

Peace



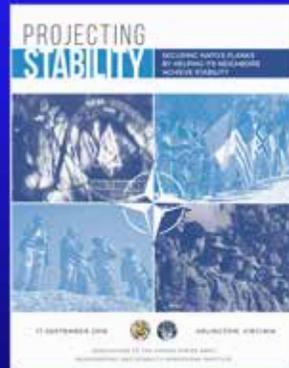
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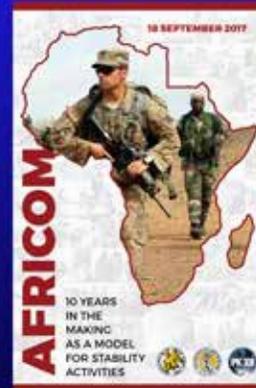
SPECIAL EDITION

NOVEMBER 2018

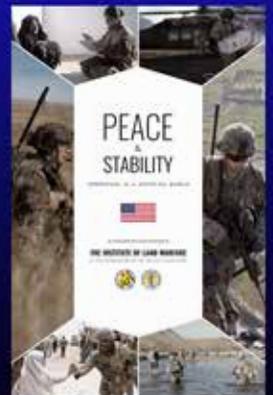
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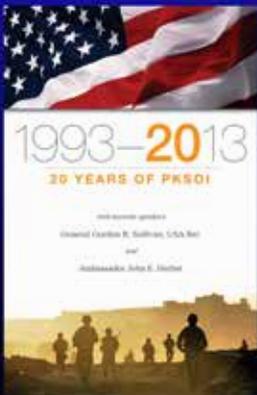
2016



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AUSA/PKSOI Strategic Stability Seminar Key Findings

by Mr. Scott Braderman

PROJECTING STABILITY

SECURING NATO'S FLANKS
BY HELPING ITS NEIGHBORS
ACHIEVE STABILITY



17 SEPTEMBER 2018



ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA

ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY
PEACEKEEPING AND STABILITY OPERATIONS INSTITUTE

On September 17, 2018, the Association of the United States Army (AUSA) and the U.S. Army War College's Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute hosted a one-day strategic seminar to discuss the major aspects and ongoing NATO efforts to define and integrate its "Projecting Stability" concept. The seminar was held at the AUSA conference center in Arlington, Virginia. What follows is a short description of key points and themes arising from the conference.

Opening Remarks



MG John Kem, Commandant USAWC



GEN(R) Carter Ham, President & CEO, AUSA, former Commanding General, USAFRICOM

Many of the key themes in the Stabilization Assistance Review (SAR) were formulated in the 2016 symposium, such as the relationship between the Departments of Defense, State, and the U.S. Agency for International Development. Challenges in Macedonia, where GEN(R) Carter Ham was serving and first met GEN(R) Sullivan, were part of the reason GEN(R) Sullivan created PKSOI 25 years ago. Peacekeeping and stability missions remain as important today as in the past and it is worth remembering Secretary of War Elihu Root's comment upon the founding of the U.S. Army War College in 1901, the purpose is "not to promote war, but to preserve peace."

Key Note Speaker



Deputy Secretary General Rose Gottemoeller, NATO

The Cold War brought about an unprecedented time for stability in Europe. The NATO role at that time was clear: to safeguard its members, deter Soviet Union expansion, and to prevent World War III. In the 21st Century, instability decreased in Europe, but increased across the globe in the post-9/11 era. Violence and turmoil in Northern Africa, coupled with Russia's increasingly adversarial actions, continue to foment instability. Projecting stability is now a central part of NATO's role in Europe.

The concept of Projecting Stability is not new for NATO, and saw some of its initial principles embodied in the ongoing Partnership for Peace (PfP), which started in the early 1990s. The goal of the PfP program is to partner with countries and provide the tools to enhance stability and open the door for membership as desired.

Projecting Stability is a defense and security capacity-building program, which focuses on Advise and Assist missions, while training militaries to protect their borders and mitigate the threat of hybrid warfare, most recently demonstrated by the hybrid threats from Russia. Stability must be created across regions, otherwise stable countries will continue to be at risk from instability in neighboring countries. Experience has taught that NATO can enhance security by working with willing partners to improve stability and resiliency. As such, Projecting Stability has become a central part of NATO's core business.

Two new concepts of projecting stability are the Defense Education Enhancement Program (DEEP) and Building Integrity. DEEP provides tailored, practical support to individual coun-

tries to develop and reform their professional military education institutions, while focusing on hybrid warfare crises. Corruption and poor governance undermines democracy and erodes the trust of the people. NATO's Building Integrity focuses on countering these effects and building resilience. NATO's Defense and Related Security Capacity Building initiative reinforces NATO's commitment to partners and helps project stability by providing support to nations requesting assistance, such as Georgia, Moldova, Jordan, Iraq, and Tunisia.

Although the threat of instability has declined in Central and Eastern Europe in the 21st century, this threat significantly increased in the world at large. The attacks on the United States on 9/11 marked a sober start in a new era for NATO. Recently, there has been a rise in turmoil and violence in North Africa and the Middle East that has contributed to the spread of terrorism and a humanitarian crisis. The EU is a strong partner with NATO in seeking to foster stability through their economic packages, which when coupled with NATO's focus on military educational institution building, enhances long-term stability.

Stage Setting Panel



Moderator: Dr. Richard Love, Professor of Peace and Stability, PKSOI

Panel Members: Mr. James Appathurai, Deputy Assistant Secretary General, NATO, Political Affairs and Policy; LTG Michael Nagata, Director, Directorate of Strategic Operational Planning, National Counter Terrorism Center; DAS Mark E. Mitchell, Principle Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, SO-LIC; MG William Hickman, Dept CoS, NATO Strategic Plans and Policy, NATO SACT

Key Points:

- Institution Building must occur at the strategic level, as unconnected tactical solutions only lead to a return to conflict. The military needs more coherent political guidance to shape current and future operations on long term objectives. Institution building is essential for long-term stability. NATO is very good at institution building, such as designing national security strategies, defense strategies, defense ministries, a chief of defense staff structure, and putting into place a long-term, self-sustaining training program. NATO can assist in building the broadest possible coalition, which will lead to more robust, sustainable solutions.

- The US and NATO rely heavily on our own experience and country mandates to shape our capacity building and development strategies, rather than truly listening to the host nation needs. Without a culturally nuanced, host nation voice in the development of self-sustaining solutions, there will be no political buy-in, and only nominal support from the host nation. NATO can and should do better at incorporating local history, politics and culture into political strategies and institutional development.

- The US and NATO have developed extraordinary abilities to target terror cells and leaders. However, that has not prevented the spread of terrorism and violent extremism. The current threat environment is worse than on 9/11 and that trajectory will continue. While we have made extraordinary progress in destroying ISIS over the last four years, there are still thousands of fighters and eight declared ISIS franchises, and as many undeclared ones. Terrorism is proliferating and spawning new groups, largely through online recruitment where personal interaction is not required. Terrorist planning is no longer large scale and centrally planned, but holds to the mantra of "stay where you are, use what you can, and kill as many as possible." A van attack on personnel is just as devastating as an IED, but requires no training, no resources, and no direction. Technology continues to expand violent extremist capabilities. Preventing the creation of new terrorists should be a primary focus.

- Following the hard lessons learned from Iraq and Afghanistan, the Department of Defense (DoD) cannot do stabilization alone. As such, the U.S. 3Ds of Diplomacy (State Department), Development (USAID) and Defense (Department of Defense) crafted the Stabilization Assistance Review (SAR), which offered a definition of stabilization that might be useful to the NATO alliance. The SAR defines roles for stabilization, with the Department of State as the overall lead, USAID as an implementing partner and DoD acting in a supporting role.

Through hard lessons learned in Iraq and Afghanistan, DoD came to the conclusion that they cannot do stabilization alone. While the SAR recognizes stabilization as a fundamentally political endeavor, practical experience demonstrates that DoD needs legislated authorities for supporting stabilization efforts in remote or uncertain environments. Lessons learned from the SAR could apply to NATO, specifically in enhancing Defense Institution Building capability, and incorporating better management of NATO's Civilian and Military interactions, such that NATO might consider creating or partnering with an organization similar to USAID.

- NATO's Strategic Foresight Analysis report provides an insightful perspective into a confluence of trends that affects all sectors (political, human, technology, economic resources and environmental), leading to instability. NATO's Framework for Future Alliance Considerations expounds on the nature of war and strengthens deterrence, defense and projecting stability. In order to Project Stability, units need to be innovative, credible, agile and interoperable in applying a comprehensive approach to crisis management, cooperative security and proactive activities; working in concert as one partner. The power of the 29 NATO members' combined efforts is a very formidable force that Russia does not desire to engage directly. Getting consensus across 29 partners requires sharing intelligence across the EU and NATO. Hybrid threats are the greatest factor in driving cooperation in order to face these challenges.

- Hybrid threats are ambiguous, difficult to detect, and deniable. Partners must engage on a regular basis to counter hybrid threats and identify potential weakness, such as cyber defense. An effective partnership may entail the European Union focusing on energy security, while the military applies overt and covert actions. The intelligence community should focus on attributing hybrid attacks to actors in order to develop an effective strategic communication program. Russia micro-targets specific communities and focuses messaging on the corruption of the government to sow discontent. Training on hybrid threats, such as media manipulation, needs to be propagated down to the population, so the community can define their own strategies for defeating terrorist recruitment efforts. Such training should incorporate the professionalization of the media corps, which has weakened over the years, making them susceptible to exploitation and false narratives.

- Non-kinetic defeat mechanisms need a greater role in countering terrorism, such as preventing terrorist travel, movement of monies, and internet presence. Strategic communications and counter narratives should be agile and quick in responding to recruitment efforts, especially in contesting the dramatical-

ly increasing use of internet recruitment. Counter narratives must be capable of battling terrorist messaging on a rapid basis. Operation Gallant Phoenix is a shining example of fusing publicly available information with analysis of captured enemy material and proprietary information from multiple countries and international law enforcement agencies to identify potential terrorist plotting and disseminate that information to local law enforcement in the target country for interdiction. Several similar efforts are underway to fuse criminal and national or military intelligence to counter narcotics and human trafficking information. Additional initiatives to combat terrorist financing are also essential.

- NATO lacks, and urgently needs, the capacity to retain lessons and track personnel with unique mission experience in both the security and civilian realm. Institutionalizing the collection and incorporation of military and civilian lessons learned ensures mistakes of the past are not repeated. Paramount to this would be a database with contact information for individual experts who have planned and participated in stabilization activities.

- As the US considers restructuring resources in Africa, counterterrorism efforts should be viewed more broadly as peace time competition. As the U.S. withdraws from Security Cooperation partnerships in Africa, the door opens for stronger investment in the security and economic realm from Russia and China, which affects U.S. influence in these countries. As terrorism rises in northern African countries, the threat to Europe increases, thus any changes in the U.S. posture in Africa needs to be able to mitigate risk in Europe. China is investing heavily in infrastructure development in Africa, while also increasing precision strike weapons and tank sales to African nations by 50%, which is not helpful for a continent that has limited interstate conflict.

- A comprehensive assessment of a country's needs is critical before initiating any strategy development. If partner nation's population and its government do not feel they are part of a solution, then they will not be "wedded to it", so they must be intertwined in the design of their own solutions and strategies. The U.S. and NATO are very good at identifying the positive aspects of stability efforts, but typically focus on tactical training and incremental measures. A thorough, brutal assessment is essential to determine the efficacy of short-term initiatives aligning with long term strategic objectives. However, if there remains an ill-defined long-term strategy not aligned with the partner country's interest, then assessing the fulfillment of sustainable end-states becomes impossible. Pre-determined end states are necessary to ensure a strategy that incorporates mea-

asures to build sustainable capacity and to thwart partner nation's dependency on U.S. and NATO resources. NATO retains a tremendous pot of resources and is very successful at coordinating coalition efforts. Therefore, streamlining capacity-building efforts reduces redundancy, which is a major propagator of partner-nation resource dependency.

Middle East North Africa (MENA) Region Panel



Moderator: AMB Donald Koran, USAWC Diplomatic Advisor to the Commandant

Panel Members: Lt. Gen Luciano Portolano, Chief of Staff, Allied Joint Force Command, Naples; VADM(R) Michael Franken, former Deputy Commanding General USAF-RICOM; LTG Charles Hooper, Director, Defense Security Cooperation Agency

Key Points:

- Instability is a domestic issue, and as such, institutional capacity building inherently becomes the principal component of projecting stability. Africa has sufficient numbers of soldiers, but the countries are in dire need of infrastructure development to ensure sustainable stability. Appropriate skill set development includes engineering, logistics, health and human service administrators, and capable instructors and educators. Organizations within civil society become the primary interlocutors for identifying sustainable infrastructure requirements and for determining which specific resources are to remain as local natural resources. Local society and its citizenry will perceive this as a long term local investment. All development efforts must be prioritized by the local community, as they must want the resources more than the investing organization. The first layer of defense for development projects are those that have a stake in the security and economic means of stay behind equipment and

opportunities. Presence forces should attempt to utilize the local economy as much as possible, rather than import them from their home country, as this money will have an outsized effect on multiple local and national agencies, and actually build resilient funding streams. Partner nation ministries must develop a funding stream for leave-behind projects by carefully considering the phasing of development initiatives. Coordinating and aligning coalition efforts with the most appropriate capability provides the synergy necessary for success.

- NATO should assist African nations in assuring that African soldiers are more responsibly organized, trained, and equipped in a manner to serve their people. The intent is to develop armed forces that are viewed as net positives to society, a part of the security apparatus that the citizens run-to vice away-from. These soldiers also need alternative employable skill sets for after their military service. Hence, emphasizing infrastructure build-out as part of the peacekeeping mission and mandating that the host nation participates with the construction of infrastructure, gives the former soldier some skills to bring back to his/her community. Security Cooperation must follow a capabilities based approach, which focuses on the essential system requirements. NATO's expertise is capacity building, and should be their primary focus in operations, while leaving the task of primary material provider for such operations to other better suited organizations.

