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VOLUME 6, ISSUE 3

Journal

MAY 2016

INSIDE: Integrating Local Defense Forces in Afghanistan: Creating an Afghan Army Reserve





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Director's Corner



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Integrating Local Defense Forces in Afghanistan: Creating an Afghan Army Reserve

*by Dr. Michael Spangler
PKSOI*



Introduction

Against the backdrop of the Taliban's late September 2015 seizure of Kunduz as well as the emergence of Islamic State groups mainly in south and east Afghanistan, the jury is out on the long-term effectiveness of the Afghan National Defense and Security Force (ANDSF). To address this challenge, Afghan leaders should consider creating an Afghan Army Reserve (AAR) that recruits mainly former ANA soldiers, Afghan Local Police (ALP) that supplement National Police personnel at the local level, and village-level militias that have traditionally responded to tribal elders.

The AAR concept is designed to compensate for high Afghan Army attrition and low Pashtun recruitment in Afghanistan's restive south and east, the latter mainly due to the difficulties of leaving their families. This transformational change – adapting to Afghanistan's largely agrarian society and drawing on traditional cultural constructs – aims to square the circle between the often over-riding personal commitments of recruits to protect their family, community, and tribal groups as well as the national need for a more resilient, unified national security architecture. The AAR, drawing on local defense militias, will have more reason to fight local battles; they have a vested interest in security because they will be protecting their own families.

Reserve Approach

The AAR approach aims to address three developmental challenges facing the ANDSF. First, the ANDSF suffers from roughly 30% attrition, 10% absenteeism, and inflated staffing numbers, all of which impede its operational effectiveness and retention of expertise.¹ Soldiers are often recruited from other areas to serve in urban outposts and contested localities, undermining their own long-term commitment to serve in the Army, and providing space for insurgents to exploit indigenous populations uncertain of the Army's staying power.² Secondly, the standing ANDSF may fall into an "unsustainability" trap, in which international donors contribute less and less financing to the defense budget. The relatively high cost of the ANDSF, if not contained, might not be underwritten at the current level by international donors beyond another five years.³ Thirdly, economic growth could decline and corruption worsen under the new "national unity" government, eroding its legitimacy and the ANDSF's will to fight. United Nations security personnel rated the Taliban threat level in about half of Afghanistan's 398 administrative districts as either "high" or "extreme" in September 2015, more than at any time since the U.S.-led Coalition "ousted" the Taliban in 2001.⁴ As a result, if new Afghan leaders fail to show flexibility in strengthening the ANDSF by incorporating their country's ethnically and tribally diverse populace into an effective national security architecture, Af-

Afghan National Security Forces

	ANA	(SOF)	ANP	AAR	OTHER	TOTAL
PLAN	165,500	(11,900)	139,200	30,000	47,300	382,000
CNA	175,000	(11,900)	134,500	29,100	34,300	373,400
NATO	228,500 combined			30,000		258,500
NEW	95,000	(22,000)	125,000	60,000		280,000

PLAN = Current ANSF Plan of Record quoted in the CAN study

CAN – Center for Naval Analyses

NATO = Summit Decision of May 2012

NEW = The article

ANA = Afghan National Army

SOF = Afghan Army Special Operation Forces

ANP = Afghan National Police

AAR = Afghan Army Reserve

Afghanistan may devolve into a political mosaic of different armed groups controlling separatist-like territories over time.

A New Sizing Option

Down-size the ANA and Create an AAR through 2017

As the table shows⁵, the approach advocated here (listed as NEW in the table) doubles the size of the ANA/SOF (mainly to serve as a rapid response force) and creates an Afghan Army Reserve (AAR) to replace the ALP by the end of 2017 and to attract departing Afghan Army soldiers.⁶ The SOF and AAR personnel hikes, as well as improved salaries, can be covered by cost-savings from the reducing of full-time ANA personnel. This proposal is designed to support a strong, consistent narrative on the financial sustainability of the ANDSF. The financial sustainability of the counter-insurgency force is as much a part of effective strategy, as is the use and reliability of the force itself.

Why a Larger AAR?

Adopting this localized AAR approach calls for expanding the AAR size to 60 thousand by the end of 2017. The AAR component is defined here as an ANA reserve that serves under ANA SOF mentors and ANA officers. Such an AAR force acts as a sponge to soak up retired ANA soldiers who wish to return to their homes and continue to serve their communities. Just as importantly, this AAR component constitutes the main channel through which to recruit security officers for counter-terrorism purposes in under-served regions, notably the south and east of Afghanistan.⁷

Main Objection

AAR Units Would Challenge National Sovereignty.

The AAR, as a localized security force, is culturally consistent with the Pashtun concept of *arbakai*, a local defense force responsible to tribal elders during Afghanistan's traditional history. However, the AAR, as envisioned here in would be under the operational control of the ANA special forces and not tribal elders. Such forces have been consistently rejected by Afghan national leaders over the past decade⁸ – and by many NATO Coalition officials -- who generally regard them as a potential challenge to civilian control of the military and to the state's monopoly on the use of force.

Case Study in Nangarhar

A case in point is the Coalition's experience in Nangarhar province in eastern Afghanistan in 2009. One hundred and

sixty of the most influential Shinwari tribal elders agreed among themselves to denounce the Taliban in public. They sought help from the Coalition and the Afghan government to remove corrupt local officials and to have a say in who served in the local security forces in their tribal area. In other words, tribal elders created an AAR-like organization to supplement the ANDSF.⁹

Over the next several months, insurgents lost their freedom of movement in Shinwari areas of Nangarhar, whereas the ANDSF could operate freely. The so-called Shinwari pact -- an agreement among the Shinwari themselves and not with the NATO coalition -- provided badly needed mutual support for their dispersed villages, as required in a counterinsurgency campaign. At that time, then Secretary of State Hillary Clinton hailed the pact as an example of "classic counterinsurgency"¹⁰.

In late 2010, however, the U.S. Embassy opposed the pact after Afghan President Hamid Karzai denounced it as "U.S. meddling in Afghan affairs" even though the proposal had been a tribal-level, and not U.S. government initiative. Subsequently, conflicting civilian and military guidance led to confusion among both Afghan and Coalition officials. The U.S. embassy in Kabul forbade U.S. diplomats from meeting with tribal leaders to discuss tribal "pacts," ruling out on-the-ground contact with local defense groups concerning counterinsurgency and counterterrorism.¹¹ The opportunity was lost, chiefly out of concern that local defense groups might spur inter-tribal conflict and eventually might oppose the national government.

Given this system of changing allegiances and weak central authority, how can the Afghan nation-state stand up a more unified national standing army?

Overarching Control

Posing this question forces must consider more specific ways of bringing the AAR -- residing and serving in their village communities -- under overarching ANA control. The ANA SOF mentorship is the key tool to effect unified control.

This means that active ANA SOF forces should take charge of AAR training. An active SOF platoon could rotate through various villages in their area of operations and equip, train, and mentor the reservists. This gives the platoon an opportunity to adjust doctrine to local realities and learn from each other; recuperate from front-line operations; and facilitate local-national cooperation. The key caveat here is that the ANA SOF must ensure that supplies and training are regularly delivered to the local forces. Cross-cutting accountability mechanisms must be created to ensure deliveries are made. Any disruption in the material flow would damage intra-AAR morale and fuel chronic



fears in the rural areas that the national government does not care about improving AAR accountability. In addition, a separate training event with local ANA and ANP appears necessary to determine the roles and purposes of the AAR in various localities.

Finally, active-duty SOF should oversee the continuation of a literacy education program begun in 2009 within the ANA. Fighting illiteracy offers a key incentive for AAR retention and the strengthening of civil society.¹²

Conclusion

Ultimately, the legitimacy of the Afghan national government may determine if the ANDSF stands or falls to the Taliban. Some analysts argue international donors saddled Afghanistan with too centralized of a governmental system in 2001-03.¹³ Structuring the Afghan state under an extremely powerful chief executive appears to have retarded the development of checks-and-balances and facilitated corrupt practices. Moving away from this top-down system has the potential to foster more positive democratic trends including the election of governors and a more responsive justice system.

Unfortunately, it remains a big question whether these democratic reforms can be instituted over the medium term. In the near term, it appears more pragmatic and workable for Afghan leaders to return to the idea of an Army Reserve, one that was considered under the Karzai government, but rejected due to strong ANA bias for an active-duty standing army, as well as U.S. insistence on making a Reserve in our own image rather than basing it along “arbakai” or community defense force lines with strong SOF mentorship.

The Taliban have already adopted their own version of the AAR approach outlined here, and continue to forge it into a conventional force. Faced with the Taliban adversary (and the resilience of the Taliban recruitment system), Afghan leaders should create an AAR and reach out to tribal elders to help stand it up to protect home lands. If asked, tribal elders will show courage in helping to form an AAR.¹⁴ The alternative to this course appears stark: Afghanistan may again have to resort to its allies to stave off existential challenges to its government. Drawing the red lines triggering the return of international security forces, as in the past, will largely be determined by the national security interests of Afghanistan’s allies. On the other hand, an AAR and a more effective, inclusive, and accountable ANDSF depends on the decisions of Afghans alone.



Notes:

¹ See Cordesman, Anthony H., "The Challenges to Afghan Transition," Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies, July 31, 2014. The attrition rate is also analyzed in the Department of Defense Report on Progress toward Security and Stability in Afghanistan, October 2013, p. 48. (http://www.defense.gov/pubs/October_1230_Report_Master_Nov7.pdf).

² This was the case in most of Afghanistan and Iraq except for the latter's Sunni triangle and Kurdish region. See Ricks, T.E., *The Gamble: David Petraeus and the American Military Adventure in Iraq 2006-08*, London: Penguin, 2009, pp. 219-20. Ricks argues that the U.S.-led Coalition began working more effectively with Iraq's tribal and ethnic structure in those areas during 2007, under the leadership of Petraeus and then Marine Brigadier General John Allen. Other observers argue the Sunni Awakening was embraced earlier. Notwithstanding chronology, General Petraeus made similar efforts to draw ethnic forces into the overall Iraqi defense effort in Mosul in 2004. In all cases, sustainability of these forces – both financial and political -- became a glaring problem over time since they were mainly seen as potential challenges to the government rather than localized approaches to be incorporated into the government.

³ Because of funding uncertainty, many critics believe a universal draft is the long-term answer to bringing down the cost of the ANDSF. Compulsory service was proposed by President Karzai in early 2010 but most scholars have ruled it out mainly because of its potential to alienate local populaces in the very areas where the insurgency is strongest. See Meyerle, J. et al., *Conscription in the Afghan Army*, Center for Naval Analyses, April 2011. (<http://www.cna.org/sites/default/files/research/cna%20conscription%20in%20the%20afghan%20army%202%20-%20crm%20d0024840.a2%20final.pdf>)

⁴ R. Nordland and J. Goldstein, "Afghan Taliban's Reach is Widest Since 2001, UN Says," *New York Times*, October 11, 2015. <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/12/world/asia/afghanistan-taliban-united-nations.html>

⁵ This table is derived from the Center for Naval Analyses, *Summary of Independent Assessment of Afghan National Security Forces*, January 2014, p. 1. (Website: <https://www.cna.org/research/2014/summary-independent-assessment-afghan-national>). The "other" category includes Defense Ministry personnel and Afghan Local Police staffing numbers.

⁶ This article supports Colonel (retired) Mann's view that community defense forces are needed to secure rural areas. However, all three camps reviewed in Part One have not devoted much attention to their sizing.

⁷ The AAR approach drawing on *arbakai* appears better suited for this region where tribal defense traditions persist. See M.O. Tariq, "Tribal Security System (*Arbakai*) in Southeastern

Afghanistan," Occasional Paper No. 7, London: Crisis States Research Center, December 2008, pp. 13-14.

