 20 years of senior federal service in both the executive and legislative branches of the United States Government. He also has more than a decade of private sector experience in the areas of public affairs, legislative affairs, and national security affairs. Currently, he is founder and President of Fox & Associates, a consulting firm focusing on the political and policy process of Washington. He provides government and public affairs advice and services in the areas of foreign policy, national security, international development, and homeland security. Over the past year he has served as an instructor and Senior Mentor to several Department of Defense and Department of State "civ-mil" training programs including the Interagency Civilian-Military Integrated Field Training program

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In the private sector, he served for more than a decade as the Managing Director of the Governmental and International Affairs Group of the national law firm Mintz, Levin, Cohn, Ferris, Glovsky and Popeo, P.C. He has also served as Vice President for International Affairs of The Carmen Group, a government relations, public affairs and business development firm.

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Her particular research interests are military institutions facing challenges ranging from internal conflict, reform and downsizing

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His most recent RAND publications are: *Military Capabilities for Hybrid War: Insights from the Israel Defense Forces in Lebanon and Gaza*; *Preparing and Training for the Full Spectrum of Military Challenges: Insights from the Experiences of China, France, the United Kingdom, India, and Israel*; *Enhancing Fires and Maneuver Capability Through Greater Air-Ground Joint Interdependence*; and *In the Middle of the Fight: An Assessment of Medium-Armored Forces in Past Military Operations.*

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Dr. Schnaubelt served more than 24 years in the California Army National Guard before transferring to the US Army Individual Ready Reserve as a colonel in 2005. His military assignments included training regiment and installation commander, tank battalion commander, tank company commander, and combat support company commander. In 2004, he was the Chief of Policy in the Strategy, Plans and Policy Directorate (C-5) of Combined Joint Task Force Seven (CJTF-7) in Baghdad, Iraq and was awarded the Bronze Star Medal and the Combat Action Badge. In 2010, he performed a four-month assignment as a US Army Reserve colonel in support of KFOR and was awarded the Kosovo Campaign Medal and the NATO Non-Article 5 Medal.

During 2000-2003, Dr. Schnaubelt was an instructor for Columbia College and taught courses on U.S. legislative processes, public administration and policy, the American presidency, and the dynamics of terrorism. He also was on the adjunct faculty of the Defense Institute for International Legal Studies, lecturing on civil-military operations and the principles of democratic civilian control of the military as part of Mobile Education Teams to Beirut, Lebanon and Cotonou, Benin.

From 1990 through 2001, he was assigned to the National Interagency Civil-Military Institute (NICI) at Camp San Luis Obispo, California. As senior policy analyst and later as chief of the Research and Analysis Division, he directed the development and publishing of lessons learned from military counter-drug support and military support to civil authorities operations; he also collaborated with the Center for Civil-Military Relations at the US Naval Postgraduate School to help develop and instruct education programs designed to build and strengthen democratic institutions. In 2000, he was assigned as chief of the Training Division with responsibilities that included the direction and supervision of curriculum development, exercise

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Dr. Schnaubelt has published numerous articles on security issues and interagency and civil-military operations, including: “Whither the RMA?” in the Autumn 2007 issue of Parameters; NDC Research Paper #40 “What NATO can learn from ‘the surge’ in Iraq”; NDC Research Paper #51 “The new US ‘Af-Pak’ strategy: implications for NATO”, and “Complex Operations and Interagency Operational Art” in the December 2009 issue of PRISM. He has also contributed Op-Eds to the International Herald Tribune and Defense News, as well as editing and writing chapters for NDC Forum Paper #9 “Operationalizing a Comprehensive Approach in Semi-Permissive Environments”, Forum Paper #11 “Counterinsurgency: The Challenge for NATO Strategy and Operations”, and Forum Paper #14, “Complex Operations: NATO at War and on the Margins of War”.

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From 2003 to 2006 Jan Techau served at the German Ministry of Defence in Berlin as co-ordinator of the Bundeswehr's online media and media co-operations. From 2001 to 2003 he was the Security and Defence correspondent for the German Armed Force's online and print media.

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