- The movement of refugees changes the behavior and culture of a country and the surrounding region. Refugee movement is a threat to the current liberal democracies of Europe. Elections have featured the refugee issue as entirely inimical to the oneness of Europe. Beginning with enhanced refugee screening processes that may introduce undue hardship, create unhelpful legislation, and compel a shift to nationalism, it also fuels a relief effort, mainly by non-governmental organizations (NGOs), who become part of the refugee movement business plan. Secondly, human traffickers become a criminal juggernaut by providing a substantial work force to both legal and illegal enterprises. Ultimately, the gross domestic product provided by the illegal human traffickers becomes too great a revenue stream to interrupt; it becomes self-sustaining and leads to corruption throughout the elected leadership. In essence, refugee flows become a tool of nations, as forced migrations strains the economies of receiving nations, thus creating instability and reducing economic opportunities for the host population. As an example, Russia has weaponized refugee flow, encouraging Syrian President Assad to use chemical weapons on his people to create overwhelming numbers of refugees to destabilize Europe and the NATO alliance. Overall, criminal activity can equal entire GDPs of some nations. The culturally accepted norm is for

African countries to export goods and resources to other countries outside of the continent to reduce competition between neighbors. Since exporting outside of Africa is the norm, illegal markets entrenched in refugee flows thus cut revenue streams to the country. As revenue streams decrease, corruption and graft increases, and technology greatly enhances the speed of these transactions.

- The Allied Joint Force Command (JFC) in Naples is focused on advise and assist missions to identify root causes of instability and strengthen partnerships as a component of Projecting Stability. NATO understands the importance of working bilaterally and multilaterally with the African Union (AU) as an important partner to develop a mutual dialogue and develop interoperability for future efforts to curb illicit activity. The AU is a valuable partner in combatting illicit trafficking and terrorism, which has a direct spillover effect on Europe. Through NATO's new initiative, the NATO Strategic Direction South Hub, personnel directly engages NGOs, IOs, academia and civil society to gain local perspectives and perceptions in order to develop a true all-encompassing understanding of its feasible rolls and missions for incorporation into comprehensive solutions. The population needs to view NATO as accessible, while NATO understands that the population is an integral part of the solution. That being said, it is essential to understand which members of the community are being engaged to ensure NATO is not sending the wrong message to that group.

Eastern Europe Panel



Moderator: COL Darrell Driver, Director of European Studies at the United States Army War College

Panel Members: Ambassador William Taylor, Executive VP, US Institute of Peace; GEN Riccardo Marchiò, Commander, Allied Joint Forces Command Brunssum; LTG(R) Ben Hodges, former Commander, US Army Europe

Key Points:

- Future European conflict will probably not be conventional, but some form of gray zone competition and conflict short of armed conflict, thus NATO needs to be prepared to compete in this space. The success of democracies is not inevitable, they can fail, thus rapid responses to aggression or instability are essential. Georgia and Ukraine are two such examples of countries that needed rapid intervention assistance in an attempt to deter Russian aggression. In 2008, NATO's Bucharest Summit rejected Georgia's and Ukraine's application for a membership action plan. Russia's invasion of Georgia followed four months later. The U.S responded with ineffectual sanctions following Russia's incursion into Georgia and created a green light for the annexation of Crimea. When Russia infiltrated the Donbas region, the U.S. finally enacted serious sanctions. The shooting down of an MH17 caused outrage in European countries, especially the Netherlands, and spurred Europeans to impose additional sanctions. The U.S. and NATO also deployed military forces and sold Air Defense assets to the Baltic States as a deterrent to Russian troop movements near the Baltic State borders. The U.S. provided javelin anti-tank weapons to Ukraine and continued to rotate Georgia National Guard units into Georgia to make it a less viable target for Russia. NATO has nearly tripled support to the Baltics and Poland. Political soft power and political military assets need to be part of a deterrent national strategy, inclusive of complementary military training and capacity building efforts.

- The United Nations should authorize a peacekeeping force to secure the Donbas region until it returns to full Ukrainian control. The mandate should establish a peacekeeping force as robust as the IFOR mission, and include an interim international governing body for Donbas until Ukraine can reclaim sovereignty over its territory and borders. NATO forces with a U.S. contingent would not be an acceptable solution for Russia. Potentially, a Swedish or Finnish neutral force would be acceptable. President Putin appears to be looking for a way to pull Russian assets out of the region due to the extreme economic strain. In order for the mandate to be accepted, others must allow President Putin to save face. A potential incentive for Russia might be for the UN to pay for troop movements out of the Donbas region, as was the case with East Germany.

- Georgia and Ukraine enacted multiple improvements to their military forces and governance structure to enhance their portfolio for entrance into NATO. Georgia enacted an acceptable defense concept, and met many of the NATO requirements, but in both countries' cases, there is hesitancy to bring them into NATO, which would increase tensions with Russia. The



From left to right: AUSA President and former AFRICOM Commander GEN (R) Carter Ham, USAWC Commandant MG John Kem, former Deputy Commanding General to AFRICOM VADM (R) Michael Franken, and Commander, Allied Joint Forces Command Brunssum, GEN Riccardo Marchiò. Photo by Chris Browne, PKSOI

case of Georgia is central to NATO strategy; the foundation with Georgia is very strong. NATO should consider admitting Georgia immediately to send a message to President Putin that he does not get to veto the sovereignty of states, or to get a separate Russian sphere of interest. The political situation has to be right and Georgia has to be ready. The best option would have been to introduce rotational forces into Georgia immediately after Russia's annexation of Crimea. Georgia is building a deep sea port in Anaklia, which will be the primary Black Sea "Silk Road" port connecting China to the European trade community, thus greatly enhancing Georgia's economic value. The Anaklia port alone should emphasize the need for NATO rotational forces in Georgia to prevent future Russian incursions. A continued Georgian shortfall is a lack of a Coast Guard for Black Sea security.

- Russia has no desire to take on the 29 countries of NATO, and resents and fears NATO cohesion most of all. The goal of many Russian activities are to wreck the international order and challenge the cohesion of the alliance. Russia's strategic aim against NATO is to demonstrate the alliance cannot adequately defend member states. If Russian leaders believe this objective has been achieved, then they might miscalculate and invade

NATO territory on the pretense of defending a Russian minority population. Russia does not follow a truly hybrid warfare or Gerasimov doctrine, but instead, adheres to a classic Russian misinformation campaign, including manipulating troop movement numbers. If the U.S. were to permanently base troops in Poland, such an action would elicit a Russian response, likely pushing troops into Belarus. For such an action, the U.S. must conduct this action with the support of NATO. Any perceived action to provoke Russia must understand that Russia only respects strength in numbers and equipment. Russia dominates the information space, a component of their misinformation campaign. Thus, the U.S. and NATO must greatly enhance their narrative, focusing on Russia's wrongdoings.

- When the US calls for NATO partners to provide more than their required 2%, NATO needs to consider incentivizing partners to give more, which may not be in funds. NATO needs to create a formula that counts infrastructure improvement/expansion that has demonstrable military value (railway, bridges, etc.). Germany provides an excellent example. Rather than provide more tanks, they could dedicate rail assets to better move NATO equipment and troops to target areas in the Baltics and Poland.





Public Order Management, Election Security and Emergency Management: A Partnership Opportunity for DOD and DOJ/ICITAP

by Eric Beinhart

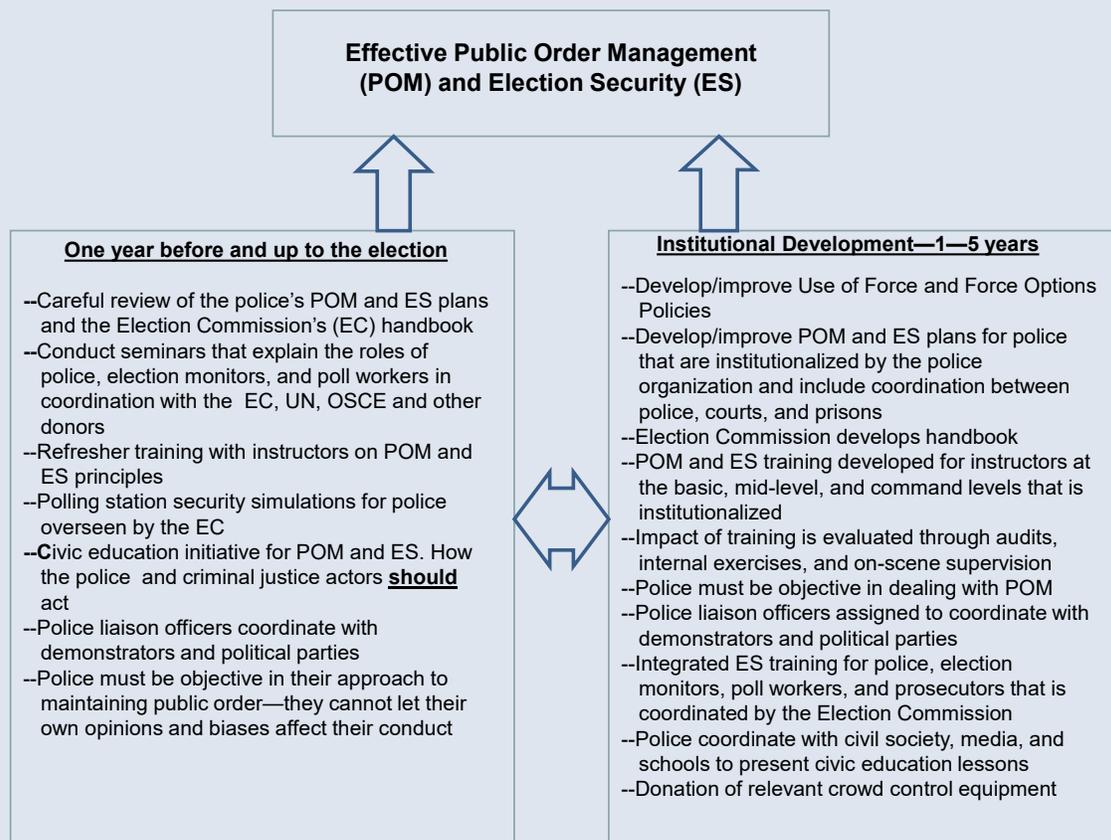
Introduction:

In December 2016, new defense legislation went into effect that makes it easier for DOD to deal directly with security sector actors in the United States Government. NDAA 2017, Section 385 gives the Secretary of Defense authority to transfer funds to support other USG agencies' activities that are necessary for the success of DOD programs, but which DOD cannot carry out. There is \$75 million set aside for this initiative and the Office of the Deputy Secretary of Defense for Security Cooperation is in the process of developing an implementation strategy for this new funding stream. The Department of Justice's International Criminal Investigative Training Assistance Program (ICITAP) was created in 1986. ICITAP has worked in more than 100 countries, including post-conflict missions in Panama, Haiti, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Iraq, Afghanistan, Albania, Somalia, Uganda and Sierra Leone. ICITAP has extensive experience and expertise in public order management (POM), election security (ES) and emergency management (EM), which

can significantly assist DOD. The time is right for DOD and ICITAP to develop a strong partnership in order to deal with POM, ES, and EM issues that are prevalent in both post-conflict and struggling steady state countries. ICITAP's approach to POM, EM, and ES does much more than merely stress the maintenance of law and order; it promotes essential principles of good governance. Most importantly, ICITAP's focus on good governance in regards to POM, EM, and ES, complements the budding partnership between DOD and the Italian Carabinieri Corps.

Promoting Effective and Humane Public Order Management and Election Security

Although POM is a key function of police around the world, many police organizations do not have Use of Force (UoF) policies or POM plans. While police perform a variety of roles when providing election security, such as effective coordination with election monitors and poll workers, and the protection of polling stations—their ability to maintain public order is crit-



ical because there is always a chance that rival political parties might clash.

Many international donor countries go into developing countries and simply begin training police in public order management tactics, such as different formations to use in different situations and when to use tear gas or pepper spray, etc. This, however, is akin to buying chandeliers for a mansion before its foundation is built. The foundation in this case is a use of force (UoF) policy. The UoF policy will then be at the core a POM plan and it must reflect the vision, mission, and goals of police departments. Most importantly, it should be vetted with members of the public and once adopted, there should be extensive education on the UoF policy for both police and the public.

ICITAP has extensive experience working with host country law enforcement organizations to develop UoF policies and POM plans and to present POM training for command officers that emphasizes table top planning exercises, the development of POM plans as policy, and the establishment of command posts near demonstration sites. ICITAP has also provided significant training for line-level officers and first-line supervisors that emphasizes defensive tactics, proper arrest techniques, proper use of the baton, how to maintain line integrity with shields, how to rescue injured demonstrators and police from crowds, and human rights.

A POM plan provides an institutional framework that emphasizes respect for human rights and dignity and serves as the basis upon which all POM training for entry-level, line supervisors, mid-level managers, and senior commanders is based. In order for a POM plan to be effective, it must contain police use of force and force options policies that stress respect for human rights and dignity. These policies should be nested in a police department's values system. Police must exercise different force options depending upon the situations they face. Force responses range from mere police presence, to verbal commands, empty hand control, less lethal force such as the use of batons and pepper spray/tear gas, and ultimately, to deadly force.

A POM plan should describe the important role that police liaison officers play in terms of coordinating and communicating with demonstrators and rival groups/political parties in planned demonstrations. This approach will reduce the chances that demonstrations will devolve into violence. A POM plan must also make provisions for coordination between police, courts, and prisons to ensure that the criminal justice system can deal efficiently and effectively with demonstrators who incite violence. This is a critical function of a POM plan, and scenario training reinforces this coordination. There also needs to be a robust civic education element that explains to citizens and civil society groups how criminal justice actors should perform their duties in terms of providing public order management and the processing of alleged offenders. If citizens understand what their



government should be doing, this can lead to greater accountability within the criminal justice system.

ICITAP's program in Indonesia worked with the Indonesia National Police (INP) to develop a Use of Force (UoF) policy. The UoF project began at the end of 2007 and the INP introduced the UoF policy in January 2009 after extensive vetting, including review by NGOs and other civil society actors. In May 2009, ICITAP trained 20 INP master instructors in the UoF policy, and these master instructors participated in an extensive train-the-trainer program. Through this cascade effect, the INP trained more than 80,000 of its 421,000 police in the UoF policy by the end of 2009. In 2012, the UoF policy was formally institutionalized into the curriculum of all 30 of the INP's Basic Police Academies. This program resulted in the INP developing a sustainable policy to educate the entire police force in applying the use of force to the appropriate degree in a wide variety of circumstances.

In 2003, ICITAP worked with the Tanzania Police Force (TPF) to develop a new POM plan/policy. The POM policy in force at the time was developed by the British in 1959, before Tanzania achieved its independence from the UK. Once the new POM policy was accepted, ICITAP worked with the TPF to develop and conduct POM training for police at the line, mid-level, and command officer levels. The US Embassy in Tanzania reported that the TPF handled POM well before, during and after the 2005 national elections, as opposed to their poor handling of the 2000 elections.