⁸ *Ibid.* Ahmed reports that newly elected President Ashraf Ghani has "promised to disarm (local) militias," chiefly because they collect taxes by force to support themselves.

⁹ George, R. and D. Paradiso, "*The Case for a Wartime Chief Executive Officer: Fixing the Interagency Quagmire in Afghanistan*," *Foreign Affairs*, June 21, 2011. (www.foreignaffairs.com/fa_subcontent/67833/67834)

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² See NATO Media Backgrounder, "Afghan National Security Forces," June 2013. (http://www.nato.int/nato_static/assets/pdf/pdf_2013_06/20130604_130604-mb-ansf.pdf)

¹³ See Mojumdar, A., "Afghanistan: Rethinking the Constitutional Balance of Power," *Eurasianet.org*, October 1, 2009. (<http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/insightb/articles/ea-v100209a.shtml>). Power in Afghanistan is highly concentrated in the President's office. Governors of provinces are appointed by the president. Provincial councils – whose elections are held concurrently with the presidential vote -- have no powers and barely any role in the management of local affairs. District council elections have yet to be held.

¹⁴ Following a six-day battle between the ANDSF and Taliban killing over 100 civilians in the Ghazni district of Ajrestan in September 2014, Pashtun villagers hanged four Taliban fighters turned over by the ANDSF. Their action demonstrated a strong resolve to resist the Taliban and protect their homeland. See Reuters, "Afghan villagers hang Taliban fighters as battle for district rages," September 27, 2014. (<http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/09/27/us-afghanistan-attacks-idUSKCN0HM-0BH20140927>)



Prof. Spangler has over thirty-six years of experience as a former State Department officer stationed in Central and East Asia and Eastern Europe. Currently a visiting professor at the Peacekeeping and Stability Operations

Institute at the U.S. Army War College. He is focused on peace, prosperity, and security issues in the Asia-Pacific and Central Asia.

PKSOI Officially Designated as a NATO Partnership Training and Education Center (PTEC)

A team headed by COL Gregory Dewitt from U.S. Army War College Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute (PKSOI) recently traveled to NATO Headquarters in Brussels Belgium and met with the Integration, Partnership, and Cooperation Directorate to have PKSOI designated as a NATO Partnership Training and Education Center (PTEC). COL Dewitt's team addressed the nations of the alliance on PKSOI's capabilities for educating personnel in strategic level Peace and Stability Operations. The nations then voted to recommend to the Allied Council that PKSOI be designated as a PTEC. On 4 April 2016 under the silence procedure the Council approved PKSOI and the memorandum was signed and distributed on 5 April 2016. [See official designation memo.](#)

The PTEC concept was initially launch in 1998, PTEC's are nationally or multi-nationally sponsored education and

training institutions united under a single concept that are endorsed by the North Atlantic Council and recognized by NATO. PTECs offer diverse courses, seminars and workshops to civilian, police and military personnel through classroom and field education and training environments. In January 2016, a contingent of experts from NATO visited PKSOI and the War College to explore the feasibility of partnering with PKSOI and the greater PTEC community.

PKSOI will be part of the NATO Military Contribution to Peace Operations discipline which is currently headed by the Finnish Defense Forces International Center. PKSOI will support NATO by offering strategic level courses in the "Principles and Challenges of Peace and Stability Operations" and "Humanitarian Intervention". There are currently 29 recognized NATO PTECs that provide courses for 29 distinct disciplines.





News

PKSOI Staff meet with NATO TEPSO to Finalize Training Modules for Protection of Civilians



In March 2016, PKSOI participated in the Spring NATO Training and Education for Peace Support Operations meeting in Stockholm, Sweden. Eighteen Nations and 3 agencies, to include PKSOI, were represented at the meeting. The two main focus areas of the meeting were "Finalizing Training Modules for Protection of Civilians", which was led by PKSOI representatives Col Mark Haseman and Col Jurgen Prandtner, and "Personal Recovery", which was presented by the Finnish Defense Forces International Center. The group considering adding a course on a "Child Soldier Initiative". The NATO Allied Transformation Command representative provided a brief on "Global Programming", and its impact on the Military Support to Peace Support discipline. This presentation became the starting point for identifying training requirements and possible training solutions for NATO forces and partner nations. PKSOI will support these efforts with subject matter experts in order to create an end of year report with recommended solutions. The group visited the VASA Museum, and received an impressive historic case study on how the failure to follow best practice can cause dramatic consequences. In this case study, senior leaders ignored the advice and state of the art constructions methods in building a ship, resulting in the ship sinking and many sailors dying.



PKSOI International Development Elective Operationalizing Theory via Practical Application with a class visit to Haiti

Benjamin Franklin once said, "Tell me and I forget, teach me and I may remember, involve me and I learn." The "Introduction to International Development" class, an elective offered by the PKSOI at the USAWC, took Mr. Franklin's sentiments to heart by totally immersing the students.

The class, armed with development theories, traveled to Port-au-Prince, Haiti, to explore the practical application of international development, including the role of DoD and the interagency process. The action-packed itinerary kept students busier than ever imagined. "I had no idea that we could see so much of the USG development operations in such a short period of time" says student Robert Howe.

The class, which exposes students to such topics as fragile and failed states, humanitarian assistance, the role of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and poverty, experienced first-hand how these topics translate into reality. What better country to learn from than Haiti.

Haiti has been a priority for the USG and other donor nations since the 2010 earthquake. The poorest country in the western hemisphere, the USG has invested a tremendous amount of money and effort into Haiti's development, yet it remains fragile, even seeing the reversal of some gains. Haiti's lack of development progress stems from governance issues, natural disasters, and public health and education





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challenges to name a few. Of all the countries where the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) maintains a large and active mission, Haiti is one of the most illustrative of the possibilities and challenges of development assistance. As one student stated, "a beautiful island with beautiful people deserves much more."

The class visited some of the U.S. and international assistance successes, while also highlighting less successful projects, in order to discuss in situ how development can and should work, and how it sometimes flounders under local conditions.

The focus of the trip was on the intersection of USAID's development assistance and that of the U.S. military's assistance in Haiti. The students examined how two "Ds," defense and development, dovetail with the third D – diplomacy – by meeting with officials at the U.S. Embassy in Port-au-Prince. "The trip brought International Development to life. It took the learning from the classroom into a multi-dimensional opportunity to see defense, diplomacy, and development in action" stated student Rebecca VanNess.

The ambitious itinerary, squeezing roughly three days' worth of visits and briefings into one-and-a-half. In addition to visiting USAID projects, the students met with representatives of local non-governmental organizations (NGOs), visited the United Nations Stabilization Mission in

Haiti (MINUSTAH), and participated in discussions at U.S. Embassy Port-au-Prince. One of the many highlights of the trip was meeting with U.S. Ambassador Peter F. Mulrean, who discussed the complexities of working in Haiti.

"Learning that takes place in the classroom can be super reinforced by inserting students in real world situations" says Professor Mark White, a USAID senior Foreign Service officer who has lived and worked in over 30 countries. "I wanted students to see and experience the realities as they exist in Haiti." In the true spirit of the interagency, Professor Grace Stettenbauer, a senior Foreign Service officer with the Department of State, who taught a portion of the elective, brought her experience teaching graduate-level courses on national security policy and strategy to the real world situations students encountered in Haiti.

The success of the trip is perhaps best measured by the students themselves? "The study trip to Haiti was an invaluable opportunity to see concepts examined throughout the year in practical application" stated Rolanda Colbert. Another student, Kim Colton asserts, "for the first time I understood why the Army spends their time and money to send its best senior leaders to the War College. Haiti provides a microcosm of the all the facets of the curriculum."

While many students in Professor White's International Development class departed Haiti feeling optimistic about its future, all agreed with the commonly repeated oxymoron, "Haiti is too rich in resources to be considered poor."





PKSOI and Representatives from each of the U.S. Armed Services Compile a Transitional Public Security Curriculum Outline

Since 2009, PKSOI has diligently worked to define the role DOD should play in reforming the Justice system in a Post-Conflict, Failed or Failing State environment. The impetus for the work was driven by problems in Iraq and Afghanistan and recognition by international organizations, such as the UN, that the future would likely need a Standing Policing capability. Establishing an effective local police force is critical to stability operations; yet, the U.S. Government lacks the institutional capacity to provide an immediate and coordinated civilian police response, training or advisory effort. Through multiple engagement with the Community of Interest (military and civilian organizations), it was determined that the most plausible use of DOD expertise at the joint level will be to conduct Transitional Public Security (TPS). TPS is the military forces' establishment, promotion, restoration and maintenance of public order. Transitional Security Sector Assistance (TSSA) is a military force enabling host nation partners to provide public security and justice for their population, while effectively responding to security challenges. These definitions were submitted for inclusion in joint doctrine, specifically in the JP 3-07 Draft Manual.

Public Order Management (POM) is the broader umbrella term under which law enforcement establishes the Rule of Law and Security. The primary function of DOD under TPS is the maintenance of Public Order. Public Order is a condition characterized by the absence of widespread criminal and political violence. Under this condition, the people of the country can conduct their daily affairs without fear of violence. Without public order, people will never gain confidence in the public security system and will seek security from other actors, such as militias and warlords. It recognizes that the military must control public order until such time as police, civil society and others can respond adequately. TPS sets the conditions and standards for transitioning authority from U.S. DOD Public Order maintenance to the Host Nation or international organizational control (such as the United Nations). TPS is transitional, its aim is to wisely move from military primacy to civilian primacy.

In fulfillment of Task 13 of the Joint Review Oversight Council Memorandum (JROCM 172-13) on Stability Operation Doctrine, Organization, Training, Materiel, Logistics, Personnel, Facilities-Policy (DOTMLPF-P) Change Recommendations, "Determining a methodological approach to review and updated Programs of Instruction (POI) to address Rule of Law (RoL) planning and integration with Security Sector Reform," and after determining that RoL planning was sufficiently integrated into existing SSR instructional material, the service representatives concluded that the missing component was comprehensive joint tasks, necessary for DOD to assist in the reformation of Host/Partner Nations justice systems. PKSOI and joint service representatives created a TPS task list with Terminal Learning Objectives, a draft curriculum outline, and a White Paper describing the research findings. The final response was submitted to the Joint Staff for their consideration on 30 April 2016.



PKSOI Support to Training and Education

PKSOI Supports African Lion 16 in Agadir, Morocco

9-27 April 2016 - PKSOI's LTC Anna Haberzettl provided a program of instruction on Protection of Civilians and UN Peacekeeping to Service members from the U.S. Armed Forces, the Moroccan Royal Armed Forces, the Federal Republic of Germany Armed Forces as well as other partner nations, to include Mauritania, Canada, Italy, Spain, Great Britain, Tunisia and the Netherlands.



PKSOI conducts the Army Security Cooperation Planners Course

11-15 April 2016 - PKSOI and the Army G-3 staff concluded a very effective FY 2016-1 Army Security Cooperation Planners Course. This five day 40 hour course at the Army Heritage and Education Center (AHEC) familiarizes security cooperation staff officers with the necessary planning methodologies, resourcing processes, execution programs/authorities, evaluation mechanisms, and reference material which included best practices and lessons learned.