ICITAP worked closely with authorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) to develop sustainable and effective public order management training that provided police with the skills they needed to deal effectively with crowds during protests and emergencies. ICITAP realized that in order to promote sustainable institutional development in terms of emergency management and public order management, there needed to be an effective communication and coordination element within the BiH Government. Also, it was absolutely critical for the BiH Government to buy into, not only the concept of the projects, but also the process for achieving them. This meant that while ICITAP could play an important advising and facilitation role, the BiH Government would need to drive the process and take ownership of the results.

ICITAP used a strategic three-pronged approach to develop and support projects in BiH, that combined (1) a needs assessment, (2) host-nation instructors, and (3) certified curricula. To develop the public order management program, ICITAP worked with senior BiH police leadership to identify experi-

enced officers as potential instructors and provided them with instructor development training. These officers then received public order management training, which was developed locally with ICITAP facilitation. Finally, they became public order management master instructors in the Bosnian law enforcement agencies, institutionalizing the training in all three BiH law enforcement academies. As a result of ICITAP's efforts, BiH law enforcement agencies, which previously operated without certified instructors, now have a cadre of 317 officers who are certified as instructors in areas such as crowd control, basic first aid, and tactical trauma management.

The ICITAP – BiH developmental model relies on direct engagement with in-country law enforcement colleagues and partners, through working groups, in all aspects of the development process. This ensures that project outcome is tailored to the situation in the country, is relevant and useful, and is sustainable. There is “ownership” of the entire process by the in-country law enforcement institutions; as ICITAP BiH Program Manager Bennett explains, “People support what they help create!”

In 2008, the ICITAP program in Nepal worked with the Home Ministry to develop an election security working group that included all Government of Nepal (GON) officials and security forces commanders under a chairperson, who was the elections commissioner, appointed by the prime minister. This working group established coordinated support for the development and governmental support for all education, training, planning and operational security and communications related to the elections.

ICITAP helped the police develop a POM plan with tailored training for the realities of Nepal, and then presented the training. A joint elections operations center was developed that included both security forces and the elections commission in one ministry building. The Government of Nepal built election command centers for both police agencies that fall under the Home Ministry, and those under the main Nepal Police Headquarters. These election command centers linked the elections commission's joint elections operations center (JEOC) to regional and local elections offices by way of wide band net-wireless connectivity.

From 2011-2012 ICITAP worked with the Sierra Leone Police on an election security program that was funded by USAID. The project emphasized roll call training (10-30 minute modules) that started with a role play and included teaching methodologies such as photographic posters and Socratic dialogue, in addition to rote lecture. The project had three phases. From September 3-7, 2012 (Phase 1), ICITAP Associate Director

Eric Beinhart presented an Instructor and Curriculum Development Course to 10 master instructors. During this 5-day training, 9 micro-training (MT) modules were developed, consisting of the following: 1) understanding the new election laws; 2) ensuring proper conduct at polling places; 3) prosecuting electoral offenses; 4) maintaining tolerance and respect during the election period; 5) mitigating gender discrimination in elections; 6) safeguarding persons with disabilities and vulnerable persons around elections; 7) maintaining police neutrality around elections; 8) establishing police/community communication; and 9) instituting stress management.

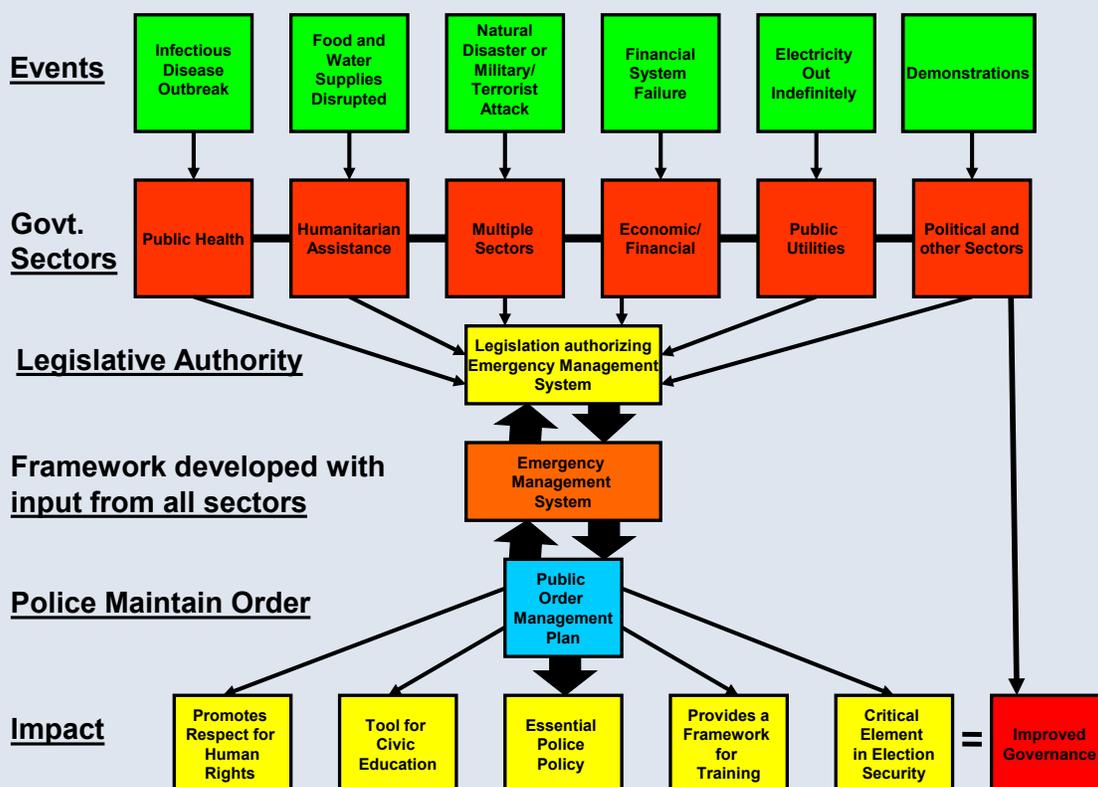
From September 24-October 5 (Phase 2), the 10 SLP master instructors presented a one-day MT to 732 SLP supervisory and community outreach officers in 32 of the 34 police divisions in Sierra Leone. All of them received the complete MT written curricula. Additionally, 120 citizens—including members of Local Police Partnership Boards, media representatives, and paramount chiefs—attended the same training. The 732 police officers provided the MT at morning parades at police stations and police posts throughout the country (Phase 3), while the trained civilians presented the MT over community radio and in community fora. Because the roll call lesson plans in English were so short (1-3 pages), they could be easily translated and presented in local languages around the country such as Mandinka, Fula, Temne, and Mende. This made the training accessible to an even greater number of people.

There were only a few incidents of violence during the November 17, 2012 elections, where in the Sierra Leone Police acquitted themselves well. The EU's final observation report of the election, positively referenced how police were seen escorting disabled and vulnerable persons (pregnant women, nursing mothers, and the elderly) to the front of voting lines. The fact that police should help disabled and vulnerable persons during the elections was emphasized repeatedly in the ICITAP roll call training.

Emergency Management

One of the greatest tests of any government is how effectively it protects citizens and property during and after disasters. These phenomena are typically unpredictable, whether they are natural disasters like earthquakes, tsunamis, droughts, infectious disease outbreaks; or man-made disasters, such as terrorist attacks, large-scale vehicle/ship/airplane crashes; or civil disorder that results from either planned or spontaneous demonstrations. It is incumbent upon any government to develop and implement emergency management systems that create effective communication protocols between different agencies in order to unify and coordinate emergency responses. Coordinated responses can mean the difference between societal collapse, or a swift restoration of government services and the implementation of humane measures to protect citizens. The calamitous earthquake in Haiti that struck on January 12, 2010, illustrates how

A Systems-Based Approach to Disaster Response



tragic the aftermath of a disaster can be if a coordinated emergency management system is not institutionalized.

A country's civilian police force—with its large numbers and countrywide distribution of personnel—is a critical resource for EM. In most cases, police are the first responders in disasters, and how they execute their responses can directly impact the number of lives lost and the level of damage sustained. The aftermath of the December 2007 elections in Kenya is an example of how a police organization's inability to maintain public order and security surrounding an election can lead to a large-scale, protracted disaster.

Disasters can have widespread impact across different government sectors.

If a government cannot respond effectively to a disaster, citizens, lacking food and public services such as water, sanitation, and electricity, may resort to public demonstrations that might require police intervention. If police are unable to maintain order, the economic sector may be decimated from extensive looting. Further, trouble could result if people start flooding across national borders. This migration of refugees could cripple the border security systems of the affected country and its neighbors, severely damaging the economies of the source and receiving countries. EM systems should be in place so police and other government agencies can intervene before conditions spiral out of control.

Successful Emergency Management Systems in Developing Countries

In 2006, ICITAP began working with the Indonesian National Police (INP) to develop an emergency management system that came to be known as the standardized emergency management system (SEMS). ICITAP helped the INP develop policies, procedures, and a training program that deployed master INP instructors to different regions throughout the country. These instructors conducted classes for INP personnel and representatives from other government agencies who would work with the police when responding to disasters. This ensured a whole of government approach to dealing with disasters.

The beauty of SEMS is that it institutionalizes procedures for forming a temporary management hierarchy that enables a few police commanders to oversee thousands of personnel. Police are trained on how to establish and manage command posts that serve as coordination centers for working with other government service providers. SEMS enables police managers to move from being reactive to proactive—rapidly mobilizing re-

sources, initiating information flow, and coordinating with and integrating government emergency response personnel. Cell phones are critical for establishing the necessary communication structure within this system, but no computer components are needed.

In September 2009, the Government of Indonesia (GOI) activated SEMS in response to the 7.6 magnitude earthquake that struck off the west coast of Sumatra. The earthquake caused severe damage to the city of Padang, and cost more than a thousand lives. Within a day, the INP had fully activated SEMS, set up an emergency operations center, and initiated disaster victim identification. Al Dwyer, Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance (OFDA) DART Team leader, and Albert Nakatsuma, USAID's Environmental and Disaster Relief Coordinator in Jakarta, both witnessed SEMS in operation, and highly praised its efficiency and utility. The GOI also used the SEMS system to effectively coordinate elections that were held in 2009. The SEMS model has been expanded and is being used in other Indonesian ministries, including those responsible for pandemic crisis management. In January 2010 the Indonesian legislature codified the SEMS system into law. It is interesting to note that legislative authority, as depicted in the diagram on page 11, is not essential for EM system development because in Indonesia, an EM plan provided the impetus for passage of EM legislation.

A Collaborative Approach

Developing systems for emergency management, public order management, and election security is not a high cost endeavor. The systems are not expensive to develop because they rely on principles of good governance, instead of costly high-technology equipment. While police are a rule of law actor, by virtue of the fact that they are nearly always the country's most prevalent government representatives, and therefore the public's most likely link to the government. Police are the glue that binds different governmental agencies together when planning and responding to disasters. Additionally, they are the critical governmental actors in terms of POM and ES. While DOD cannot work directly with police, ICITAP can work with DOD to promote linkages between the police and the military in host countries, so they can more effectively address POM, ES, and EM. ICITAP has extensive experience and expertise both in designing and implementing long-term institutional development strategies for EM, POM, and ES. Three possible program models that could meet this mandate follow.

- 1) DOD and ICITAP could develop a comprehensive EM system, in which police play a key role in terms of coordinating a whole-of-government response to disasters and civil disorder

resulting from the aftermath, as well as civil disorder that emerges from non-emergency events, such as planned demonstrations, sporting events, etc. This would include developing policies and procedures, while also training for POM and ES within the overarching EM system. The SEMS system exemplifies this model.

2) DOD and ICITAP could develop UoF policies and POM plans with corresponding training that force options policies and stresses police respect for the human rights and dignity of citizens.

3) DOD and ICITAP could develop an election security plan that integrates the police POM and UoF policies under the overarching control of an elections commission. The election security project ICITAP implemented with Nepal is an example of this model.

Short-term interventions for POM and ES should only be undertaken in the context of bolstering long-term institutional development initiatives, and improving coordination between international donors and host country actors. It is wishful thinking to believe that training done for police in the months leading up to elections, in the absence of institutional policy anchors, can have a significant impact. However, refresher simulation training for POM and ES can be invaluable when presented as a means to improve coordination and collaboration between the international donor community, host country governments, and different actors in the criminal justice system, where a viable institutional framework exists.

The Way Forward

DOD and ICITAP have an opportunity to collaborate on POM, ES, and EM in a way that will be mutually beneficial and in the best interests of the U.S. Government's overall security sector assistance strategy. Training and equipping has sometimes been seen as an end in itself, rather than as a tactic for achieving sustainable institutional goals, like the creation of effective emergency management, public order management, and election security systems. These systems should be the centerpiece for USG police, criminal justice, and security sector assistance. This DOD-ICITAP partnership can achieve development goals that cut across several sectors with short, medium, and long-term impact. If this partnership succeeds, the same type of systems-based approach can be used to coordinate other areas of collaboration between DOD and ICITAP.

About the Author: Eric Beinhart Senior Training Advisor



DOJ/ICITAP

PKSOI Editorial Comment: The views expressed in this article are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the official policy or position of the Department of the Army, Department of Defense, or the U.S. Government. As approved in the 2017 National Defense Authorization Act, DoD should consider using defense funding for police training in countries where training such forces is in accordance with the given country's Integrated Country Strategy and the Combatant Command Theater strategy, and when the need outweighs Department of State's capability to fund the endeavor. This funding scenario is most appropriate for pre-conflict conditions, whereas non-permissive, post-conflict environments normally will retain DoD as the lead for security, and as such, DoD would be the determining agency for the funding of such a program.



State-Building Versus Nation-Building The Importance of Using the Correct Term

by Tamara Fitzgerald

Why “State-Building” is the Proper Term

As a Foreign Service Officer assigned as a Senior Advisor at PKSOI over the past two years, I have had the privilege of working on several lines of effort related to stabilization and governance in fragile and conflict-affected states. I have collaborated with the interagency in Washington on stabilization policy, worked with various Geographic Combatant Commands on stabilization lines of effort in military exercises, participated with the U.S. Army War College (USAWC)’s Center for Strategic Leadership on stabilization in regional tabletop exercises, and taught on these topics at the USAWC. One lesson I learned in Afghanistan ten years ago has served me well.

Some of the wisest words I ever heard about Afghanistan were that while it might be a state on the map, it is not really a nation. Nationhood derives from the word “natal”—other words include “native” and “nativity.” In other words, it is where you were born—your national identity. Often, if you ask an Afghan where he was born, or how he identifies himself, he is likely to give you the name of his village and the name of his clan or tribe. He does not necessarily identify himself first as a native of Afghanistan, the way an American would describe himself as an American in the first instance to a foreigner asking that question.

One prominent social scientist points out that for a nation to be legitimately defined as a nation, at least 85 percent of the population needs to self-identify as belonging to that nation-state.

Further, nations “accrete” over centuries, like stalagmites; they are not “built,” particularly not by outside forces. It is simply not possible for government officials or soldiers from other countries to create a nation where it does not already exist; that is, where the great majority of the inhabitants of a state or territory do not already center their personal identities at a national level.

This fact is not well understood by many Americans, or indeed by some U.S. Government (USG) officials. The term “nation-building” has been often and cavalierly used as the name for USG and Coalition post-conflict stabilization efforts

in both Afghanistan and Iraq since 2001, and prior to that in Vietnam, Bosnia, and Kosovo. My premise is that this term has been incorrectly used; it is by definition, as outlined above, an impossible task. We should consider the fact that the United Nations does not use this term because it has long understood that no outsider can build a nation. The American people have intuitively understood that our “nation-building” efforts have not been successful, and they are weary of the USG’s unending presence in Afghanistan and Iraq, as it implies that no lessons are being learned and no policy course corrections are taking place. Actually, that is not the case, and U.S. interagency officials are consistently adjusting and refining their policies and strategies. One way the USG could make its case more clearly to its own population would be to use the correct terminology to identify the nature of its assistance efforts in Afghanistan and Iraq. Namely, Washington should call its long-term stabilization efforts what they really are: “state-building.”

**Handbook
for
Military Support to
Governance, Elections,
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19 February 2016

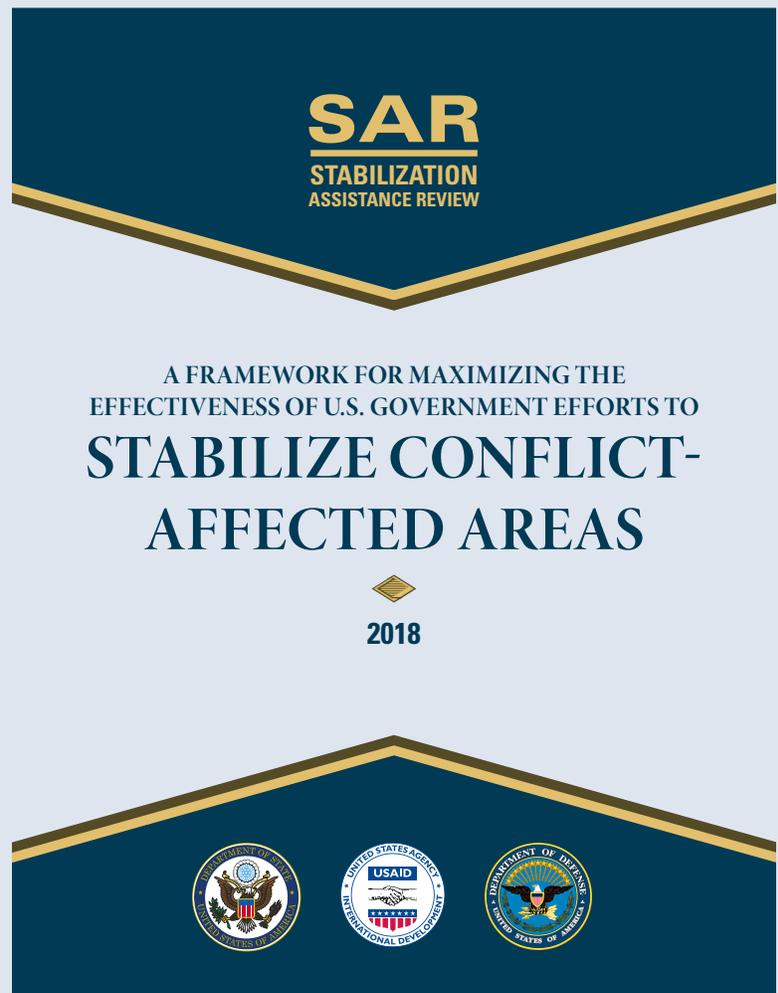
One might ask what is the difference? If the word “nation” is related to “natal” and “nativity” and national identity, then associate it with “motherhood.” In contrast, the functions of the “state” are really the functions of government, which can be associated with the word “patria,” as in “patriotism” and “fatherhood.” While outsiders cannot make the people of another country self-identify as members of one nation, what can be done is help a foreign government to build the institutions of government and statehood. To wit, the USG can construct the physical building of the country’s Ministry of Finance, for example, and train and mentor the Finance Minister and his or her staff on their functions, responsibilities, and accountability. However, infusing a sense of nationality upon the Ministry staff will not be a successful strategy.

Why does this distinction matter? It matters because if Washington is clear about its objectives, and the limits on what it can accomplish, it is likely to receive greater buy-in and acceptance from the U.S. body politic, as well as from international stakeholders. State building is far more likely to succeed with a policy and implementation strategies that are actually achievable. Indeed, in PKSOI’s own Handbook for [Military Support to Governance, Elections, and Media](#), the definition for **State building or reconstruction** is:

the effort to build or rebuild the institutions of a weak, post-conflict, or failing state. State building may be undertaken by external governments and organizations, for example following a military intervention or peacekeeping operation. In a post-conflict environment, state building ideally involves external and internal participants constructively engaged in a process that results in political understandings on the form of government, prioritization and initiation of work to restore core government functions, and the provision of government services in response to public expectations. In this context, the term state building is preferable to ‘nation building,’ since it focuses on institutions rather than identity (a nation).

It Is All about the Legitimacy—and Reach—of Host-Nation Governance

Lots of ink has been spilled about post-conflict stabilization efforts, and about state-building versus nation-building since our interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq, and about enhancing operational effectiveness. One important development in this regard was the State Department-led drafting of the “[Stabilization Assistance Review](#)” (SAR) in 2017 and 2018. Signed personally by the Secretaries of State and Defense and the USAID Administrator as a new interagency framework for stability operations going forward, These three agencies stated:



We define stabilization as a political endeavor involving an integrated civilian-military process to create conditions where locally legitimate authorities and systems can peaceably manage conflict and prevent a resurgence of violence. Transitional in nature, stabilization may include efforts to establish civil security, provide access to dispute resolution, deliver targeted basic services, and establish a foundation for the return of displaced people and longer-term development. . . . Stabilization starts to set the conditions for building legitimate societal and governing institutions.

As the SAR was drafted, the Departments of State and Defense and USAID factored in many lessons learned from studying fragile and conflict-affected states across the globe to put together policies and best practices going forward to mitigate or even prevent conflict. To me, the key phrases in the above definition are: “create conditions [for] . . . locally legitimate authorities” and “set the conditions for building legitimate societal and governing institutions.” Working with international Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) across Afghanistan in 2007-2008, I learned that it is all about enabling host nation good governance. I realized that “it’s not about us,” other than how

we helped strengthen local and national governance, in particular by providing the security envelope at the time within which the Afghan Government could provide rudimentary services. In addition, international donors and coalition units from the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) also directly engaged in development projects and humanitarian assistance. In my view, we should not have given so much as a pencil or a soccer ball directly to an Afghan citizen without it going through local government officials. Otherwise, the local or national population just grows dependent on the outsiders, thus weakening Afghan governance, or more specifically host-nation government legitimacy—thus inadvertently prolonging our deployment there.

For years, Afghan President Hamid Karzai was jokingly referred to as “the Mayor of Kabul” because his government’s reach in terms of providing security and other services did not extend much beyond the capital. Therefore, his legitimacy was weakened in the eyes of his constituents, particularly those in conflict zones in far-away border areas where both national and local-level government officials were either absent, or perceived as ineffective.

A large part of the problem was that the Afghan constitution violated the principle of Subsidiarity, through which responsibility and power devolves to the provinces and local communities. By having the power to appoint governors and regional chiefs of police, Karzai undermined local legitimacy. The provincial governors and chiefs of police only had to please President Karzai and not their constituents. The coalition should have demanded elections for all sub-national government officials so they remained beholden to the voters.

Most Afghans have probably never heard of the Federalist Papers or the Magna Carta, and often understand democracy and representative government only in the sense that one gets to vote for one’s political leaders. Yet I saw pure grass roots democracy taking place in Chagcharan, where ordinary male and female citizens sat on the floor in a government office with someone taking notes on flip charts when the first Afghan National Development Strategy (ANDS) was developed in September 2007. I watched them list their specific desires for better security, governance, health care, education, justice, and agricultural and economic opportunities. The idea was to feed these ideas and requests up to Kabul, and I found it very moving. This was a holistic Afghan internal attempt to build a sense of nationhood. These Afghan citizens wanted the same things we all want: safety, security, economic opportunity, access to education and healthcare, and a better future for our children than we have had for ourselves. The open question was whether

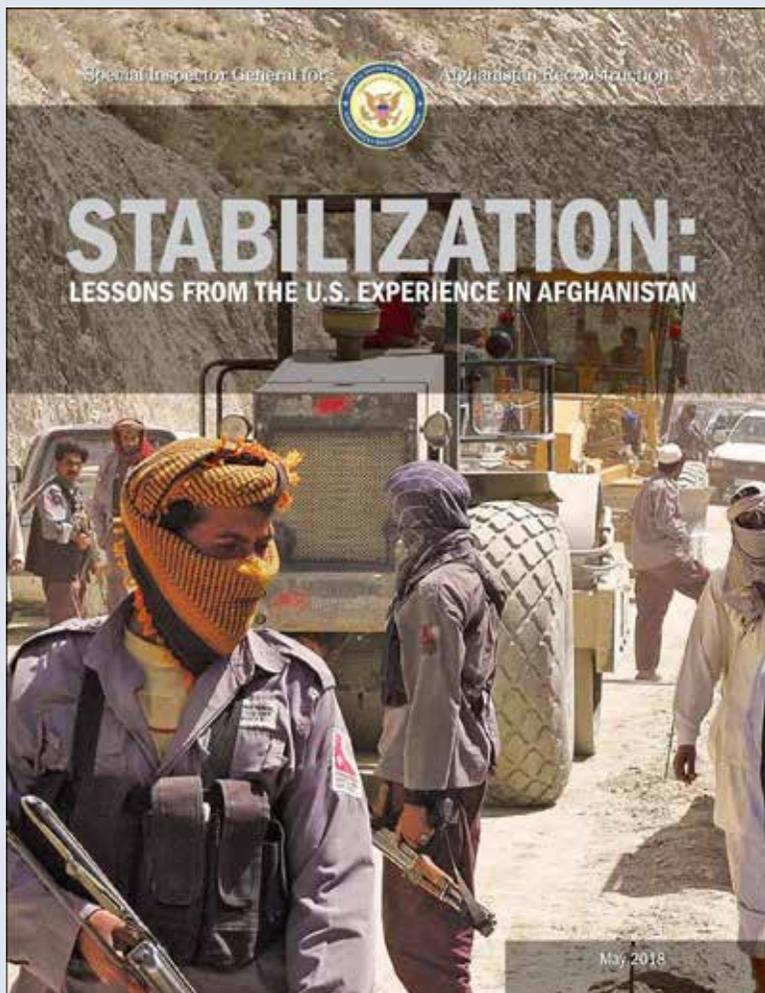
the Afghan government could deliver on these raised expectations, either at the local or national level. At least many Afghan citizens felt like they were consulted and heard by their local government officials.

So the larger question remains, and not just for Afghanistan or Iraq, but for all fragile states: how does a host nation government establish its legitimacy with its own people? That legitimacy cannot be conferred by outside sources, whether they are international organizations such as the UN or EU, or other governments. The local authorities must earn legitimacy by demonstrating inclusivity, evenhandedness, and effectiveness across as much of the national territory as possible, and by not being corrupt. Governmental corruption drives the need for free and fair elections, so the people can vote them out of office. So then, how can the United States and its partners appropriately help a new, fledgling government build its governance, security, justice, and economic structures to function well enough to earn legitimacy in the eyes of its own people and the international community? Certainly, the U.S. military continues to help Afghanistan and Iraq with security, but our diplomatic and political influence and USAID development programs can only go so far—which is as far as local authorities’ own interests and capabilities will let them go.

The Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction (SIGAR) released a report in July 2018 called, “[Stabilization: Lessons from the U.S. Experience in Afghanistan](#).” Among those lessons, author David H. Young, the Stabilization and Elections Team Lead, cited the following:

- Physical security is the bedrock of stabilization.
- The presence of local governance is a pre-condition for effective stabilization programming.
- Stabilization was most successful in areas that were clearly under the physical control of government security forces, had a modicum of local governance in place prior to [outsiders’ development] programming, were supported by coalition forces and civilians who recognized the value of close cooperation, and were continuously engaged by their government as programming ramped up.

Another lesson I have been pondering is what are the best practices for providing security in various states? For our own historic cultural reasons in preferring that provision of government services be kept on as local a level as possible, the United States has no national police force. Yet, in rebuilding war-torn countries like Afghanistan, the USG has insisted upon building a national police force. Washington has invested untold resources



in developing the Afghan National Police (ANP) over the past 17 years, with uneven results, in a culture that, perhaps similar to the U.S. in this respect, views policing, justice and rule of law as primarily a local and communal affair (albeit with markedly different practices of jurisprudence). In future state-building situations, should not the USG consider what might be the most culturally appropriate levels and means to provide both security and justice?

Research shows that money invested in conflict prevention is 16 times cheaper on average than the cost of containing conflicts once they have begun, which does not include sparing the cost of countless human lives lost during conflict. So my supposition is this: using the premises in the SAR, USG stabilization and state-building efforts must be concentrated ever more intently on enabling the capacity for good governance on the part of host nation officials. That could mean providing building materials for a few new government office buildings in remote, restive parts of a country. However, a better approach is deploying trained U.S. civilians to remote areas to train the local government officials on the specific topics where capacity is lacking, such as dispute resolution or water management, particularly if ineffective water management leads to open conflict between neighboring tribes or neighboring countries.

My hope is that if U.S. stabilization efforts serve the function of “building the state” in terms of greater host nation government effectiveness, then it will help enable the people of that nation to ultimately come together as a nation.