PKSOI Supports CENTCOM Regional Cooperation Exercise 2016

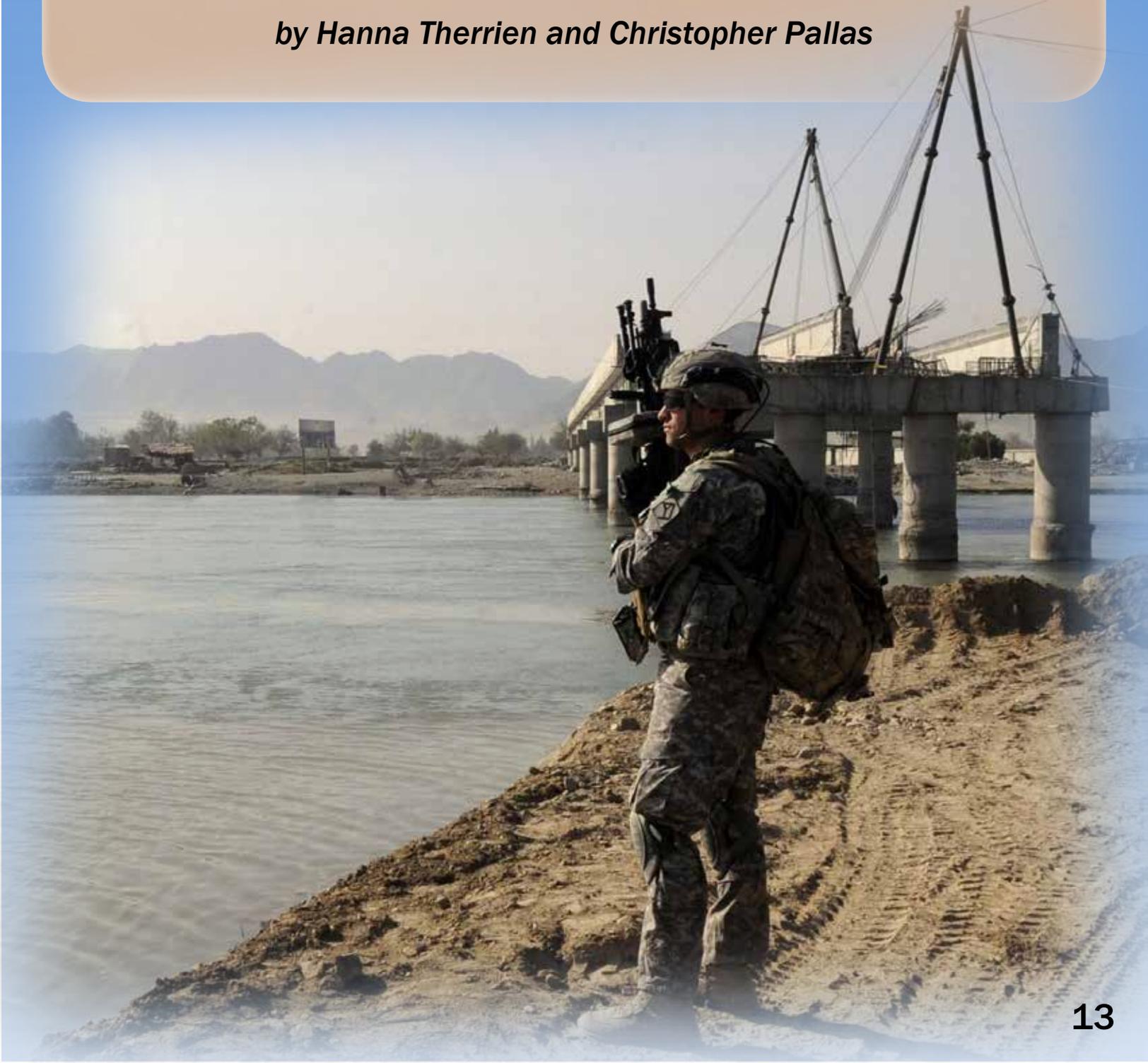
26 Mar - 3 April 2016 - Mr. Tony Lieto from PKSOI supported the Regional Cooperation Exercise for the third consecutive year. Regional Cooperation is a CJCS directed Joint Staff supported and CENTCOM executed exercise in the Central Asia region. It remains the only exercise in the Central Region and an important Stability Operations exercise involving 4 nations from the CENTCOM AOR and one nation from the PACOM AOR.





The Impact of Aid Reduction on Local Civil Society

by Hanna Therrien and Christopher Pallas



Introduction

At the November 4th Community of Practice on Aid Reduction and Local Civil Society workshop at the United States Institute of Peace (USIP), experts from around the country and world gathered to discuss the impact of donor withdrawal on local civil society in states in transition. Understanding the impact of aid reduction and donor withdrawal is important to a wide variety of stakeholders, including donors planning for aid reduction, local civil society organizations adapting to draw-downs, and security personnel integrating civil society into their peacebuilding and stabilization efforts. The workshop highlighted the needs of all stakeholders for enhanced data on the scope, scale, and timing of aid reduction, and on civil society's ability to adapt to reductions in aid. An expanded understanding of these data points can enable better planning processes for all affected parties, and facilitate the development of best practices for donors, civil society, and the security sector.

There has been a noticeable pattern in foreign aid given to post conflict states; it is given rapidly and in large quantities in order to reduce violence, and then is noticeably reduced. Money seemingly flows into a country as a result of an initial reduction in violence, however investment dwindles over time, and is not apparently aligned to any metric, such as the continued reduction of violence or the success of post-conflict reconstruction. Foreign aid can cause more problems for the host nation by undermining local civil society.

Afghanistan as an Exemplar

Afghanistan is an example of the negative impacts of foreign aid and aid reduction. Immediately after 2001, Afghanistan received huge amounts of foreign aid, making it very dependent on external donors. Furthermore, corruption embedded within Afghan society made it difficult to track the actual utilization of foreign aid, and whether it was reaching its intended audience. The lack of structure and organization of Afghan civil society made it difficult for it to contribute to creating development and preserving peace. Civil society, which is a non-profit, non-governmental sphere of association and interaction, will help countries to maintain stability even after international aid is withdrawn by promoting sustainability, defining specific goals, and helping to maintain peace. Poor peacebuilding and reconstruction outcomes in Afghanistan made it susceptible to donor fatigue. In order to prevent host nations from becoming disorganized and dependent on foreign aid, and therefore prone to more issues like violence and corruption, these nations must build up their grassroots civil society organizations (CSOs), and maintain CSO and governmental transparency so that foreign donors will know exactly how their money is being used. This

will allow the host nation to preserve peace and continue development even after aid reduction.

It is important to look to local civil society to facilitate this transition and prevent relapse into economic depression or conflict. A reduction of funding from aid programs forces local civil society to return to grassroots sources and become more self-sustaining.

Causes of Aid Reduction

The workshop participants divided into discussion groups to address issues related to aid reduction. The main groupings were: root causes of aid reduction, impact of decreasing aid and donor exit, and strategies for success. Within each group, there were smaller sub-groups in order to discuss particular issues in greater depth, as well as to gain more opinions from people of various backgrounds and expertise.

Discussion of the root causes of aid reduction was divided into subcategories: internal public, external public, external private, and internal private. Public and internal causes of aid reduction include "flavor of the month" donor fashion, where a donor will frequently change where it distributes its aid depending on the areas in need at the time. Frequent changes of donor aid implies that aid will be retracted from one area or sector and sent to another based on the current trends of where aid is being sent. Withdrawal of military forces and United States Agency for International Development (USAID) staff can contribute to aid reduction. The lack of a military presence, particularly in a post conflict area, often causes a relapse into instability, which is a major security concern. Donors may retract aid from countries that cannot provide adequate military protection against direct threats to workers on the ground. If a country receiving aid meets or changes its development objectives, then the allocated funds may be rescinded in a particular sector, and never transferred to a different internal issue. Lastly, donor fatigue can lead to lessening in the amount of aid. Donor fatigue may be due to frustration in the lack of progress on a project, or the lack of significant change in the recipient country.

The external and public causes of aid reduction were discussed in great detail, with a focus on absorptive capacity, macro geopolitics, and budget cuts. Donor's perception of the country receiving aid contributes to aid reduction if the country appears to be wasting money, or if the government and CSOs are performing poorly. Perception is aligned with the reputation of the aid-providing organization in the sense that its reputation could be negatively impacted if progress is minimal. Macro geopolitics indicating a shift in the interest and focus of the security environment in the economic, political, and social realms,

contributes to aid reduction. Changes in budget often translate into decreased funding. Budgets can be cut for specific regions because they no longer would like to provide the same level of development, due to changes of interest or lack of funds.

External private aid reduction can hinge on policy disagreements between countries, regime changes within the host nation, competition for resources, and a lack of transparency or perceived corruption. Changes in both the host nation and donor organization can cause disagreements and misunderstandings between the two parties. For example, nuclear proliferation could cause problems to arise because it is threatening to the actor, whether or not it is the host nation or the donor organization, which does not have nuclear power.

Internal host nation politics could lead to reduced aid when there is a lack of communication between CSOs and the host nation. In such an instance, CSOs may not be properly allocating, utilizing or accounting for financial aid in accordance with host nation protocols and mandates. Host nation government officials may not be willing to implement certain recommendations offered by donors, therefore forcing the donor to either be more selective in the allocation of funds to certain areas, or to retract funds altogether. A host nation CSO can also become overly focused on processes and procedures, creating a highly

bureaucratic system that makes it difficult to create change and sustainability. In contrast a lack of timely notice from donors to local civil society actors inhibits planning and adaptation. For small organizations without core funding – the situation of local civil society organizations in conflict-affected states – a sudden loss of donor funding can cause organizations to cease operation and close.

Instances of Donor Aid Reduction

A clear example of donor aid retraction occurred in the response to the Haiti earthquake in 2010. Immediately after the earthquake, donors wanted to pour billions of dollars to rebuild Haiti and see instantaneous results. However, the Haitian CSOs did not necessarily have the absorptive capacity to handle the huge inflow of aid, and did not have procedures in place to identify the specific locations requiring the various types of aid. Donors became tired of funneling money into development projects and not seeing dramatic and immediate changes, so they began to reduce the donations to Haiti.

Another clear example of aid reduction in the aftermath of a natural disaster, was Pakistan, but for a very different reason. USAID pulled much of its program funding when Pakistan continued its nuclear proliferation initiatives. USAID's sudden





withdrawal of aid created a vacuum because it was unclear who would fill the void, given Pakistan's dependence on foreign aid. Overall, the root causes for USAID's aid withdrawal were both internal and external. Pakistan's shifts in foreign policy, increases in the focus on certain development priorities, reductions in constituency support, assessments of environmental changes, and evaluation of programs' performance, lead to USAID's decision to withdraw support.

Impacts of Aid Reduction

The impact of aid reduction and eventual donor exit can have an enormous implications for the host nation, in particular, nations with struggling economies that have just emerged from violent conflict. Though it is important for these nations to become self-sustainable and independent, and to build the strength of their local civil society, it is necessary they be provided with sufficient initial aid to build towards their development goals, and to plan the most appropriate allocation for the use of the donor dollars. If no such plans exists, donors will eventually withdraw funding due to the potential misallocation of funds and a general lack of development progress.

Host nation' CSO credibility with the local population may be affected in that a decrease in aid and donor assistance can also lower internal CSO capacity to use funds because of staff turnover and CSO brain drain. However, donor exit may also have a positive effect on CSOs by increasing host nation ownership, creativity and innovation. When the host nation is forced to rely on already existing internal organizations, or to create new structures, it is possible that the nation can become self-sufficient using only existing resources, and building capacity internally. Retraction of external funds could also force host nation governments and organizations to think of new and innovative ways to solve their internal issues, and build up their CSOs.

Aid decrease and donor exit can impact the development objectives of a nation, causing the host nation to shift focus from an area of core competence to another area based on donor fund allocation. For example, Liberia shifted their focus from improving transparency in election to health care issues based on the allocation of donor funds. If resources decline, then host nations must have lower expectations for the number of issues addressed at one time, and focus on those development concerns that can be addressed in a much shorter period of time.

The short and long term impacts of donor exit and aid reduction on development are magnified by the recurrence of internal governmental instability. If there is less money available to support development, then problems associated with instability, such as decreased state legitimacy and increased activity of illicit power structure, become more prominent with attempts to fill the governance vacuum. An unstable governance function negatively impacts state security, economy development, and the societal structure.

Strategies for success

One of the most prominent development strategies to counter donor withdrawal is to shift the focus from money to knowledge. While money does help with the development of the host nation, most notably, the nation must possess the tools to adeptly quell its own internal struggles. The host nation government and CSOs must analyze the situation and problem before taking action, adjust development expectations, and work with local communities to reach a common end goal. Internal capacity is one of the greatest tools because it involves people from within the country, rather than depending on external support. Incentivizing donor aid can encourage national ownership of the development process.

The host nation must appropriately prioritize their development objectives, create and implement a timeline for their interests, and clearly define their vision of success to aid donor organizations in order to identify those projects with a common interest, and apply funding where necessary. Host nation civilians, government, and civil society and donor organizations must work towards a concise, common goal. Success, meaning when the host nation is no longer in need of aid, is ongoing, so all actors must decide how to maintain stability without increasing donor aid. A successful development plan must envision a time of reduced aid, and build up host nation indigenous assets, values, traditions, and norms in both the short and long run in order to preserve the country's stability and prevent the need for increased donor aid. Overall, building host nation ownership and accountability from the start, defining needs and creating solutions in the short and long term, increasing state legitimacy, and enforcing inclusive and participatory practices are the keys to success when addressing reduced donor aid and donor exit.

Developing a Community of Practice

To address these issues, Kennesaw State University (KSU), in association with PKSOI, is developing an online knowledge network to build a community of practice among individuals and organizations interested in aid reduction in conflict-affected states and the impact of aid reduction on local civil soci-

ety. The knowledge network will involve a moderated listserv and a repository of documents on aid reduction generated by users and scholars. The listserv would allow members to pose questions, receive feedback, and publicize policy changes or new initiatives. KSU and PKSOI will also undertake periodic surveys of members to identify current trends in aid reduction and identify adaptive practices. As the network evolves, it may also develop forums for country or country-sector subgroups to facilitate coordination and dialogue among organizations involved in managing the same country or sector-specific draw-downs. The knowledge network will be launched publicly by Fall 2016. Individuals interested in participating can contact Christopher Pallas at cpallas@kennesaw.edu.



Christopher L. Pallas is Assistant Professor of Conflict Management at Kennesaw State University. He holds a PhD from the London School of Economics and a Master's degree from the University of Edinburgh. Prior to entering academia, he served as a US Peace Corps volunteer in West Africa and worked as a senior research analyst and consultant, analyzing World Bank and African Development Bank policies for corporate clients. He is the author of the monograph *Transnational Civil Society and the World Bank* (Palgrave 2013) and fifteen academic articles and book chapter on civil society, development, and international policy making.



Hannah Therrien is an intern at the Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute (PKSOI) at the US Army War College in Carlisle, PA. She helped research past Foreign Humanitarian Assistance operations conducted by the US Army in order to provide recommendations for future operations. She is currently a student at Dickinson College, where she is studying International Studies with a concentration in Western Europe, and will be graduating May of 2016.





Enduring Wisdom: Marshall's 1939 Vision for Expeditionary Operations in the 21st Century

by LTC (ret) Thomas P. Odom, LTC Michael King, LTC Ty Short, and LTC Joshua Hamilton²



Role-players board a C-130 during a noncombatant evacuation as part of a training exercise at the Joint Readiness Training Center

Strengthening National Capacity—A Whole of Government Approach
National Security Strategy May 2010

To succeed, we must update, balance, and integrate all of the tools of American power and work with our allies and partners to do the same. Our military must maintain its conventional superiority and, as long as nuclear weapons exist, our nuclear deterrent capability, while continuing to enhance its capacity to defeat asymmetric threats, preserve access to the global commons, and strengthen partners. We must invest in diplomacy and development capabilities and institutions in a way that complements and reinforces our global partners. Our intelligence capabilities must continuously evolve to identify and characterize conventional and asymmetric threats and provide timely insight. And we must integrate our approach to homeland security with our broader national security approach.

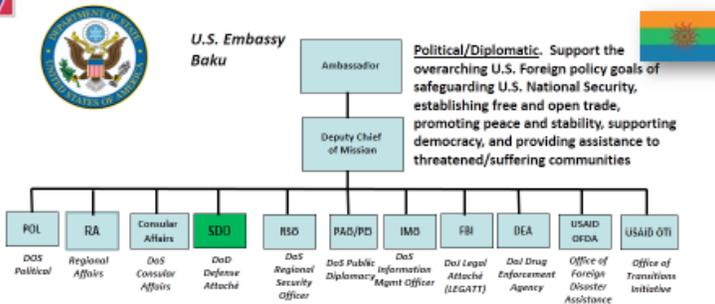
We are improving the integration of skills and capabilities within our military and civilian institutions, so they complement each other and operate seamlessly. We are also improving coordinated planning and policymaking and must build our capacity in key areas where we fall short. This requires close cooperation with Congress and a deliberate and inclusive interagency process, so that we achieve integration of our efforts to implement and monitor operations, policies, and strategies. To initiate this effort, the White House merged the staffs of the National Security Council and Homeland Security Council.

However, work remains to foster coordination across departments and agencies. **Key steps include more effectively ensuring alignment of resources with our national security strategy, adapting the education and training of national security professionals to equip them to meet modern challenges, reviewing authorities and mechanisms to implement and coordinate assistance programs, and other policies and programs that...**

Rotational Interagency

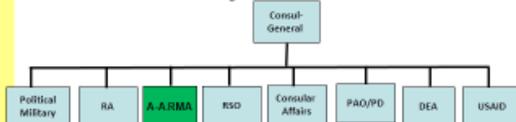
“The training environment afforded the opportunity to engage with local civilians, NGOs and INGOs, as well as local law enforcement – incredibly relevant and worthwhile practice that relates directly to the work we do overseas.” DOS DSS

Example US Country Team in Atropia

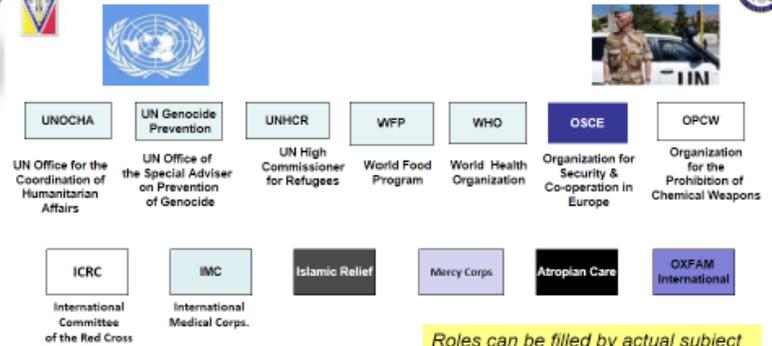


Country Team is replicated through contracted Interagency Role Players (Former DoS or OGA personnel with requisite experience)

U.S. Consulate General Sangari



IO/NGO



Roles can be filled by actual subject matter experts to fill their training requirements prior to a deployment

Key considerations:

- Complex humanitarian emergency;
- Chemical Weapons;
- Humanitarian civil-military coordination (UNOCHA CMCoord);
- Humanitarian operations and coordination: independent and ongoing movement of aid and civilians; including IDPs, critical / competing infrastructure requirements and clusters;
- Post-conflict: early recovery, conflict resolution, peacekeeping;
- Mass Atrocity and Prevention Response Options (MAPRO).

IA training events during a rotation are scalable based on training objectives but usually include:

- Pre-crisis coordination between DoD and DoS
- Non Combatant Emergency Evacuation
- Secure/Protect US Consulate
- Evacuate/Relocate Consulate
- Internally Displaced Persons/Refugee Actions
- Proliferation/Use of Weapons of Mass Destruction
- Mass Atrocity Prevention and Response
- UN/OSCE Coordination
- Humanitarian Response Operations
- Unconventional Warfare (Special Forces Operations)

Imagine a place where Unified Action Partners (UAPs) could actually work through the frictions of a whole of government approach in a live, free play exercise, akin to the Mayor's Office scene in the movie *Ghostbusters*, where: service partners were working together; Special operations forces coordinating efforts with conventional forces; Interagency partners guiding operations under a chief of mission's authority; Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) talking to host nation security; all are challenged by an enemy nicknamed Geronimo with an "evil" arsenal. Imagine further that when the dust settles, the participants have the opportunity to examine their experiences in depth. Although *Ghostbusters* was a movie, the training just described above is real; and can be found at the Joint Readiness Training Center (JRTC). Geronimo makes the Stay-Puft Marshmallow Man look like a softy.³

Combined Arms and Whole of Government

Whole of government, like combined arms warfare, is not a new concept. The U.S. government (USG) has long sought to improve its approach to national security and set interagency coordination and cooperation as a goal. The U.S. military has similarly set combined arms warfare as its ideal. Both concepts hinge on the idea that all means of influence or power taken in total are more than the simple sum of the parts. The Louisiana Maneuvers of 1940 were meant to drive that concept home as the U.S. Army prepared itself for entrance into World War II. General George Marshall, as the Army Chief of Staff, worked with Major General Leslie McNair, to develop a training model that used large maneuvers and live fire to create what they felt was realistic training.

Despite that effort, the U.S. Army would find itself learning from experience on battlefields across the globe. Indeed military historians would note that the U.S. military had a well-deserved reputation for losing its first battles as it had since the Revolutionary War. In 1973, General William DePuy established Training and Doctrine Command to institute unit and Soldier standards in order to achieve Marshall and McNair's vision. In the late 1970s, the Army established the National Training Center as the capstone to General Marshall's concept from 1939. The stunning success of U.S. Army forces in Desert Shield and Storm documented the value of the Combat Training Centers (CTCs) as the Army expanded the CTC program to include JRTC, the Joint Multinational Readiness Center (JMRC), and the Mission Command Training Program (MCTP). The U.S. Army has not been alone in its effort to expand unit collective training. The United States Marine Corps runs a collective training center at 29 Palms California. The U.S. Air Force Green Flag units run collective Joint training exercises that are fused with the U.S. Army and Marine training efforts.

All of these training centers made the "blocking and tackling" of collective combat real; resulting in America's military ending its propensity of losing first battles in favor of decisive victory.

Unified Training for Unified Action Partners

But what of the long term goal to apply a whole of government approach to operations? A cursory look of short notice, long distance operations as well as long term campaigns suggests that the goal—as stated in the National Security Strategy of 2010—remains but a goal. Whether operations in Lebanon in 1958, the Dominican Republic in the 1960s, the Democratic Republic of the Congo in the 1960s, 1970s, or 1990s, whole of government or interdependence was achieved through experience. That same experience-based learning model was applied in sustained campaigns in Southeast Asia, and of late in Iraq and Afghanistan. We win the battles, but still muddle through the post-combat transition. We achieve less than optimal results because we have not effectively trained to determine what optimal should look like.

Note also that the National Security Structure of the United States has, without pause, been focused on the interagency in the national capitol with a unique military command structure developed under the Unified Command Plan to establish regional and specialized commands with the goal of addressing global responsibilities. In contrast to the military approach, the U.S. Department of State (DoS), the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), and other agencies, have relied on the interagency mission structure at embassies and consulates under the supervision of the Ambassador, as the Presidential Appointed Chief of Mission.