About the Author: Tamara Fitzgerald, a U.S. Senior Foreign Service Officer, served as the Department of State Advisor at the U.S. Army’s Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute (PKSOI) from August 2016 to August 2018. She served in Afghanistan from mid-2007 to mid-2008, first working as the governance officer at the Lithuanian-led Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT) in Chagcharan, Ghor Province for two months, then at ISAF HQ in Kabul as the governance point of contact for the PRTs across Afghanistan.



Notes:

¹ Mason, M. Chris, “Nation Building is an Oxymoron” (Parameters) https://ssi.armywarcollege.edu/pubs/parameters/issues/Spring_2016/10_Mason.pdf, Page 1 (accessed 20 July 2018).

² Ibid.

³ *Handbook for Military Support to Governance, Elections, and Media: Unified Action Handbook Series Book Two*, JCS, US-AWC, PKSOI, 19 February 2016, p I-9.

⁴ Stabilization Assistance Review – A Framework for Maximizing the Effectiveness of U.S. Government Efforts to Stabilize Conflict-Affected Areas,” page 4. <https://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2018/06/283334.htm>, accessed 26 July 2018.

⁵ Young, David H., “Stabilization: Lessons from the U.S. Experience in Afghanistan,” “Strategic Multilayer Assessment Briefing” (PowerPoint), <https://www.sigar.mil/pdf/lessonslearned/SIGAR-18-48-LL.pdf> (accessed 31 July 2018).

⁵ Institute for Economics & Peace. Risk Report 2017: New Methods to Assess Risk of Conflict and Violence, Sydney, September 2017. Report number 52. Available from: visionofhumanity.org/reports http://visionofhumanity.org/app/uploads/2017/09/Risk-Report_Web_Final.pdf, p 4, (accessed 7 August 2018).



Why Institutionalize Homeland Civil-Military Cooperation

by Maj. Jean Dagher
Lebanese Army

We must also take steps to respond quickly to meet the needs of the American people in the event of natural disaster or attack on our homeland. We must build a culture of preparedness and resilience across our governmental functions, critical infrastructure, and economic and political systems.

—National Security Strategy 2017

Some militaries act as an expeditionary force in their own country, performing missions within the homeland instead of in a foreign country to maintain internal security and stability.¹ Due to this focus on domestic as well as foreign security, militaries perform a multitude of homeland security tasks in addition to their primary border security missions. These diverse tasks require a high level of responsiveness to support law enforcement in emergencies, while staying ready to respond to other external threats. This variety of missions requires more profound interaction, coordination, and cooperation with civil society and governmental agencies when dealing with these security concerns.

The role of militaries is not solely to protect the country's national security. On several occasions, militaries respond to emergencies, and in many historical examples, military capabilities support civilian authorities in domestic tasks to preserve homeland security.² The use of military forces in homeland tasks is more often applied to defend a nation's sovereignty. Partnership and interaction between military and civilian leaderships have become more important to accomplish homeland security. Within the country's borders, domestic operations cover the spectrum of military activity from homeland defense to support to civil authorities.

This article opens by exploring the theoretical and doctrinal approach of 'Homeland civil-military cooperation (CIMIC)'. It proceeds by discussing the requirements for effective and efficient CIMIC in the homeland and the challenges encountered in the process. Finally, this article intends to underline and derive implications that would help civilian decision-makers and military practitioners in their efforts to enhance CIMIC in addressing today's security threats.



A Texas Guardsmen and a Customs and Border Patrol agent discuss the lay of the land April 10 on the shores of the Rio Grande River in Starr County, Texas as part of the federal call-up to the Texas-Mexico border. Soldiers called to duty at the border support federal partners and primarily serve in observe-and-report roles. Photo by Sgt. Mark Otte, DVIDS

What is Homeland CIMIC?

Cooperation between civil and military actors is as old as warfare itself, but as a formal doctrine, it is historically speaking a new concept. The discussion of the interaction between military and civilian spheres originates from the US Army Civil Affairs units during World War II and the British military in the 1950s. The US Secretary of State, George C. Marshall, first developed this approach in 1947 in the European Recovery Plan, more commonly known as the 'Marshall Plan.' Marshall highlighted the direct linkages between the military and social security, and the importance of a holistic approach to solve complex security challenges.³

In 2003, later updated in 2013, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) published its first CIMIC guidelines, where it discussed policy and doctrine as well as tactics, techniques, and procedures.⁴ Since then, NATO has progressed further into the civilian sphere, making CIMIC a vital part of its activities and missions. For its part in 2013, the U.S. Department of Defense issued its Strategy for Homeland Defense and addressed approaches regarding unity of efforts, integrated planning, and military preparedness for homeland tasks.⁵ The 2017 U.S. National Security Strategy stressed the linkages between homeland and national security, emphasizing security of the U.S. homeland.^{6,7}

CIMIC comprises a set of capabilities that coordinate activities between military commanders and civil actors in support of achieving mission objectives. CIMIC capabilities enable military commands to participate effectively in a broad spectrum of interactions with diverse non-military actors.⁸ The three core functions of homeland CIMIC include civil-military liaison with civilian agencies; support to the military forces in planning and execution; and physical support to civil actors.⁹

The approach to 'homeland CIMIC' came from the fact that no one single master narrative motivates CIMIC; instead, the latter core function is situation and context dependent. Therefore, this cooperation differs depending on national strategies and across various civil and geographic environments. Homeland CIMIC is a reflection of the people who carry it out, and relies on specific norms that inform relations, values, and expectations passed on in the form of powerful narratives or myths.¹⁰

Within each country's specific civil environment, homeland CIMIC can manifest in three aspects: as a tool for establishing, maintaining, and expanding relationships; as an organization that offers military augmentation; and as a non-combat, military, and joint force that efficiently participates in a broad spectrum of interactions with diverse non-military actors.¹¹ CIMIC in homeland security may function as a military force in combat, counterinsurgency, counterterrorism, stability, and crisis management operations. Furthermore, homeland CIMIC contributes to the accomplishment of military objectives at the strategic, operational, and tactical levels.¹²

The principal advantage of homeland CIMIC is economy of force; its chief strength is being a force multiplier by maximizing the capacity of civilian entities, minimizing the magnitude and duration of military operations, and helping commanders focus resources.¹³ Through CIMIC homeland security efforts, militaries achieve unity of effort and enhance the government's ability to advance a whole-of-government approach to achieve national objectives.¹⁴

Requirements for Efficient Homeland CIMIC

Deploying the military within the country's borders for stability and combat operations appears to be inconsistent with a traditional army's role in a sovereign state. However, with the rising threat of terrorism, political and military leaders are now seeking to implement comprehensive, whole-of-government approaches where civilian and military agencies leverage each other's capabilities to achieve national security strategy and political objectives.¹⁵

Societies in the twenty-first century are ravaged by conflicts, disasters, and humanitarian catastrophes.¹⁶ Militaries cannot solve most of these modern crises alone. Today's global war on terror revealed an urgent need for strategic interactions, unified efforts, and partnerships between military forces and civilian actors to combat violent extremism, as both have a shared goal of the country's national security.¹⁷ Through cooperation with civil entities, military leaders tie their holistic security strategy into a whole-of-government approach ensuring civil-military interaction that advances a country's security and stability. Sound relations between political elites and military leaders become more essential in this civilian-military process, as leadership recognized the importance of integrating military activities with civilian agency efforts. The nature of complex missions increasingly forces military and civilian actors to operate together.¹⁸

History teaches the need to embrace partners from across government and even in the private sector to address homeland security concerns. Lessons learned have clearly shown that isolated military actions do not meet the requirements for sustainable stability.¹⁹ At the same time, these crisis events might require the unique equipment, personnel, and training resident mainly in militaries. Therefore, early investment in civil-military efforts pays future dividends in response to contingencies.²⁰

Challenges to Homeland CIMIC

In the homeland environment, CIMIC pursues a long-term goal of seeking to improve the nation's development and governance, which suggests a focus on establishing self-sustaining structures for security and processes for stability that enhance a country's resilience. Cooperation (will), coordination of actions (work), and shared purpose (end state) are critical elements to enhance homeland security and enable the achievement of military and political objectives. Synergetic relation and effective interaction amongst all military and civilian actors within a comprehensive approach foster efficient homeland CIMIC activities.²¹

One of the most challenging tasks for this degree of cooperation is to create a collaborative environment and build trust among the local populace, national, international, and nongovernmental organizations. Closing the gap between military and civilian actors ensures that all actors work towards a common, harmonized and coherent goal.²²

Another challenge is the apprehension among politicians to deploy troops in the homeland, due to the misconception that legal powers granted to militaries by the constitution for internal defense would foster an imbalance in power between the government and the military. Shared identity, values and norms between military and civilian counterparts can ensure a balance in civil-military relations, with agreement on critical issues serving as the cornerstone for cooperation.²³

Furthermore, with the growing economic, financial, and national budget challenges facing nations, political and military leaders are searching for more cost-effective ways to integrate militaries into non-traditional homeland tasks without losing critical combat capabilities. A starting point to fill this gap would be an approach for cross-governmental support, mutual understanding, and mutual trust by sharing norms on tasks, capabilities, and responsibilities between military and civilians.²⁴ The decisive and growing military role in homeland security implies maximization of interagency cooperation and integration of civilian and military capabilities.

Implications

A nation's aversion to deploying troops in the homeland has been a historical practice and a challenge to organizational culture. Yet, a full range of threats and vulnerabilities confronts the homeland and requires preparedness for contingencies.²⁵ Establishing new civilian standing organizations possessing the necessary capabilities to address these threats would be probably an expensive investment. The search for cost-effective solutions has given rise to new demands for increased cooperation in both military and civilian organizations.

Today's global war on terror added more complexity to the threat nations are facing. Militaries find themselves conducting a multitude of military and non-military tasks on the homeland scene. This demands the implementation of a holistic security strategy based on a whole-of-government approach to address the country's security threats. Politicians increasingly recognize the need for a constructive relationship with the military, enabling a high level of responsiveness to growing security requirements. Military and civilian leadership need to establish homeland CIMIC to allow militaries to address the complex security challenges facing the country.

In summation, it is important to remember that perceptions and priorities generated by countries vary due to cultural, geographical, and mission-centric differences. In this backdrop, nations have different definitions for CIMIC that might converge or diverge depending on their policies. Homeland CIMIC enables militaries to conduct a broad spectrum of missions, thus enhancing militaries' effectiveness and advancing internal security. Political and military practitioners pursuing country's national interests need to institutionalize homeland CIMIC as a holistic approach that unifies military and government institutions. Such a system is key for success in the domestic environment.

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Notes:

¹ Jean Dagher, *The Lebanese Armed Forces Engaging Nahr Al-Bared Palestinian Refugee Camp Using the Instruments of National Power*, Leavenworth, KS: Command and General Staff College, June 2017, p. 43; Directorate of Orientation, "The Mission of the Lebanese Army," available from www.lebarmy.gov.lb/en/content/mission-lebanese-army, accessed on February 22, 2018.

² NATO, Allied Joint Publication (AJP) 9, NATO Civil-Military Co-operation (CIMIC) Doctrine, Brussels: NATO Standardization Agency, 2003; Department of Defense, Joint Publication (JP) 3-27, Homeland Defense, Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2013, p. GL-9. Homeland security is a concerted national effort of homeland defense and defense support of civil authorities (DSCA) to reduce the country's vulnerability to terrorist attacks, major disasters, and other emergencies.

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The Western Sahara Conflict, United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO), and Impacts to United States Regional Strategic Objectives

by Van Schmidt

Introduction

Since Spain's cessation from Western Sahara in 1975, the Kingdom of Morocco and the Polisario Front (the leadership of the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR), has been locked in conflict for the past five decades of a seemingly irreconcilable stalemate. A Polisario initiated insurgency with Morocco finally led to a United Nations (UN)-sponsored ceasefire resolution in 1991. The resolution has not been fully enacted, leaving the conflict stalemated and unresolved.

Western Sahara is the only territory on the UN's list of non-self-governing territories without a recognized administering country.¹ The conflict is in an armed deadlock, currently monitored by the UN's Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (known by its French acronym MINURSO).² In 2007, Morocco proposed a Western Sahara autonomy plan that the United States (US) called "serious, credible, and realistic,"³ but which the Polisario outright rejected, instead wanting "nothing short of total independence."⁴ This scenario is poised to upset regional stability in Western Sahara and northwest Africa. If the UN were to not renew MINURSO's mandate, and withdraw UN peacekeepers, then Morocco and the Polisario would be left to resolve the conflict without UN assistance. If this were to happen, it could adversely affect several US regional strategic objectives in northwestern Africa, such as maintaining political and regional stability.



into US northwestern African regional political and security goals, and summarizes the United State's policy toward the conflict. Lastly, this article touches upon the possible effects to the Polisario, Morocco, and the US if the UN does not renew MINURSO's mandate, and withdraws its peacekeepers.

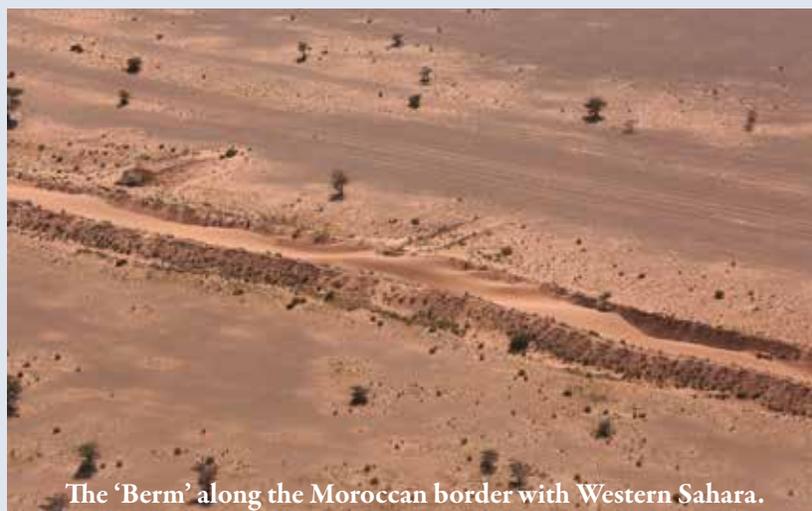
Background of Conflict

Following Spain cessation of administrative control of Western Sahara in 1975, Morocco and the recently formed Polisario Front violently clashed over who would take Spain's place. Morocco ultimately ended the conflict by expelling the Polisario and their Sahrawi supporters who fled to western Algeria, where they remain today, living in Algerian-sponsored refugee camps. Morocco went a step further, building a 1,700 mile long, 30 foot high wall of sand and rocks, referred to as 'the Berm,' separating the western 70 percent of Western Sahara under Moroccan control from the remaining portion of the territory in the east controlled by the Polisario.