There is no interagency equivalent for U.S. Central Command or U.S. Africa Command. The various UAPs do maintain capabilities to reinforce their presence abroad based on mission and demand. USAID established the Office of Civilian-Military Cooperation (CMC) to align development and defense and leverage the unique capabilities of both partners to achieve better development outcomes in pursuit of U.S. national security goals. This mission is accomplished through a personnel exchange of Foreign Service Officer, civil servants and contractors to combatant commands, while military officers work in USAID offices. USAID's Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance (OFDA) specializes in disaster and humanitarian relief using Disaster Assistance Response Teams (DARTs), which coordinate and manage optimal USG responses, while working closely with local officials, the international community, and relief agencies. USAID also maintains a network of regional offices in key areas. DoS, in an effort to mirror the outreach capabilities of the DoD, while coordinating the USG message of devel-

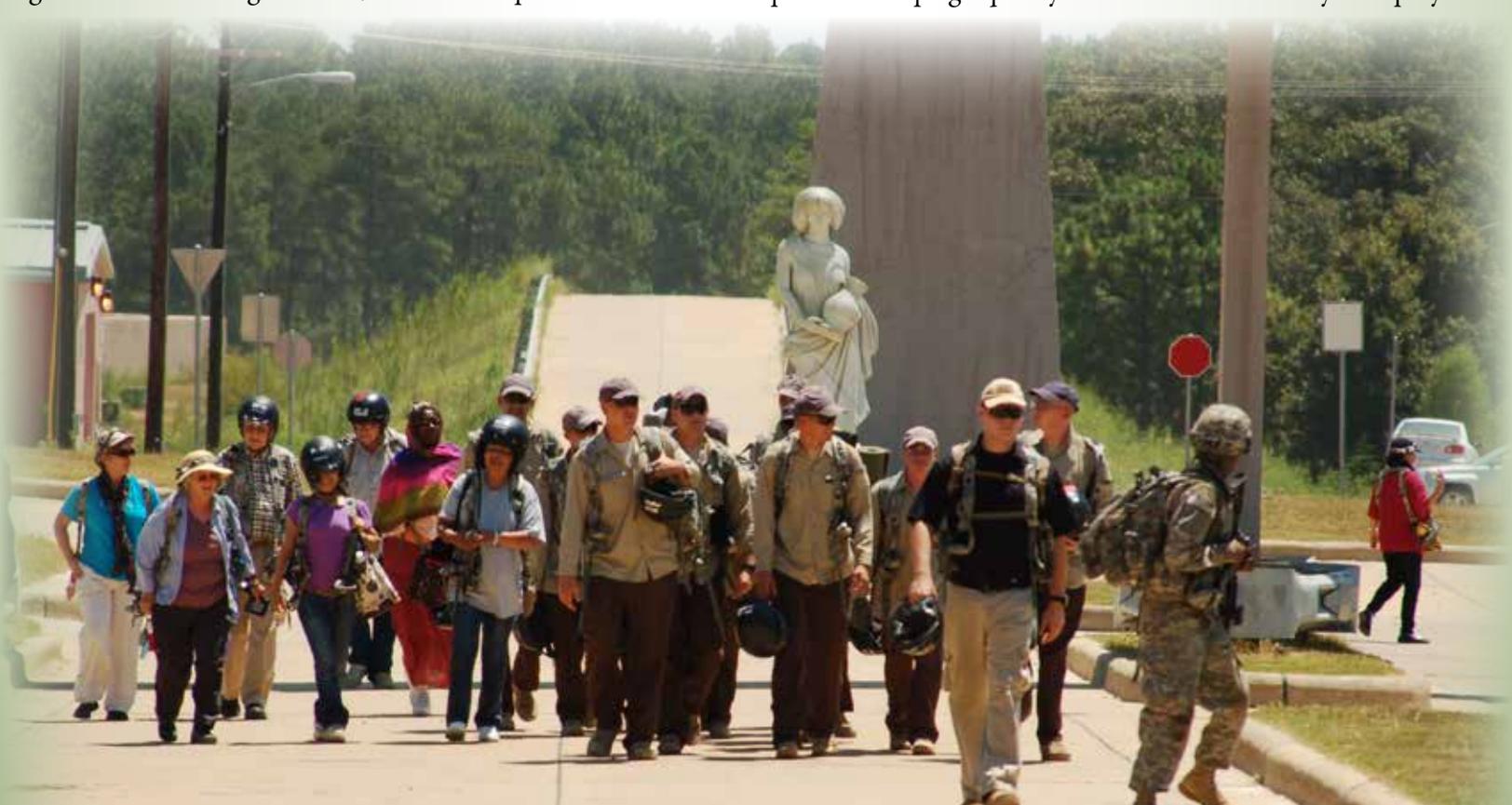
opment and capacity building, decided to become part of the leadership team of the Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRT) in Afghanistan and Iraq. All UAPs maintain a training mechanism for their personnel; some are more institutional than practical in delivery. As more of an exception than a standard, DoS and USAID in coordination with DoD security elements and Civil Affairs teams conducted a month long training session with a capstone field exercise to enhance integrated PRT command team planning prior to deployment. A secondary, but equally important aspect of this field exercise, was to allow the PRT command team to gain a better understanding of each other capabilities, and to begin to build those relationships necessary to operate as an effective team. With certain exceptions, these training and educational efforts are physically and fiscally stove piped by agency.

Therein lies the issue in achieving a “whole of government” approach to National Security. While we have by agency, educational institutions, and think tank developed a robust and often bewildering national security apparatus that functions somewhat well in the national capital region, our interagency approach to overseas operations is distinctly 17th Century when an Ambassador operated largely on his own. The only time we bring the country team and DoD elements together is when the USG initiate actual military operations. In short, our whole of government learning has been, and still is experience-based.

Expeditionary Operations

The implementation of the Decisive Action Training Environment (DATE) at the JRTC shows great promise in filling the “the blocking and tackling” training gap between the military and our UAPs. As a CTC, the JRTC was established as a training center for joint light and special operations forces; prior to 9-11 that light and Special Operations Forces (SOF) training effort tended to remain very separate. Operations since then have made such separation impossible. The JRTC has matured in the past 15 years of war, meeting the challenges of training units for operations in Iraq and Afghanistan while posturing to meet future challenges. The DATE captures those changes and challenges conventional and special operations forces coordinate efforts when operating in a triad with UAPs to support training for global reaction and regional alignment.

Given an uncertain strategic environment and fiscal conservancy, U.S. military forces have turned increasingly toward greater capabilities instead of numbers. The dominant issue pushing that transformation has been, and will most likely continue to be, the rapid emergence of security challenges across the globe; challenges that dictate an increased capacity for expeditionary operations. U.S. Army doctrine recognizes the need for an expeditionary mindset and capabilities across the force to produce campaign quality forces trained and ready to deploy for



American citizens are escorted to their extraction airlift in a non-combatant evacuation operation.

an enduring fight. The JRTC has long used the motto, “Forging the Warrior Spirit” to describe its leader training mission. As the CTC for Joint SOF and light Infantry operations, the JRTC now shares that expeditionary mindset across our Unified Action Partners.

Army doctrine says that expeditionary capabilities are the ability to promptly deploy combined arms forces worldwide into any area of operations and immediately commence operations. Expeditionary operations require the ability to deploy quickly with little notice, rapidly shape conditions in the operational area, and upon arrival exploit success and consolidating tactical and operational gains. The Army prepares campaign quality forces for unified action with joint forces, government agencies, nongovernmental and intergovernmental agencies.

Over the course of the past 15 years, the JRTC has grown in mission, size, and complexity. In 2000, a JRTC rotation typically consisted of 2300 troops in a brigade combat team with two infantry battalions operating in the field and a third virtually.

Special operations forces also trained at the CTC, but rarely were conventional or SOF rotations coordinated to affect each other. Mission rehearsal exercises (MREs) in support of Operation Iraqi Freedom increased participating troop levels to an entire BCT comprising some 3800 troops. After 2010 Operation Enduring Freedom MREs expanded the force structure to some 4500 troops with enablers. Both OIF and OEF saw increased operational support and training with SOF to support projected missions in theater. Moreover as operations in both theaters matured, rotations saw an increased play with interagency PRTs and host nation security forces. In 2009, the 162nd Infantry Brigade stood up at the CTC as the U.S. Army and U.S. DoD premier advisor team training effort. By 2010, JRTC was running MREs with forces twice the size of those in 2000, while also using steady state operations from fixed forward operating bases (FOBs). OEF MREs nested BCT training with the competencies to perform as security force assistance (SFA) brigades down to the team level, and in some cases, as village stability operations (VSO) under SOF.



IDP registration in Dara Lam with OFDA/USAID and WHO assistance.

An Open Invitation to USAID and other UAPS

The Joint Readiness Training Center (JRTC) has an ongoing opportunity for short-term training for Department of State (DOS), Diplomatic Security (DS), U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), Department of Justice (DOJ), Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) and other interagency personnel.

The JRTC turn toward decisive action (DA) training in full spectrum operations (FSO) at the end of 2010 was tidal. JRTC conducted the first DA rotation in a decade; lessons from that rotation are still affecting the force. But the full scale tsunami of change came in 2013 with the implementation of the DATE. The DATE was revolutionary in its portrayal of expeditionary operations into a sovereign host nation facing the threat of a near peer enemy. Unified action to achieve Joint interdependence among SOF, conventional, and other partners accurately replicated the challenges facing a global response force (GRF) or regionally aligned force (RAF). The “whole of government” began to block and tackle together. Marshall’s vision as Chief of Staff in 1939 was applied to the National Security Strategy of 2010.

This interagency training, fully funded by JRTC, supports 2015 Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review (QDDR) and National Security Strategy goals; enhances interagency collaboration and relationship building; and provides participants with a unique opportunity to interact with highly experienced subject matter experts and military personnel in a kinetic DATE. JRTC is seeking qualified applicants from diverse agencies to participate in fiscal year (FY) 2016 and beyond DATE rotations.

In the second edition of *Career Diplomacy: Life and Work in the U.S. Foreign Service*, Harry Kopp and Charles Gillespie outline the key changes encapsulated in “Diplomacy 3.0,” the three pillars—diplomacy, defense, and development—of American foreign policy:

- The increasing importance of collaboration between the Foreign Service and U.S. Military in “fragile states threatened by or emerging from combat”;
- The rapid growth of USAID’s Foreign Service, and its integration with DOS; and
- Agreement by both the current Administration and Congress that, in addition to more people and money, an improved Foreign Service requires better training.⁴



Internally displaced persons gather in the provincial capital of Dara Lam

The QDDR addresses the interdependency of diplomacy, defense, and development, including, as a strategic priority, the “building of dynamic organizations” with an agile, skilled workforce that can effectively advance U.S. interests in “a world of complex threats, dynamic opportunities, and diffuse power.” According to the QDDR, such a workforce is “more flexible and diverse, enabling our people to move between positions and agencies, and in and out of government, as needed.”⁵ DoS and USAID are looking to invest in training diversity and leadership in order to accomplish this objective, including participation in such programs as USAID’s Civilian Military Cooperation Training and long-term training opportunities at DoD institutions. Short-term DATE training at JRTC provides other federal government agencies additional opportunities for professional development with a distinctly whole-of-government approach.

Training at the JRTC replicates real-world environments, including towns and villages; consulates, embassies, and country teams; host nation government, military, and police officials; nongovernmental and intergovernmental organizations; and hostile military, insurgent, and opposition elements. Subject matter experts create training scenarios that consist of scripted events and “free play,” designed to facilitate specific training

objectives. A cadre of trained observers monitor all activities to ensure the safe and effective conduct of all events and interaction, while also providing valuable feedback to participants about their training-related actions. Our role-players include cultural experts and former/retired subject matter experts such as former ambassadors, deputy chiefs of mission, consular officers, and public diplomacy officers; chiefs of station and case officers; regional security officers; USAID experts; and professionals who have worked abroad with the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe and the United Nations, among others.

The JRTC interagency strategy encourages training participants to consider the most effective methods and frameworks for interagency-military engagement. Rotational units work with the interagency to prevent and resolve conflicts, counter insurgencies, and create a safe and secure environments for local populations. This training also helps to strengthen participants’ capacity to anticipate crisis and conflict, prevent mass atrocities, and respond to emergency governance problems. It is a proven, time-tested training environment, and those individuals from DoS, FBI, and DS who have participated in previous DATE rotations emphasize the value of the JRTC approach to their professional development.



Department of State Diplomatic Security assists in Non-combatant Evacuation Operations (NEO).

Here are a few comments from those JRTC “veterans”:

- *I have already recommended this program to all my colleagues here at the State Department. It is exactly through this type of experience that we break down the borders between the armed services and civilians.*
- *This would be a valuable experience for someone who had never been to post, as well as serve as a refresher for someone who has.*
- *This training was a fantastic opportunity, and we should aggressively seek ways to get more DS-affiliated people involved.*
- *I gained invaluable experience in operating in a hostile, complex environment.*
- *The deliberately stressful training environment demanded personal initiative, cooperation, and physical and mental effort. Our participation improved our understanding of what the Army does—a very wide spectrum of responsibilities undertaken by young, hard-working Soldiers.*

Emerging Insights and Issues

JRTC is first and foremost a leader development center. JRTC’s training scenario addresses the challenges inherent in a whole of government collaborative training effort. One of the key

partners in this effort has been the Center for Army Lessons Learned (CALL). Since the CTC turned to decisive action, CALL and JRTC published 14 book length newsletters on the results of the training rotations, semi-annual trends, and special projects. Notably, JRTC and CALL issued Handbook 15-13, a Commander’s Guide to Understanding the Interagency and 15-15 Unified Action Partners Quick Reference Guide. JRTC has now collected and collated three years’ worth of interagency training trends. Here are the emerging insights:

- Across the board, commanders and staffs do not understand the complexities of the Interagency (IA) in an expeditionary environment. This is not a question of enabler integration. The unit integrating with the IA is the enabler. Interdependence with IA and SOF is a three legged stool.
- Units do not approach missions as military tasks that require planning and rehearsals. NEO are the most striking; the units that train and rehearse NEO at home station do very well in an operational environment.
- Engagement with the IA and Host Nation is an Army task; robust Liaison Officers (or tailored Tactical Command posts) achieve better results. Security of a Consulate is a DoD defensive operational task.



NEO convoy arrives for processing and airlift.

- Emerging issues center on clarifying "engagement" as a Warfighting Function (WfF) and identifying a proponent to develop training tasks for SOF and the Conventional Force from the institutional to the unit level in expeditionary operations.

Engagement

Although JRTC focuses on Combined Arms Maneuver, like the Army, it is committed to institutionalizing the lessons learned from the last fifteen years of conflict and anticipating the complex operational environment of the future. Realizing that the success of military operations in the future will be highly dependent on fully understanding engagement with the local population and its effects on strategy and operations, JRTC leadership has directed that additional focus be placed on Engagement: the tasks and systems associated with influencing the behaviors of peoples, militaries, and governments. In late 2015, the JRTC Operations Group created Task Force Engagement (TFE) and added Engagement as a topic for discussion during post rotation after action reviews (AAR). By doing so, JRTC channeled George C. Marshall's vision into an operational test bed for the doctrinal evolution of an Engagement WfF.

TFE provides the Brigade Combat Team (BCT) with observer/coach/trainers, whose primary area of mentorship is focused on influencing the behaviors of people, militaries, and governments, specifically the interaction between the BCT and UAPs within the JRTC operational environment. The TFE mentors' areas of expertise includes information operations, civil affairs operations, and public affairs operations. The culminating event for the TFE mentors is the final AAR provided to the BCT leadership, including subordinate battalion command teams. During this review, the brigade's leadership is provided feedback on how the unit performed in relation to its training objectives and on its systems and processes for engagement-related activities. In keeping with the spirit of collaborative, collective training, JRTC has opened the audience for the Engagement AAR to include UAPs. The creation of TFE and an Engagement AAR is an evolutionary leap forward in training units for expeditionary operations.

Conclusions

The need for a whole of government approach to operations, especially expeditionary operations is a long standing aphorism; in truth, one that has long been part of countless histories, investigations, or other forms of post-operational analysis. The military has long recognized that training prepares, and often documents how leaders, soldiers, and units will perform under the stress of real world operations. Whole of government advocates typically lament that military and UAPs were unprepared

to operate together and did so only through experience. The JRTC in training for expeditionary operations offers an alternative model, one that will allow military and UAPs to train and learn together, and create a whole of government ethos that can be further shared and built upon.



Notes:

- ¹ General of the Army George C. Marshall is an iconic bridge between U.S. military and diplomatic communities. In 1939 as chief of Staff of the Army, Marshall set in motion the training machine that would carry the U.S. Army through World War II. In 1947 as newly appointed Secretary of State, Marshall announced the European Recovery Program, dubbed "The Marshall Plan," which set the stage for the creation of USAID.
- ² LTC King is an Infantry officer with multiple tours in Afghanistan as one of the first ACPAK Hands courses. LTC Short is a Civil Affairs officer with operational tours in support of Operation Enduring Freedom, Afghanistan, and U.S. Pacific Command. LTC (ret) Odom is a retired U.S. Army foreign Area Officer for the Middle East and sub-Saharan Africa. He was the U.S. Defense Attaché in Zaire in 1993 to 1994 for Operation Support Hope and then from 1994 to 1996 established a permanent Defense Attaché Office in Kigali Rwanda. He has been the CALL military analyst at the JRTC since 2000 but deployed to Iraq as the 1st Cavalry/Multi-National Division-Baghdad Political Advisor. LTC Joshua Hamilton is a U.S. Army Foreign Area Officer (FAO) specializing in African affairs. He has served in the Office of Security Cooperation at U.S. Embassy Rabat in Morocco, as a combat advisor in Baghdad, Iraq, as well as on the AFRICOM J5 staff, and as AFRICOM Regionally Aligned Force trainer at the 162nd Infantry. He currently serves as Military Advisor to the Department of State Africa Bureau.
- ³ Ghostbusters, Columbia Pictures, 1984.
- ⁴ Kopp, Harry W. and Gillespie, Charles A. Preface. Career Diplomacy: Life and Work in the U.S. Foreign Service. 2nd Ed. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press. 2011.
- ⁵ U.S. Department of State. Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review. Washington DC. 2015

353rd Armor Regiment Provide Regional Engagement Training at JRTC

by LTC Chad M. Roehrman

In October 2014, the 162nd Infantry Brigade at Fort Polk, LA, deactivated, and consolidated the training capabilities into the 3rd Battalion, 353rd Armor Regiment. The mission of the 353rd is to support the new Army Operating Concept, calling for the Army to engage regionally to shape security environments and set the theater of operations. The 3rd Battalion, 353rd Armor Regiment, a battalion within the Operations Group at the Joint Readiness Training Center (JRTC), supports these requirements by training Army and Joint individual advisors and units on the Security Cooperation (SC) and Security Force Assistance (SFA) mission requirements.

Leveraging the capabilities of the 52nd Translator and Interpreter Company (TICO) and the advisor deployment experience of the 353rd Armor Regiment's Observer/Trainers, JRTC develops a tailored training programs to meet the unit's training objectives in preparation for the SC or SFA mission requirements. The training programs include classes, threaded scenario practical exercises, and scenario immersion covering core competencies in basic advising, culture, history, use of interpreters, rapport building, influencing and negotiations, host nation security forces, training, SC and SFA principles, and combat

skills. Engaged regionally, the 3rd Battalion, 353rd Regiment, integrates lessons learned and best practices from theaters and coupled them with Army and Joint doctrine, to enable units to meet the mission requirements. For coordinating unit training or for more information on the lessons learned, best practices, programs of instruction, and published articles visit the unit's website at http://www.jrtc-polk.army.mil/Transition_team/index.html or contact the Battalion Operations Officer at (337)653-3120.



Notes:

LTC Chad M. Roehrman is the battalion commander for 3rd Battalion, 353rd Regiment, Operations Group, JRTC, Fort Polk, LA. He is a graduate of the United States Military Academy with a BS in Engineering Psychology, as well as the British Advanced Command and Staff College, and the Advanced Combined Warfighting School. LTC Roehrman has served as the Regimental Planner for the 3ACR, a Company Trainer and Senior Training Analyst at NTC OPSGRP, the Regimental Planner for 2ACR and a Plans Officer, Regional Support Team Chief, and J35-Future Operations Division Chief at Fort Bliss.





Civil Affairs Roundtable Helps Frame the Future of the Force

by U.S. Army Colonel (Ret) Christopher Holshek



The Civil Affairs Association, in partnership with the National Defense University Center for Complex Operations (NDU-CCO), the U.S. Army Peacekeeping & Stability Operations Institute (PKSOI), Foreign Area Officer Association, Reserve Officers Association, Alliance for Peacebuilding and the U.S. Global Leadership Coalition, held its annual Civil Affairs Roundtable in Ft. McNair's Marshall Hall in Washington, DC on the 4th and 5th of April.

The main purpose was the presentation of the 2015-16 Civil Affairs Issue Papers, co-published between the Association, PKSOI, and the U.S. Marine Corps Training Command, on "Civil Affairs: A Force for Engagement and Conflict Prevention." The Roundtable closes and opens an annual cycle, including the fall symposia and spring roundtables and centered around the Issue Papers as the main deliverable. The cycle serves as a platform for the most operationally experienced community of CA practitioners since World War II to have more direct and visible input on the discussion of the future of CA – as a national strategic capability to end and prevent wars – at the command and policy levels, as well as capture their insights and lessons for future posterity and research.

"The objective of employing this crowdsourcing method," explains Association president Joe Kirlin, "is to give young leaders and the upcoming generation, something not previously done in a systemic way, an opportunity to have a voice in the future of a force in which they have arguably the greatest interest. So far, it has been paying off very well. People in many places are recognizing the great value of this work because in good part they are recognizing the great value of Civil Affairs, regardless of component or branch of service."

In addition to introducing the 2015-16 Issue Papers, the Roundtable set out to respond to a challenge laid out at last November's Symposium from Lt. Gen. H.R. McMaster, Deputy Commanding General of Futures for the U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command, to help the Army "think, learn, analyze, and implement solutions" to Army Warfighting Challenges (AWFC) that would improve the Joint Force's ability to consolidate gains and achieve sustainable outcomes in conflict management.

To accomplish this, Issue Papers first-place winner Major Arnel P. David the U.S. Army's Strategic Studies Group led a professional development workshop to produce CA-related inputs to the AWFC, representing a general consensus of the Civil Affairs Regiment.

NDU-CCO, which hosted the Roundtable, updated more than 100 attendees on recent research activities to improve their knowledge of larger policy and conceptual developments with application to civil-military operations. These included:

lessons from Iraq and Afghanistan; U.S. counter-terror strategy; understanding illicit networks; and contributions to concept development for human aspects of military operations; metrics and assessments.

NDU-CCO also provided the keynote speaker, Mr. Thomas C. Hushek, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of the State Department's Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations (CSO). Based on his longtime experience in both development and diplomacy, Hushek concluded that Civil Affairs work invaluable work in support of these two other "D's" would only expand and require greater civil-military cooperation, especially in facing world a world of complex challenges ranging from climate change, migration, illicit networks, and violent extremism that demanded greater understanding of drivers as much as the threats emanating from them. He exhorted the CA Regiment, including especially its Reserve Component, to continue building closer "steady state" planning and professional development relations through the CSO and the U.S. Agency for International Development's Center for Civil-Military Cooperation.

As every year, the Roundtable discussion panel the morning of second day surveyed developments more specific to civil-military operations, including interagency and multinational institutional partners. Along with updates on policy, doctrine, and operational developments, activities, initiatives, and lessons, the discussants also informed the audience of resources for training and other forms of professional development – especially useful to the Reserve members who make up the majority of the CA force.