The headquarters of MINURSO in Laayoune.

Morocco claims Western Sahara as its sovereign territory. However, since 1973, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Saguia



The 'Berm' along the Moroccan border with Western Sahara.

el Hamra and Rio de Oro (Polisario) has pursued independence for the territory, contesting Morocco's claim of sovereignty. In 1975, the population of Western Sahara was approximately 490,000, an estimated 100,000 of which were Moroccan citizens relocated by the Moroccan government to the region and significantly subsidized to live there. The majority of Western Sahara's native population is Sahrawi (literally "people of the desert" in Arabic), who are also found in Algeria and Mauritania.⁵

In 1988, Morocco and the Polisario agreed to settle the Western Sahara dispute by referendum, which was drafted and passed by the UN Security Council in 1991 (UN Mission for a Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO), UN Security Council Resolution 690 (UNSCR 690)).⁶ The resolution outlines a referendum offering the Sahrawi a choice between either independence or integration into Morocco. It also allows for the deployment of the UN peacekeeping contingent that is currently monitoring the ceasefire. MINURSO's political mission is identifying and registering qualified voters, and organizing the referendum.

However, Morocco and the Polisario have not resolved their disagreements over voter eligibility (those individuals living in Western Sahara in 1975 versus Moroccans that have relocated there since) or which option for self-determination (integration, independence, or something in between) would be on the ballot. Consequently, the referendum has never taken place.⁷ Since 1991, UN-facilitated negotiations on the territory's status have been unproductive. The UN extended the MINURSO's mandate 61 times in hope the original resolution might yield positive results. On October 31, 2018, resolution 2240 was extended for six months, emphasizing the need for a "realistic, practicable and enduring political solution" to Eastern Sahara, and will now expire on April 30, 2019.⁸

US – Moroccan Relationship

The US's relationship with Morocco goes back to the creation of the US as a country. The US Senate ratified a Treaty of Peace and Friendship between the two nations in 1786,⁹ making Morocco the first country to officially recognize the US as a nation. During World War II, US forces reinforced this "unbroken alliance"¹⁰ when it liberated Morocco in 1942 from the Axis-aligned Vichy French government control as part of the Allied Forces' Operation Torch.¹¹ When Morocco eventually gained its independence in 1956, after more than 40 years as a French protectorate,¹² the US was one of the first nations to diplomatically recognize Morocco.¹³ Since then, the two nations have worked closely together, making Morocco a reliable and crucial ally in northwest Africa.¹⁴

The US has strategic interests in maintaining a strong security partnership with Morocco. Although the 2017 United State National Security Strategy (NSS) does not explicitly mention Morocco, being more focused on threats than partnerships, it does outline overall US strategic goals applying to northwest Africa. The NSS states that the US "will partner with governments, civil society, and regional organizations to end long-running, violent conflicts."¹⁵ The NSS also declares that the US will work "with partners to defeat terrorist organizations and others who threaten US citizens and the homeland."¹⁶ Nested in the NSS is the US Department of State FY 2014-2017 Strategic Plan, which advocates building "new stability in the Middle East and North Africa."¹⁷ Lastly, a goal of the 2018 National Defense Strategy in Africa is "to bolster existing bilateral and multilateral partnerships and develop new relationships to address significant terrorist groups that threaten [US] interests" by "working by, with, and through local partners."¹⁸

Morocco is a valuable diplomatic partner enabling US regional goals, and has voiced the need for cooperation with the US during both the 2015 US-Morocco Strategic Dialogue and the Global Counter-terrorism Forum's Initiative on Open Border Security.¹⁹ Politically, Morocco is a moderate Arab state, with a strong voice in the Arab community, providing the US with diplomatic access when doing so openly could be counter-productive, discouraged, or outright rejected by Morocco's Arab partners. When it benefits both countries, the Moroccan government promotes US international and regional interest through its membership in the Arab League. The US leverages Morocco's membership as "an experimental field in which it tests reforms and democratic efforts designed for the region."²⁰

US Position on the Western Sahara Conflict

Since Morocco is in possession of approximately 85 percent of Western Sahara, it would be advantageous to the US if Morocco's national interests were to remain generally aligned with the United States' regional strategy. For more than two decades the US has "stayed on the fence" regarding the Western Sahara, while continuing to publicly support the UN's position that the status of Western Sahara should be determined by referendum.²¹ Though the US also has a well-established and often-repeated position on the Western Sahara in that Morocco's autonomy proposal is "serious, realistic, and credible,"²² it has taken some conflicting actions that clashed with Morocco's position. If these US-Morocco points of divergence over the Western Sahara were allowed to grow, the conflict could become a significant obstacle in promoting US interests in the region.²³

The US position at the UN is to urge Morocco and the Polisario to work toward a peaceful resolution.²⁴ The US has endorsed the Madrid Accords of 1975, recognizing Moroccan administrative authority over Western Sahara, but without sovereignty.²⁵ The US was a primary force behind the drafting and adoption of UNSCR 690,²⁶ though the US does not recognize SADR and has no publicized interaction with the Polisario.²⁷ The US supports UN mediation efforts, urging the two sides to reach a mutually acceptable solution,²⁸ though one that would not destabilize Morocco.²⁹ Likewise, the US contributes funds, though no personnel, to MINURSO.³⁰

Loss of the United Nation Mandate

The non-renewal of MINURSO's mandate, resulting in UN peacekeepers withdrawing from Western Sahara, would leave the two sides to resolve their differences without UN assistance. MINURSO's success has been restricted to stopping violence between belligerents, but MINURSO is also seen by some as failing to carry out the intent of the referendum.³¹ It has been quipped that MINURSO has managed to keep peace in Western Sahara "more from improvisation and luck than by planning."³² Even if this were the case, MINURSO still does provide a passive political and military approach that allows Morocco and the Polisario to avoid fabricating a solution that neither side wants, can sell to their respective populations, nor has the political power to see through to completion. With MINURSO maintaining a status quo, neither Morocco's, nor the Polisario's leadership have to produce anything, therefore avoiding being seen as failing.

However, there is cynicism and skepticism about MINURSO from several directions.³³ There is a widespread belief that

MINURSO has overstayed its purpose, and there is no reason to continue paying to monitor the stalemate, approximately \$1.3 billion since 1991, with little positive results.³⁴ MINURSO is criticized for taking a "western approach to dispute settlement,"³⁵ intent on confining violence, rather than addressing the causes of the argument.³⁶ Despite the criticism, in 2016, then UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon, while recommending renewal of the mandate, stated "the risk of a rupture of the ceasefire and a resumption of hostilities...will grow significantly in the event MINURSO departs or finds itself unable to execute the mandate."³⁷

Impacts to the Polisario

Generations of Sahrawi have only known life in refugee camps or under occupation by Spain or Morocco. MINURSO's departure may be seen as a step further away from the Polisario's goal of monitored and peaceful self-determination, which instead may only be resolved through violence.³⁸ In 2014, then SADR President Mohamed Abdelaziz stated, "SADR forces will have little choice but to either take up arms against Morocco or radicalize to reach their goals if the UN fails to settle the conflict."³⁹ Even with MINURSO's presence, the Polisario is finding it increasingly difficult to keep its citizens, especially its youth, from taking it upon themselves to resolve the deadlock, likely through violence. Additionally, without some manner of UN acknowledgment of the Sahrawi cause, Algeria would be hard pressed from an international viewpoint to continue supporting the Polisario cause. If the UN were to cease funding the peacekeeping mission, aid for the refugee camps would prove difficult at current levels.⁴⁰ This would offer even more reason for the Sahrawi to take some manner of violent action to reclaim part of Western Sahara, as the alternative is long-term survival in refugee camps.

Conversely, without the presence of MINURSO and UN oversight, the Polisario may find it easier in allying with violent extremist organizations (VEOs),⁴¹ or instigating an insurgency. The Polisario has an advantage of operating in the desert sans a reliance on technology, while also benefiting from a sanctuary in Algeria, all the while retaining the perception of an underdog. Whereas the UN resolution discourages the international community from providing military or political support to the Polisario, a UN withdraw might encourage numerous regional or international actors to support the Polisario with the intent of upsetting Morocco's control of Western Sahara.⁴²

Impacts to Morocco

At first glance, it appears that Morocco would have little to lose and much to gain if MINURSO pulled out of Western Sahara.⁴³

First, MINURSO's withdraw could be taken by Morocco as the UN agreeing with their claim to the territory. Morocco would triumph by de facto, as Morocco already possesses over 85 percent of Western Sahara. The UN withdraw would provide Morocco with apparent sovereignty over all of Western Sahara, and afford free exploitation of its natural resources.⁴⁴ Additionally, the Royal Moroccan Air Force, which to this point is restricted by MINURSO oversight, would now be free to leverage its air superiority in Western Sahara.⁴⁵ This would permit Morocco to conduct an air-centric counterinsurgency campaign against the Polisario military, a tactic that has proven successful in both the Middle East and South Africa over the last fifty years.⁴⁶ Morocco could undertake punitive action against Polisario military encroachments with impunity, absent any observation by international organizations, giving them uncontested access to Western Sahara. Despite MINURSO's presence, Morocco intermittently threatens military action against Polisario forces anytime Morocco believes the Polisario violated the ceasefire.⁴⁷ Currently, western benefactors and the risk of international commendation may be the only thing preventing Morocco from taking these actions.

Absent MINURSO, Morocco could start exploiting natural resources from Western Sahara without the current legal objections.⁴⁸ However, in doing so, Morocco may squander its peace dividend, as VEOs would be emboldened to attack Morocco's phosphate facilities and 500-mile long conveyor belts transporting extracted minerals from the desert to the coast. To protect these assets, Morocco military forces would likely cease monitoring regions beyond the berm, allowing these areas to evolve into ungoverned spaces, thus offering inroads for VEOs.⁴⁹

Impacts to the United States

There appears to be little political advantage if the US were to withdraw political or fiscal support to MINURSO,⁵⁰ even though the US is frustrated with MINURSO's lack of progress.⁵¹ If Morocco were to initiate military action against the Polisario as a result of MINURSO's withdraw, the US, as well as a majority of the other UN members, may be compelled to openly condemn Morocco's actions. This action may seriously jeopardize the US's longstanding bilateral relationship that it currently enjoys with Morocco, losing a valuable ally in the fight against terrorism in Northern Africa.⁵² Also, if the US were to reduce its support to Morocco, it may bring into question US support to other Arab nations, especially those that have not been US allies as long as Morocco. Such a perception could conceivably cause setbacks to recent US policy advances in the greater Middle East. Overall US foreign policy would not fare well if this perception were to exist and would be a boon to any

near-peer competitors vying for regional power in Northwestern Africa.

Conclusion

Western Sahara, Morocco, and northwest Africa have experienced amazing advancements in the development of civilization on this fault line, but for every step forward, the region has suffered through just as many steps backward. There may be plenty of scenarios that could come from the Western Sahara conflict, but for a positive, win-win scenario to occur, it will "only work when both sides sincerely seek a settlement."⁵³ Both Morocco and the Polisario have the ability to avoid prolonging this stalemate. Shifting regional partnerships, evolving international events, and developing aspects of the 21st-century social environment may someday result in the UN ending MINURSO's mandate, limiting future choices between the two belligerents. Instead of controlling the outcomes of their situations, Morocco and the Polisario may find that it is too late to positively affect the outcome of their respective environments and socio-economic circumstances. The US is also poised with an opportunity to wield its vast wealth of national power to nudge these two sides toward a positive outcome. However, if the conflict is not positively resolved, the US may find itself playing catch-up in maintaining any security or economic prosperity or fulfilling US regional strategic goals in northwestern Africa and Western Sahara.

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⁴⁸ Committee on United Nations, *Report On Legal Issues Involved In The Western Sahara Dispute: Use Of Natural Resources* (New York: New York City Bar Association, April 2011), <http://www.nycbar.org/pdf/report/uploads/20072089ReportonLegalIssuesInvolvedintheWesternSaharaDispute.pdf>.

⁴⁹ Clionadh Raleigh and Caitriona Dowd. “Governance and Conflict in the Sahel’s ‘Ungoverned Space.’” *Stability: International Journal of Security and Development* 2, no. 2 (2013).

⁵⁰ Louis Charbonneau, “US proposes restoring U.N. Western Sahara’s mission’s functionality,” *Reuters Online*, April 27, 2016, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-morocco-westernsahara-un-idUSKCN0XO2B0>.

⁵¹ Amy Tachco, *Explanation of Vote for MINURSO Renewal*, (New York: US Mission to the United Nations, April 27, 2018), <https://usun.state.gov/remarks/8413>; Ambassador Michele J. Sison, *Remarks at the Adoption of UN Security Council Resolution 2351 on the United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO)* (New York: US Mission to the United Nations, April 28, 2017), <https://usun.state.gov/>

[remarks/7786](https://usun.state.gov/remarks/7786).

⁵² National Security and International Affairs Division, *United Nations Peacekeeping. Status of Long-standing Operations and US Interests in Supporting Them* (GAO/NSIAD-97-59) (Washington, DC: General Accounting Office, April 9, 1997); 18-19, 26, <https://www.gao.gov/assets/230/223836.pdf>.

⁵³ Michael Rubin, “Why the Western Sahara matters,” *Journal of International Security Affairs*, American Enterprise Institute (July 27, 2015), <http://www.aei.org/publication/why-the-western-sahara-matters/>.



Syrian Refugee Impact on European Heroin Crisis

by Doug Davids

Introduction

There is a high possibility that the Syrian refugee crises in Europe could deepen the heroin crisis on the continent. Drug abuse is a human behavior, and just as changes to the human environment are constant, so is the drug problem. The flow of Syrian refugees from the war into Europe might be an impetus toward a rise in heroin abuse. In the current Syrian refugee crisis, five factors impact the conditions for increasing the heroin crisis: 1) Many Syrians lost faith in having normal lives as a result of the war in their homeland. Particularly destabilizing is the loss of legal employment, which brings a sustainable income to refugee families. 2) Refugees are dealing with severe emotional, and even physical trauma. 3) Native Europeans are rejecting the refugees. 4) Heroin is already flowing through or near Syria. 5) Heroin problems already exist within Europe, most notably Western Europe.