In addition to the U.S. Army Civil Affairs & Psychological Operations Command (Airborne), Institute for Military Support to Governance at the U.S. Army John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center and School, Defense Department Office of Stability and Humanitarian Affairs, PKSOI, and U.S. Marine Corps Force Headquarters, representatives from the United Nations' Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs and Alliance for Peacebuilding were on hand.

Finally, the Roundtable discussed the topical theme for next annual cycle for 2016 Symposium, set to take place in Mountain View, CA, home of the 351st Civil Affairs Command, 17-19 November. Generally, the group agreed to look at "leveraging the whole of Civil Affairs" among the geographic combatant command and Special Operations Command for the full range of missions and situations and in closer coordination and cooperation with partner countries and organizations as well as regional and multilateral players in peace and stability operations. A call-for-papers for the 2016-17 Civil Affairs Issue Papers will be published in May, while the save-the-date announcement for the 2016 Civil Affairs Symposium will appear in June.





Civilians and Military Transport

*by Kurt E. Müller, Ph.D., Colonel, USA (ret.), Senior
Research Fellow, Center for Complex Operations,
National Defense University*



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In the historical ebb and flow of financing the military, a pattern of vacillation is evident: the services have adopted new technologies from the civil sector and placed experts in uniform, transferred some to the Reserve Components, contracted businesses, and reconstituted capabilities once considered superfluous. Transportation provides a case study of episodic needs, for which no single approach provides reliable access. As a military function it relies so heavily on Reserve units that around 2006 the pending release from active duty of Army and Navy port-handling organizations in Iraq was a key staffing issue.¹

U.S. military transportation history demonstrates a preference that dates back to the Continental Army in which the contracting function oscillated between quartermasters and troops contracting for military transport. The desire to avoid diverting troops from combat arms is appealing until contracts do not deliver services effectively. Fear that civilians would not deploy into harm's way, and concern over status under the customs of war, led to continual consideration of means to ensure military control of both personnel and equipment. The history is instructive, as unresolved issues and ameliorative solutions offer reason to consider alternatives when circumstances differ from those of recent experience.

Early Transportation History

Military historian William Epley notes that Washington's quartermaster contracted for wagons and drivers to haul supplies, primarily subsistence.² During the Mexican War, Colonel Trueman Cross, the quartermaster supporting Zachary Taylor's axis of advance, requested the War Department procure wagons and supplies in Philadelphia and hire blacksmiths and wheelwrights to deploy to Texas, to establish a repair depot. More of a challenge than acquiring the wagons was hiring the drivers. Because competent drivers could be difficult to hire, they could (and did) strike for higher wages. Consequently, Colonel Cross advocated establishing a corps of enlisted train drivers,³ but a continuing line of reasoning ran that soldiers should not be diverted from their duties in combat arms.

As railroads developed, logistics improved considerably. During the Civil War, Union forces were better positioned than the Confederates to expand rail capabilities, and they increased trackage in the North by 4,000 miles.⁴ The relation between the public and private sectors was not an easy one, however. In 1861, Secretary of War Simon Cameron appointed railroad executives to coordinate movement of troops and supplies, but the arrangement among cronies facilitated overbilling the government. By 1862, President Lincoln had appointed Edwin Stanton to replace him, and Congress facilitated Stanton's changes by authorizing the seizure and militarization of the railroads. Although owners still operated their railroads, aspects of operations became government-run or, more accurately,

hybridized with railroad executives now in uniform supervising a combination of military and civilian employees.

During the Indian Wars, the Army acquired a fleet of wagons for quartermaster use, but by 1895, the War Department decided to sell off the wagons in the expectation that in future wars it would contract logistical support. Since there was no longer a market for replacement wagons or parts, three years later, when the Army tried to contract the Studebaker Corporation to produce 1,200 wagons in two months for the war with Spain, Studebaker had neither the raw material nor the machinery to supply the need. Studebaker would need a year, and other contractors estimated at least nine months to meet military specifications.⁵ Although multiple suppliers could respond in small numbers each, that option would have created difficulties in maintenance and management of spare parts.

The transport of personnel and cargo would remain subject to a periodic rebalance of organic and contracted means but demonstrate a continuing reliance on the private sector. During World War I, ocean shipping was never sufficient to supply the American Expeditionary Forces. Over the first seven months of the deployment, only 10 percent of supplies reached the AEF. For the entire effort, expeditionary forces received only 8 million of the 18 million tons of supplies they requested.⁶ The 19 months the U.S. spent in World War I cost the nation's Treasury 10 times as much as Union expenditures during four years of the Civil War, with the cost of transport a significant contributor.⁷

World War II

World War II demonstrated an enormous logistical effort using multiple modes of transport: internally in the United States, strategic sealift to multiple theaters, and intra-theater transport. In July 1942, the Army finally acted on recommendations from the Mexican War and created a separate Transportation Corps, whose office would grow to 407 military and 1,573 government civilian personnel in Washington, DC, and to 164 military and 969 civilian billets outside the capital. Although much transportation of personnel would depend on civilian contracts, government personnel controlled movement, ordered transport, and ticketed personnel on commercial carriers.

Layers of civil-military staff moved troops to pre-deployment training at multiple installations, and then to ports. The predominance of rail travel and freight transport to military installations called for considerable coordination with the railroad industry. Individual railroads and industry associations sponsored the development of affiliated units in the Army Reserve that comprised the Military Railway Service. In essence, the railroad industry could thus put their own personnel in uniform, ensuring both competent operation of the rail service and retention of personnel, who otherwise might have been subject

to the draft. By mid-1945, 45,000 uniformed personnel staffed the railways. Once military personnel were ready to embark for deployment, government personnel—62,646 military and 77,986 civilians—handled their movement through various ports.⁸

Deployment during World War II used sealift. The U.S. Merchant Marine reached a size in World War II that required a significant recruiting and retention effort. Not only did the U.S. industrial base churn out 5,592 merchant ships,⁹ but these craft used civilian crews, first to supply Britain, and then to ferry personnel and supplies to U.S. forces (including requisitioned ocean liners). The Roosevelt administration established the War Shipping Administration to direct ship operations, which allocated ships to the Navy and War Departments. The Merchant Marine Act of 1936 supported shipbuilding primarily for commercial purposes, but included the use of ships as military and naval auxiliary vessels in a time of war. By 1945, the Army Transportation Corps operated 186 ocean-going vessels and managed one seventh of the shipping tonnage that the War Shipping Administration allocated to the Army. The Shipping Administration then reallocated priority to the Navy as the war in the Pacific progressed.

Because their casualty rates exceeded that for most Services, the Merchant Marines have been waging a protracted campaign for recognition as veterans.¹⁰ At the same time as the attack on Pearl Harbor, Japanese submarine I-26 sank its first American merchant ship, the S.S. Cynthia Olson, a vessel under charter to the Army Transport Service.¹¹ At the outset of U.S. mobilization, military and naval planners often had various points of tension with members of the Merchant Marine from perceptions of unreliability to lack of discipline. Although the major labor unions representing this sector used their control of hiring to discipline their workforce,¹² staff planners advocated militarizing the merchant seamen, particularly for small-boat operations. Placing these 20,000 civilians in uniform was unworkable, however, as many experienced crewmen could not meet age or physical requirements for military service.¹³

As with the railroads, port and shipping services made extensive use of personnel from port facilities and steamship lines, sometimes commissioning them for service in uniform, sometimes appointing them government civilians. On December 7, 1941, the Port Marine Superintendent in San Francisco, Albert Berry, was immediately called to active duty in the rank of Captain, Naval Reserve, and assigned to the very post he was filling as a civilian. “In Navy uniform he served simultaneously with the Army and the Navy throughout the war.”¹⁴ Lewis Lapham, an executive with the American-Hawaiian Lines, was detailed temporarily as civilian aide to the Commanding General of the San Francisco Port of Embarkation, and received a government check for sixty cents for his first six months as a consultant, and then received a civil-service appointment.¹⁵

Intra-theater transport capabilities were also hybrid. In the build-up for the invasion of Normandy, the British government deferred to labor unions to not allow U.S. military personnel to unload their ships, as it was perceived this would mean a loss of jobs to British port workers, who refused to use labor-saving devices. But by August 1943, the British conceded the need for military port-handling capabilities, and the U.S. would eventually have 15 port battalions in Britain. Once Cherbourg was captured and opened, the Transportation Corps hired French civilians and used German prisoners of war for port handling. With the railroads heavily damaged, long-haul transport was primarily by truck haul. Planners estimated the need for 240 truck companies, but the number was reduced to 160 on the theater approved troop-list.¹⁶

The Transportation Corps deployed Railway units, elements of which reconnoitered French rail lines from D-Day to D+41, and a Railway Grand Division and four battalions expanded rail operations to almost 5,000 miles by October 1944. As the offensive moved east, the Allied command released rear rail lines to national rail authorities, which then depended heavily on civilian personnel.¹⁷

Korea and Vietnam

In Korea, the rapid response to the invasion from the North initially focused on getting troops into the country, and air accounted for 20–30 percent of troop arrivals. Although air transport had become viable, the cost differential of shipping was so great that the air mode accounted for only one percent of supply shipments. One ton of cargo cost \$5,000 to ship by air, \$38 by sea.¹⁸ Once supplies reached Korea, through-put lagged because of congestion and labor issues. Containerized shipping was instituted in this era to minimize pilferage by Korean stevedores, who were not subject to government supervision in the ports. Moving cargo to the field required Korean civilians to build Main Supply Routes for exclusively military traffic. The transport within Korea was heavily civilian as well, but problems of discipline and control led to militarizing the Korean Civil Transport Corps.¹⁹

The war in Vietnam also depended heavily on civilian contract labor. Port services were provided through a combination of six companies from the Vietnamese Army, 15 from the U.S. Army, and 20 civilian equivalents. Korea’s Han Jin Transportation Co. was a significant port operator. A projected Transportation Command to serve the entire Vietnamese theater would have had 17,000 troops and 12,000 contractors, but inter-Service rivalries prevented implementation of this concept. The Fifth Transportation Command arrived in Vietnam in October 1966, and by late 1968 replaced its 500 military personnel with 700 Vietnamese civilians; two years later, the command transferred to Vietnamese control. Civilian labor in combat areas was once again a constraint. The first ship docking at Cam Ranh Bay

arrived before U.S. Army stevedores. Echoing episodes from Mexico and World War II, Vietnamese stevedores were supposed to unload the ship, but their union refused to send them, so an Army lieutenant recruited a group of enlisted men for the task.²⁰ Military staff predominantly contracted onward movement by truck, but the contractor, Philco Ford, would not operate on some routes, thus requiring the use of military vehicles and drivers on those routes.²¹

The Shift to Air Transport

Since the Vietnam era, military personnel deploy primarily by air. For Operations DESERT SHIELD/STORM, the Air Force used 90 percent of its C-5 Galaxies and 80 percent of its C-141 Starlifters to move 72 percent of the air cargo, but only one third of the personnel. The remaining military personnel deployed via civilian aircraft through a combination of contract flights and the Civil Reserve Air Fleet (CRAF). CRAF is a partnership with U.S.-flagged civilian airlines that provide designated aircraft and volunteer crews. In exchange for U.S. Government use of U.S.-flagged carriers for peacetime transportation, these carriers pledge availability of aircraft capable of various range categories. The “carriers continue to operate and maintain the aircraft [...] however, [Air Mobility Command] controls the aircraft missions.”²²

In preparation for Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, Air Mobility Command reviewed the use of CRAF for its air traffic flow during both DESERT STORM and ENDURING FREEDOM. Of three stages of activation, each calling for successively more aircraft, it has not been necessary to go beyond Stage II,²³ and airlines find it less disruptive to provide aircraft voluntarily. Carriers provide four crews per aircraft, all U.S. citizens, and participants include major airlines, e.g., American, Delta, and United, regional airlines, and charter carriers. Reliance on civilian carriers has continued to rise. In a 2012 report, U.S. Transportation Command noted 28 CRAF carriers provided 93 percent of DoD’s passenger movement (as well as 37 percent of bulk-cargo capability), and served all five major airports in Afghanistan.

Joint Civil-Military Transportation Management

In 1978, Exercise NIFTY NUGGET uncovered differing expectations by civilian transportation providers and military planners, while examining responsiveness to a potential invasion of Western Europe. The result was to project a Joint Deployment Agency, but it took passage of the Goldwater-Nichols Act to enable the Reagan administration to establish the U.S. Transportation Command, with three service components: Military Airlift Command, reorganized in 1992 as Air Mobility Command; Military Sealift Command; and Military Traffic Management Command, redesignated in 2004 as Military Surface Deployment and Distribution Command.²⁴

Although C-5s and C-17s were built specifically to accommodate heavy military cargo, the cost of air transport dictates a preference for sealift. Military Sealift Command uses a combination of government-owned and commercial ships with civilian crews, though there may be naval personnel aboard for specific functions. Though the crews are civilian, Navy Reservists often serve in port operations and at command posts, and the mix spurs calls for more reserve billets. Efforts to affiliate merchant mariners with Naval Reserve units have been problematic. Although the desirability of having licensed merchant-marine officers hold reserve commissions dates back to the Merchant Marine Act, the requirements for Naval Reserve service often preclude seafarers from service in Reserve units.²⁵

A permutation of the continual call for Navy reserve billets appeared from 2005 to 2007 as part of a projected National Security Personnel System. The Navy had civilian mariners on its noncombatant, “black-hulled” ships, and if the ship needed to go in harm’s way, the Navy anticipated replacing the civilians with uniformed personnel. The Office of the Secretary of the Navy proposed making such positions subject to dual status, akin to the “technicians” in the Army Guard and Reserve: civilians in peacetime who would deploy in military status. In this capacity, the civilian on the non-combatant ships would be an individual Navy Reservist. Alternatively, the civilian position could be subject to deployment as a civilian, responsive to the chain of command, but the concept ran afoul of two interest groups. The Congressional staff did not want to cut the number of uniformed personnel in the Navy, and some interests in the Civil Service opposed initiatives to reclassify civilian personnel.²⁶

Strategic Lift and the Civil-Military Mix

The 2014 Quadrennial Defense Review announced a goal of “rebalancing tooth to tail” with a priority of spending on combat power.²⁷ Such a refocus is the current version of the Army’s 1895 divestiture of supply wagons, and is entirely predictable as an effort to preserve core capabilities. Logistics has been the most worrisome component of contingency planning. Since the 1940s, multi-theater war has been as much a circumstance as a theoretical challenge for the United States. Its incarnation in military strategy as two (nearly) simultaneous major contingencies has undergone modifications. Since the US military has never had the capacity to fully support offensive action in multiple theaters. The Pacific theater in WW II did not receive significant resources until the war in Europe was well on the way to a favorable resolution, and the China-Burma-India theater was never a priority. Prosecution of the Korean War always had to recognize the higher national priority was an attack in Europe which would draw many resources out of Korea. Critics of the 2003 Iraq intervention argued over its diversion of assets and supplies from the conflict in Afghanistan, which likely led to a more protracted engagement in Afghanistan. Between the

1991 and 2003 wars in Iraq, the mantra of two major regional contingencies led military professionals to question the nation's ability to support even one theater. In a 1994 Senate testimony, then Commander-in-Chief of U.S. Central Command, General Joseph P. Hoar opined to the Chairman of the Armed Services Committee, Sam Nunn, that "strategic lift, airlift in this country today is broken." Noting the Arabian/Persian Gulf was 7,000 miles from the U.S. East Coast (by air), and 8,000 miles by sea, General Hoar testified it was all the U.S. could do to keep enough airplanes flying to supply 3,500 troops in Somalia, while also supporting a medium-sized exercise in Egypt.²⁸ A few months later, two students, then-Majors Mark Pires and Darrell Williams at the Army School of Advanced Military Studies examined the nation's ability to meet the requirements of the "nearly simultaneous" strategy. MAJs Pires and Williams acknowledged that the adverb nearly reflected the unwillingness to absorb the cost of supporting two simultaneous campaigns. They used a DoD Strategic Mobility Study for their analysis to determine transport requirements, concluding the nation was capable of supporting 48- to 50-million ton-miles per day (MTM/D) of a 57 MTM/D airlift requirement, and a sealift capability that fell short of the 10 million square feet requirement by 35% or more.²⁹

Though Pires and Williams appeared to argue for more organic uniformed capacity, their figures actually offer a basis for favorable comparison between organic (military) transport capability and the portion that the civil sector provides, however the comparison is favorable only under some circumstances. A decade later, Air Force Lieutenant Colonel James W. Herron at the Army War College suggested that reliance on civil aviation was not an Air Force choice, but a necessity. He began his review of future airlift requirements with the observation that when Iraq invaded Kuwait in 1990, the U.S. Air Force was not equipped to move substantial troop formations into theater in sufficient time to prevent the Iraqis from moving farther south.³⁰ Even with the airline industry's preference for avoiding CRAF mobilization, it significantly increased the proportion of lift it provided by 2012. Reliance on commercial partnerships continues to grow. In 2014, testimony before the House Committee on Armed Services, General William M. Fraser III, Commander, U.S. Transportation Command, acknowledged civil-military collaboration by including active duty members, National Guard, Reserve, civil servants, merchant mariners, and commercial partners in his overview of USTRANSCOM capabilities. General Fraser portrayed the command as a "global distribution synchronizer," that relies on maintaining a "multimodal network of military and commercial infrastructure," while seeking to "improve partnerships with our allied nations" and "strengthen our commercial partnerships."³¹

The coupling of CRAF mobilization with USTRANSCOM's management capabilities offers some relief to the worry that

expenditures on combat aircraft might leave the nation under-resourced for transport aircraft. Such a sanguine perception requires a significant leap of faith that future circumstances will not be more difficult than in recent experience. Looking at the factors that affect risks as well as experience in meeting shipping demands is instructive.

The legislative branch and its research efforts have undertaken considerable discussion of transport requirements. In 2005, the Congressional Research Service noted that the closure of two thirds of forward bases in the previous decade required more frequent deployments over greater distances. The 2005 Mobility Requirements Study raised the estimate for personnel and cargo capacity to 54.5 MTM/D, with some estimates ranging as high as 67 MTM/D.³² Some reviews estimated capacity gaps from 15 MTM/D to 22 MTM/D, as actual requirements approached 60 MTM/D during simultaneous operations in Afghanistan and Iraq.³³

Requirements for outsized cargo (military vehicles that cannot fit in commercial planes) raise additional worries. Due to the insufficient C-5 left capacity, between 2003 and 2004, DoD contracted with Russia to provide AN-124 heavy-lift aircraft to fly over 200 missions.³⁴ Although the rotation of units that use stay-behind equipment helps reduce the demand for strategic lift,³⁵ there are few alternatives to maintaining a domestic capacity. Our closest allies do not have similar airlift capabilities to the AN-124, and relying on part-time partners creates a clear risk to operational lift capabilities. Moreover, austere infrastructure would limit the ability of the civilian industry to provide mobility and multi-modal transport.³⁶

The 2012 *Defense Strategic Guidance* and the 2014 *Quadrennial Defense Review* projected smaller forces, "no longer [...] sized to conduct large-scale prolonged stability operations."³⁷ Such projections allow mobility planners to reduce projected lift requirements, but the results raise the risks commensurately. In 2012, testimony before the House Armed Services Committee, Cary Russell of the Government Accountability Office, as well as staff of the Congressional Research Service, questioned the planning assumptions behind the *Mobility Capabilities and Requirements Study 2016*.³⁸ Downplaying stability operations may support both reduce projections for ground forces and mobility requirements, but as Ambassador James Dobbins pointed out repeatedly in a series of RAND reports, despite the preferences of successive Administrations, the United States found itself in stability operations missions seven times in just over a decade.³⁹

Conclusion

In the face of reduced Defense spending, Air Force planners naturally want to preserve funds for combat aircraft and shift more transport to civilian partners, but this approach ignores

several historical lessons in transportation. Shifting transport to civilian (or foreign military) partners would allow the Air Force to cease producing C-17s, for example, but if the Air Force decides to restart C-17 production at a later point, it would take up to two years and cost \$5.7 billion,⁴⁰ which replicates the 1895–1898 Army experience with supply wagons. Recent experience provides evidence that the civilian air industry is willing and capable of increasing capacity to meet deployment demands, although the geopolitical and operational environments have offered only minor impediments to deployments and supply lines. These circumstances will not always prevail, and the complicating factor of foreign ownership, or joint ventures with civilian airlines, or port labor unions, raise additional questions of reliable access that echo the experiences of Vietnam, Korea, and World-War II Britain.

Although the citizenry has often responded to calls to support the nation in a time of crisis, significant issues recur that both Defense planners and congressional leaders must consider. In a high-intensity environment, access is not permissive, and civilians are neither trained, nor armed to defend themselves adequately. The Merchant Marines persist in seeking veteran status, due to the significant risks and losses they suffered operating in a hostile environment. Although no U.S. conflicts in the past 70 years encountered proportionate civilian losses in strategic lift, recent experience has underscored substantial risks to deployed civilians. Military planners have noted that during the 1991 Gulf War “many CRAF airlines would not fly at night into bases which were threatened by chemical weapons.”⁴¹ This hesitation echoes the Mexican-War era experience of transporters’ strikes, but the circumstances are more complex. Resolution would require combat preparation for contractors in the most extreme situations, in which prior military experience constitutes the primary source of personnel.

Permissive environments allow not only for civilian contracting capabilities that would be unthinkable in a high-intensity environment, but they also portray an intervention environment which would require significantly fewer personnel than the public might otherwise support. The recent Afghan and Iraqi interventions recruited many civilian personnel in support of stability operations, but those who were injured encountered bureaucratic battles to acquire access to military medical treatment, and to receive compensation for those injuries. The public would consider this lack of access and compensation scandalous if applied to the military. If Congress fails to provide for the treatment of contracted civilian casualties in a hostile environment, then we should anticipate campaigns for recognition for combat service of civilian volunteers.

Civil-military partnerships are no less important to operational execution than they are to the Clausewitzian triad of strategic support for war. Facilitating civilian contributions to military

operations requires government and popular support to ensure deployed civilians receive equal benefits and support as military service members. Strategic planning must recognize that competition for civilian resources could well change the assumptions underlying the civilian provision of transport for future campaigns.



Notes:

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⁵ Brigadier General Thomas Cruse, *Apache Days and After*, Caldwell, II: Caxton, 1941, p. 264.

⁶ Risch, p. 667.

⁷ Robert D. Hormats, *The Price of Liberty: Paying for America’s Wars*, New York: Holt, 2007, p. 107.

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¹⁴ Hamilton and Bolce, p. 205.

¹⁵ Hamilton and Bolce, pp. 5–6.

¹⁶ King et al., pp. 216–18, 230–31.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 244–49.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 304.

¹⁹ Epley, p. 35.

²⁰ King et al., pp. 329–33, 337.

²¹ Epley, p. 31.

²² *Joint Planner’s Handbook for Deployment Operations*, Scott

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²⁷ Quadrennial Defense Review 2014, Washington, DC: DoD, 2014, p. xi.

²⁸ U.S. Senate, Committee on Armed Services, Hearings on Authorization for Appropriates for FY 1995 and Future Years Defense Program, Washington, DC: GPO, 1994, pp. 344–45.

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³⁹ See, for example, James Dobbins, Seth G. Jones, Keith Crane, and Beth Cole deGrasse, *The Beginner’s Guide to Nation-Building*, Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2007, p. vii.

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