Background

Heroin is a highly addictive drug abused mostly across the northern continents of Asia, Europe, and North America. The illegal use of opiates doubled in popularity from 1980-1997 to the 2009-2014 period, with the majority of the drug seizures taking place in South-West Asia, followed by Europe (United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime, 2016, p. xii-xiii). Currently, heroin use accounts for around 80% of new opioid-related treatment demands in Europe. While a decline in heroin related treatment was observed since 2007, this is no longer evident. Drug overdose deaths rose over the past three years, with heroin implicated in many of these deaths (European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction, 2017, p. 14).

According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the war in Syria caused millions of people to flee their homes into neighboring countries and Europe (2016, pp 89-99). Many of these refugees live along or near the Balkan Route, a major heroin artery from Afghanistan to Europe, which primarily goes through Iran, Iraq, parts of Syria, and merges in Turkey before crossing into Europe. Turkey alone hosts 2.9 million Syrian refugees, while others are living in Iraq, Lebanon, and Jordan. In 2015 alone over a half million of those



refugees fled to Europe. This situation provides an enriched environment for a deepened heroin problem in Europe, as the five factors will further illustrate.

The Five Factors

The First Factor

The first factor in a deepening heroin crisis is the effects of the emotional trauma upon the refugees. Syria was not a top tier nation before the war in terms of standard of living, but one could at least live a stable and sustainable life in Syria, obtain a basic education, and support one's family. Corruption existed, as did poverty, and being a dissident could certainly get one into trouble, but for the most part people could live their lives, have families, watch children grow, and feel a sense of normalcy. Refugee life, however, is anything but normal and can be quite daunting. First, the life-changes alone are surreal, such as being an engineering student one day, and the next day you are fleeing your home or being forced to become a soldier. Another example might be a seven months pregnant woman excited about starting a new family, and suddenly you are crossing the sea in a small boat not knowing if you or your unborn child will survive. Or perhaps you have a stable job, provide for your family, watch your kids grow, and suddenly you are trying to find them their next meal to keep them alive, while so many around them are dying. Assuming you escape the war zone, your living



quarters went from a home to maybe a tent with a dirt, or if you are lucky, concrete floor. You sleep on a cot. Parents watch their children become depressed and listless. Children and teenagers watch parents become mentally distant. Your life is no longer in your control, but rather depends on the charity and good will of others. You stand in long lines with others who have also lost hope awaiting basic necessities such as food and water. You wonder how much longer this will last, or how much longer you can take it. Refugee life can be so demoralizing that some feel unable to perform the essential duties of daily life. Research by Noor Baker on Syrian refugee life explained that the refugees became “so hopeless that they did not want to continue living, while others reported feeling loss of interest in things they used to like, and feeling so angry that they felt out of control. The symptoms of emotional distress are suggestive of the severity of daily dysfunction experienced by refugees” (Baker, 2015). Under these conditions, it would not be unreasonable to assume that people would do anything to relieve the misery; they might turn to using and/or selling drugs.

The Second Factor

If daily life as a refugee is not difficult enough, a second factor to consider is the traumatic experience of war and flight from Syria, which creates mental distress. Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) and severe depression affect many war refugees. PTSD is easily understood. It was hard enough on the casual observer to see a picture of 3-year old Alan Kurdi lying dead on a Turkish beach, or a shell-shocked Omran Daqneesh covered in dust and blood in an ambulance after his home was struck by an explosive that killed his brother, both photos covered by major news sources for the world to see. Yet, while these are but tiny snapshots for people who live thousands of miles away, they are daily occurrences for people living in war zones. War refugees commonly experience the death of loved ones, to include seeing that death come via violent means. They are victimized

by bribery, death threats, torture, human trafficking, sexual humiliation and rape. To magnify the problem, many refugees cannot receive psychological help as a result of their high numbers of those affected with PTSD, and a lack of translators (Bundes Psychotherapeuten Kammer, 2015). Children are very susceptible to PTSD. A study in a Turkish refugee camp found that almost half (45%) of all children suffered PTSD, ten times the prevalence among children worldwide (Sirin & Rogers, Sirin, 2015, p 1). The trauma for Syrian children is so severe that some doctors created a new term for the children, ‘human devastation syndrome’, since PTSD is seen as too mild of a condition (Morley, 2017).

Compounding these types of severe mental distress over life as a refugee—no control over one’s life or that of your family—would obviously bring high levels of anxiety, and lead to behaviors that might appear irrational to someone from a safe and secure environment. With the limited chance for psychological assistance, the loss of self-worth can have a huge impact on trauma victims, especially in children and teens who grow up believing they have no value in society, experience survivor’s guilt, or feel anger at all the loss which was not of their own doing. Refugee children often have high levels of behavioral and emotional problems, including aggression and other affective disorders (Sirin et al, 2015, p 11). Thus, seemingly irrational behavior is actually quite normal. This is important to consider for the subject at hand, because individuals who would normally never get involved in illicit criminal activities, are now at high risk of falling into that lifestyle. The US Veterans Administration finds that “individuals with PTSD have an elevated prevalence of risk factors that are associated with increased violence, such as substance misuse and comorbid psychiatric disorders” (Norman , Elbogen, Schnurr 2017). It is also worth noting that children who grow up in violent and abusive situations often develop Anti-social Personality Disorder (APD), that is, “a mental condition in which a person consistently shows no regard for right and wrong, and ignores the rights and feelings of others....They show no guilt or remorse for their behavior.” Furthermore, “individuals with anti-social personality disorder often violate the law, becoming criminals. They may lie, behave violently or impulsively, and use drugs and alcohol” (May Clinic, 2017). It should be no surprise that the Mara Salvatrucha gang (MS-13) evolved from child refugees in Los Angeles who escaped the extremely violent wars in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Nicaragua, only to form gangs initially to protect themselves from pre-established gangs in their neighborhoods. This is not to say all children in such environments will develop APD, as other factors may often be involved, but it’s another dynamic in the cause of mental illness and social disorders that can lead to problems later for refugees.

The third factor potentially driving heroin use is refugees trying to regain self-worth as a vital means to recovery, but they are rejected by European society. It's no secret that tolerance towards those who are "different" is not always found in human society, and Europe (like many societies) is not short on xenophobes. This is particularly true with religious differences, as many Muslims in Europe face daily discrimination. A young Muslim growing up in western society will almost certainly face hostility of some kind. Of notable importance, young Muslim men and boys will witness xenophobic actions and blatant bullying against family and friends, who are already dealing with mental trauma. An example might be a sister who is mocked and physically assaulted for wearing a hijab. The xenophobia may also come from organized groups or government officials. In the hijab example, antagonistic attitudes come from western feminist groups who view the hijab as repression of women (even if a Muslim woman wants to wear a hijab); entities like the French government oppose public use of the hijab as a matter of national policy. According to a recent study found in the Bertelsmann Stiftung's Religion Monitor (2017), a fifth of the European population opposes the Muslim presence. However, there is an even broader systemic problem. Yasemin El-Menouar, an Islam expert at the Bertelsmann Stiftung, noted that "So far, no country in Western Europe has found a convincing strategy that addresses both equal opportunity, as well as respect for religious diversity" (2017). While refugees can establish themselves in a new homeland, they often face the opposing, and sometimes hostile, twenty percent, which when combined with the trauma of refugee experiences and loss of self-worth, may manifest as a pattern of numbness or rebellious behavior. One must realize that eventually young Muslim male refugees may feel the need to protect their own. Furthermore, these young men are followed by a generation of boys who see the same bullying, and who will eventually grow into young men themselves. The above refugee experiences, combined with the isolation of being a foreign immigrant in an environment that may not respect their common values or mental struggles, or which blatantly wants them gone, create an environment for Syrian refugees which may be unbearable. Most refugees simply want to regain control of their own lives, values and dignity. Money is the obvious answer to that problem, and the quicker one can obtain money, the quicker the abhorrent refugee life can end. This desire for quick money does not make someone a bad person or inclined to be a drug trafficker. However, the present condition of heroin abuse in Europe does create a temptation for any person looking for quick financial success, let alone those living in refugee conditions. When one correlates the pre-existing condition of high heroin trafficking already occur-

ring in the region, along with the evolving conditions among the refugee population, linkages exist.

The First Link and Fourth Factor

The first linkage is the desire to use heroin itself, which leads to the 4th factor of the availability of heroin currently existing in the region. Heroin trafficking in Europe is a practice established long ago. The Europe Drug Report (2017) notes that since the 1970s and 1980s, sizable demands for cannabis, amphetamines, and heroin have existed in many European countries. According to the report, heroin abuse seems to have trended downward since 2007, perhaps due to the younger populations preferring different drugs, but recent indications are that heroin is still problematic and the decline has stopped; in fact, heroin-related deaths are on the increase. Currently, five countries account for three quarters (76 %) of the estimated high-risk opioid users in Europe: Germany, Spain, France, Italy, and the United Kingdom (all countries with Syrian refugees, although Spain has limited numbers) (European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction, 2017, 51). The condition of arriving refugees could add to the heroin-using population. Peter R. Coleman from the Coleman Institute observed: "The problem with opiates is that they are very powerful painkillers, and they numb out negative emotions. When people use opiates, they feel 'comfortably numb.' They no longer feel anxiety, stress, anger, loneliness, or boredom." He further observed that "a huge part of the reason for this high relapse rate is the fact that opiates relieve emotional pain so well" (Coleman, 2016). Robert DuPont (2000), in *The Selfish Brain: Learning from Addiction*, further explains: "The opiate effect is one of calming, tranquilization, and realization. Heroin acts directly on the brain's opiate receptors, triggering a warm glow, a sense of euphoria, and a self-centered loss of pain and distress" (p 176). Heroin is a marvelous drug for not only eliminating physical pain but also emotional suffering. To make matters worse, it is one of the most addictive drugs in existence. This creates a whole new market in Europe as refugees, who have just experienced some of the worst of human suffering, flow into the region. Religious beliefs—the belief in a higher deity and a higher purpose—can help deter drug abuse. However, just as there is only so much physical pain the body can endure before relief is needed, the same applies to mental suffering. Thus, the first link between Syrian refugees and the heroin trade is the possibility of some refugees turning to heroin as users to relieve severe emotional pain.

The Second Link and Fifth Factor

The second link, and the 5th and final factor that creates the possibility of Syrian refugees becoming involved in the heroin

trade, is the link of a familial and native society now being established along the primary heroin trafficking route into Europe. Most of the heroin used in Europe arrives from Afghanistan and follows one of two primary routes, the Balkan Route through the Islamic Republic of Iran, Turkey, and into South Eastern Europe, through Central Europe, and into the West, and the Northern Route via Central Asia and the Russian Federation. However, despite some movement of the drugs through the Northern Route to avoid the war, the United Nations Drug Report (2017) notes:

Seizure data suggest that the world's largest opiate-related trafficking activities continue to take place along the Balkan route. Overall, 37 per cent of the global quantity of heroin and morphine seized were reported by countries heavily affected by the trafficking of Afghan opiates along the Balkan route in 2015, or 43 per cent of seizures made in West and Central Europe are included (most of the quantities seized in that sub-region are related to trafficking via the Balkan route) (Booklet 3, p 17).

The Balkan Route goes directly through Turkey, passing its neighboring country of Syria, and even small portions of the Balkan Route pass through Syria. In the past, the extent of the war likely destabilized heroin trafficking in Syria. However, the Asia Times reports that the New Silk road will likely go through Syria (a Shanghai-Latakia route); an initiative based on the pre-existing "One Belt and One Road Initiative" promoted by China (Escobar, 2017). Where high trade traffic exists, it is easy to hide contraband among all the legal products; to inspect every piece of cargo is impossible, and quite often, very little cargo is inspected to prevent significant interruptions in the shipping process. This is bad news, particularly when correlated with reports that the Islamic State (IS) may have already gained from revenues of heroin traffic transiting their territory (Watkinson, 2015). Drug trafficking is not new to IS, who is known for fueling their soldiers with amphetamines. Understanding the existing networks becomes important for several reasons. For one, as the wars end, there will be lots of young Syrian men looking for employment. Pre-established trafficking networks already operate in Syria via the amphetamine trade, and it will take time for other economic opportunities to return to a war-torn Syria. The trafficking of Captagon, the amphetamine used by IS (AKA "the jihadists' drug"), existed in Syria well before the war. The war only expanded the drug trade, and helped develop a strong, existing source of income with experienced traffickers (The Global Initiative against Transnational Organized Crime, 2016, p 29).

One study found that drug trafficking entities typically establish bases of operations and drug trafficking routes through familial societies of their own ethnic, cultural and language base, be-

cause it is much easier to establish networks and maintain a low profile (Davids, 2001, p 8). Operating in an area of domestic familiarization provides both the ability to remain discreet, and the possibility of staying with family or friends from the old country. The person providing a temporary home for a trafficker, even in a foreign country, might be unaware of the trafficking situation at hand, or begrudgingly assist because of no or little employment options. In the case of the Syrian refugees, traffickers would have an exceptionally vulnerable population, some of whom may be family and friends separated and scattered all over Europe. Combine this with the already established heroin routes and abuse in Europe, and the conditions are plausible for refugees to be integrated into drug trafficking operations, or to eventually lead their own drug trafficking organizations (DTOs).

None of this is to say that drug abuse or trafficking among the Syrian refugees is inevitable, but that it is highly plausible based on the conditions and environment. The large majority of Syrians who became refugees presumably had no desire to use or traffic drugs at any point in their previous lives, and it's likely they are not yearning to start now. Furthermore, they have religious morals which would drive many away from any such desire. However, the Syrian refugees were pushed from their homes in the most brutal and violent manner. Refugees from El Salvador, Guatemala, and Nicaragua likely had no desire or intent to come to America and form the brutal MS-13 gangs. When they started their gangs to protect themselves from gang violence in the Los Angeles area, these Central American refugees simply had the war experiences and trauma to make them more violent and brutal. The changes of life as a refugee can obviously change a person. While many strive to return to normal lives, many are simply fighting to survive, and that could push any person to extremes.

Practically speaking, Syrian refugees could not just jump into trafficking heroin without the risk of reprisal. There are powerful DTOs from Italian, Albanian, Montenegrin, Turkish, Russian, Ukrainian, Serbian, and other criminal syndicates already involved in drug trafficking. These organizations are not going to sit idly by and watch their profits go to a handful of refugees. However, the current DTOs might find the refugee population vulnerable from their economic situation and trauma, and thus leverage their networks for low level trafficking and distribution. Once involved, however, the door is open for Syrian trafficking to develop and expand operations based on their pre-established contacts across the Balkan route into Europe. Such expansion would allow Syrian DTOs to either partner with the current DTOs, or try to take over territories and drug routes, resulting in more violence.

Intervention Options

While this scenario is plausible, it is not automatic, and is avoidable with informed intervention that involves understanding the values of both refugees and European citizens. The refugees want a normal life, which would include mental health support. The ability to get refugees out of camps and into a legitimate job market can help provide the stability and control of their own destiny. This is difficult considering Europeans residents are migrating on their own continent for jobs, and now may find themselves on a long waiting list behind refugees. The current situation is overwhelming for any organization or governmental agency attempting to find jobs for all. United Nations agencies and NGO partners created the Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan (3RP) to assist Syrian refugees in Turkey and locations outside Europe. Unfortunately, as of April 4, 2017, only 9% of the funding of the \$4.63 billion required is available (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees & United Nations Development Programme, April 4).

Additionally, refugees must feel safe in society, and offering simple respect towards their culture can pay huge dividends in terms of integration and social stability. Being bullied or chastised because of a hijab, an Arabic name, or other xenophobic reaction alienates the refugees from society. Labels such as "all Muslims are terrorist", or blaming an entire population for the actions of a few individuals who commit terrorist acts in the west, only makes both sides more paranoid. Respect begets respect.

Reciprocally, the refugees must accept that they are in a different culture now, with different norms and laws. Human values are basically the same; justice and human rights. However, cultures have differences, and understanding and respecting the norms and laws of western culture are important if they want to be integrated and accepted. Women are treated significantly different in the west, a matter which gained public attention as a sore point in the west. Muslim men need to understand their interaction with western women will be different than in their previous society. New Syrian inhabitants in Europe must also become their own first line of defense. No one knows better what goes on in one's community than those living in it, thus they become the most apt at being the guardians of themselves. If the new Syrian inhabitants see drug use, drug trafficking, or other criminal activities taking root, they must be the first to eliminate it.

Change is constant. How society reacts to change, indicates how well it will survive the change. Waiting to see if a drug problem commences, will hinder attempts to police it afterwards. Drug

problems need immediate policing before the problem gets rooted in society. To aggravate the issue, should the trafficking of heroin evolve among the Syrian refugee population, it is likely an amphetamine problem will follow. Drug traffickers are savvy capitalists, and are usually involved in more than one type of crime (UNODC, Booklet 1, 2017, 21). They know that markets are diverse and expandable. Most trafficking organizations seek to make money on the black market by selling drugs, guns, and people. Therefore, it is likely the amphetamine networks already operating in Syria would follow the heroin chain into Europe, or even operate independent of the heroin problem. There is significant evidence that indicates vulnerable refugees could turn to criminal activities, such as trafficking in illicit drugs, as the transit routes and markets are already well-established in their areas.

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The Challenges to United Nations Peacekeeping Operations

by LTC Akikazu Shibasaki

UN Secretary-General Guterres' Comments during the UN Peacekeepers Ceremonies

The United Nations (UN) held a ceremony for the International Day of the UN Peacekeepers on May 29, 2018, which included presentation of the Dag Hammarskjöld Medals, which are posthumous awards given by the United Nations to military personnel, police, or civilians who lost their lives while serving in a UN peacekeeping operation. During this ceremony, Mr. Antonio Guterres, the UN Secretary-General, made a few short remarks. In these comments, Mr. Guterres addressed changes in the culture of UN troop and police-contributing countries (T/PCC) to renew their mindset. This article will briefly explain these challenges to UN peacekeeping operations. In the end, the article will touch on the ceremony for UN Peacekeepers held at the U.S. Army War College (USAWC) on May 30.

Mr. Guterres participated in the ceremony on May 29 in Mali, where the UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA) is currently deployed. Mr. Guterres mentioned the UN's commitment to make operations safer and more effective, while reinforcing the deploying force's role of promoting human rights and addressing sexual exploitation and abuse.¹

The UN held the Dag Hammarskjöld Medal Awards ceremony on June 1 in the Headquarters of the United Nations in New York City. During the event, Mr. Guterres said the UN would work on making "peacekeeping stronger, safer and more effective, through the Action for Peacekeeping initiative launched this year." While he mentioned his and the UN's commitment, he made an appeal for peacekeepers to be "well-trained, well-prepared, well-equipped, well-supported, and at the same time with the right mindset to face the extremely challenging environments in which they operate today."²

Challenges of the UN Peacekeeping Missions

Making UN peacekeeping missions stronger, safer and more effective, as Mr. Guterres mentioned in both ceremonies, is an immediate challenge for the UN. UN peacekeeping missions are becoming more dangerous every year. According to UN data



Secretary-General António Guterres makes remarks during a wreath-laying ceremony honouring fallen peacekeepers in observance of the International Day of United Nations Peacekeepers (29 May). UN Photo #764045

as of the end of June 2018, 1,001 peacekeepers have lost their lives due to malicious acts since the beginning of UN peace operations in 1948. Since 2013, more than 30 fatalities have occurred every year. Notably, the figure for 2017 was 61, which was the second highest since 1993 when it peaked at 127 fatalities. The UN launched the Action for Peacekeeping initiative to address the growing number of fallen peacekeepers. In the first phase of the project, the independent research team headed by LTG (Retired) Carlos Alberto dos Santos Cruz produced the Cruz report that provided several recommendations at the end of 2017. The UN will implement recommendations as part of the second phase of the initiative.³

The biggest problem that LTG (Ret) Cruz pointed out was that the UN and T/PCCs need to change their mindsets, such that peacekeepers will face a difficult situation in modern peacekeeping missions. Cease-fire monitoring has been the primary activity of UN peacekeeping mission since its inception in 1948. In 2003, I participated in the UN Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) that is deployed along the Israeli-Syrian border disengagement area. UNDOF is a classic peacekeeping mission based on Chapter VI of the United Nations Charter to maintain peace between two countries. However, recent UN

peace operations are gaining in complexity, such as civil wars, and domestic and international conflicts. Most of the modern missions after 2000 have broad mandates to recover and rebuild the functions of a country. These mandates require the military components to function in support of various tasks other than cease-fire monitoring, such as maintaining and recovering security capabilities, eliminating perpetrators, and supporting disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration. But many of the T/PCCs and the UN are not able to perform these functions. The Cruz Report calls this the Chapter VI Syndrome,⁴ and asks both elements to change their traditional mindset for such missions.

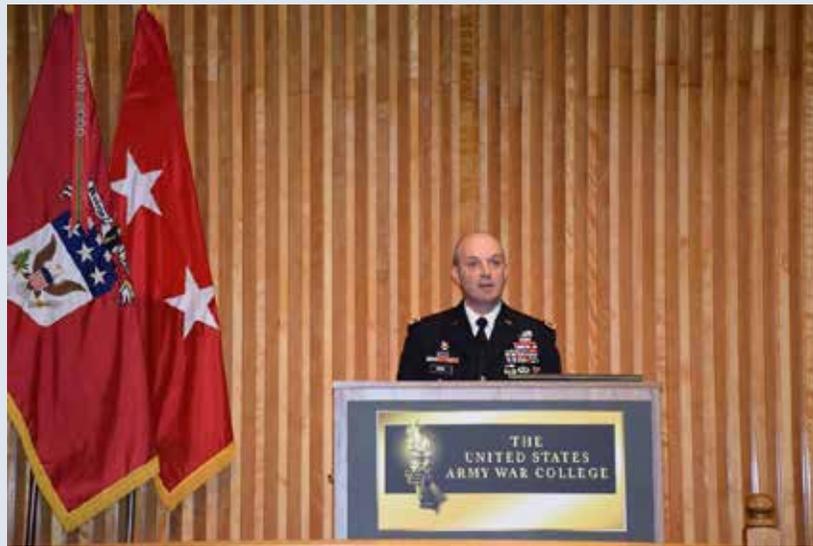
The report also points out the deficiencies in the capabilities of deploying units. More precisely, T/PCCs do not meet UN operational requirements. In addition to this, the report poses questions about the operational cooperation between contingents, the information activities, the use of technology, and the inconsistent medical posture between contingents.⁵

The Cruz Report also mentions the critical problem of accountability for the UN as it requests soldiers from member state and T/PCCs. LTG Cruz, who provided the keynote speech in the general meeting of the Association of the Asia Pacific Peace Operations Training Centers in May 2018, repeatedly told the audience that T/PCCs must provide thorough training to peacekeepers prior to mission deployment. The comment by Mr. Guterres that the UN needs well-trained, well-prepared, well-equipped, and well-supported peacekeepers means that the UN must be accountable to the T/PCCs to ensure the appropriate training requirement are provided to the units, and the T/PCCs must be responsible for the quality assurance of their troops. Requesting the dispatch of the soldiers and ensuring the accepted units are adequately trained is indispensable for UN peacekeeping mission success.

In this way, the challenges to UN peacekeeping operations are not only incumbent upon the UN. It is imperative for the UN, as well as the T/PCCs, to change their culture and operational capabilities standards to incorporate the new mindset into their organizations.

The United States and the UN Peacekeeping

As of July 31, 2018, the United States military has 53 personnel participating in UN missions, although they are not unit-base deployments.⁶ Stabilizing struggling countries in Africa is an essential issue that directly links to the security of the US. UN peacekeeping operations matter to the US, and although the US does not provide military units to UN operations, the US is one



United States Army War College Commandant Major General John Kem provides the opening remarks at the International Day of United Nations Peacekeepers held in Bliss Hall at Carlisle Barracks on 31 May 2018.

of the permanent members of the UN Security Council that has a decisive influence on peacekeeping missions, and it still is the most prominent financial contributor to missions.⁷ It is an inherent privilege and responsibility for the US to ask the UN to fix the problems of safety and the effectiveness of the UN peace operations, including budgetary aspects.

The Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute (PKSOI) plays a significant role for the US government in formulating peacekeeping reform suggestions and collaborating with the army service component commands, sister services, and the Departments of Defense and State in providing expertise to implement partner nation's capacity building projects.

The ceremony for the International Day of Peacekeepers at the US Army War College

MG John Kem, the commandant of the US Army War College, Ms. Margee Ensign, the President of Dickinson College, and War College senior leaders attended the USAWC ceremony for UN Peacekeepers Day on May 31, 2018. This annual event held at the end of May is a tradition at the USAWC. The UN Peacekeepers Day ceremony celebrates the International Fellows, who have participated in UN missions. UN peace operations are not uncommon to the international community. The biographic sketch of the AY2018 International Fellows indicates that almost 50% have some experience working in UN missions. After the remark of MG Kem and COL Michael Rauhut, the director of PKSOI, Brig. Gen. Abu Noman Md Shibir Ahmed from Bangladesh and Lt. Col. Yakhya Diop

from Senegal commented about their own UN experience. At the end of the ceremony, Col. Todd Ashurst from Australia rang the bell three times to celebrate the peacekeepers of the past, present, and future. The photo below depicts the International Fellows at the U.S. Army War College, who previously participated in UN missions at the International Day of United Nations Peacekeepers

About the Author: LTC Akikazu Shibasaki is a Japanese exchange officer to PKSOI. After his commission in 1994 as a field artillery officer, he has experienced in various positions of international affairs in the Japanese Ground Self Defense Force. In addition to the domestic assignments, he participated in the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force in 2003 as a deputy contingent commander of a Japanese deployment. Before his assignment to PKSOI, he was a Japanese LNO to the US Army Combined Arms Center in Fort Leavenworth, KS. In PKSOI, he works as a peace operations analyst in Peace Operations Division.

Notes:

¹ United Nations. Secretary-General's Message for 2018. Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/en/events/peacekeepersday/sgmessage.shtml>

² Ibid.

³ The Improving Security Peacekeeping Project (2017). Improving Security of United Nations Peacekeepers: We need to change the way we are doing business. United Nations, p.1. Retrieved from https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/improving_security_of_united_nations_peacekeepers_report.pdf.

⁴ Ibid, p.10

⁵ Ibid, p.13

⁶ <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/troop-and-police-contributors>

⁷ <https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/03/29/us-will-only-pay-25-percent-of-un-peacekeeping-from-now-on-haley-says/>





UN Peacekeeping: The Chicken or the Tiger?

by Dwight Raymond

An image circumnavigating the internet depicts a chicken fleeing for its life from a rampaging tiger. Forced to choose, most would prefer to be the tiger, although in some instances we might identify more closely with the chicken. Metaphorically, when the United Nations elects to establish a peacekeeping mission in a fragile state, one would hope that the tiger would symbolize the collective weight of the international community and be up to the challenge. Too often, though, the most that can be said is that—bad as things might be with a peacekeeping mission present—things would be far worse if the mission were absent. Like the bird in the picture, peacekeeping missions are typically overwhelmed by their complex environments, rather than the other way around.

There have been many notable calls for improvement in UN peacekeeping. The most significant of these are the Brahimi Report, the New Horizons for Peacekeeping, and three more recent efforts: the High Level Independent Panel for Peace Operations (HIPPO) report, the Cruz Report, and the Secretary's current Action for Peacekeeping initiative (A4P). These studies have advocated improvement in numerous areas including mandates, bureaucratic efficiency, training, doctrine, the protection of civilians, leadership, technology, and conduct (especially related to sexual exploitation and abuse—SEA).

The HIPPO report called for four essential shifts:

- Politics must drive design and implementation of peace operations.
- The full spectrum of UN peace operations must be used more flexibly to respond to changing needs on the ground.
- Stronger, more inclusive peace and security partnerships are needed.
- The UN Secretariat must become more field-focused, and UN peace operations must be more people-centered.

The recent Cruz Report argued that military components should be more assertive, because passivity only encourages spoilers to act against the UN mission. This observation applies both to the protection of UN assets, which are increasingly targeted, as well as to the protection of civilians. The Cruz Report advocated for many specific recommendations such as the decentralization of casualty evacuation and medical evacuation to



Which is the peacekeeping mission, which is the challenge?

give field commanders more control and make these procedures more responsive. The Secretary General's A4P initiative was launched on 28 March 2018 and is an emerging set of collective measures organized around the "four Ps" (people, politics, partnerships, and performance). While the initiative is still under development, it includes topics such as enhancing safety, security, performance and leadership; conduct, discipline, and human rights; and reviewing the state of UN missions.

Whether peacekeeping is an appropriate tool in today's conflict zones is a legitimate topic for debate. Contemporary missions often straddle the gray area between peacekeeping and other types of peace operations, especially "peace enforcement" and "peacebuilding." "Robust peacekeeping" generally applies to situations where a peacekeeping mission is likely to confront local armed combatants for self-protection or to protect civilians. UN peacekeeping missions increasingly include in their titles the terms "multidimensional" (military, civilian, and police components with more than a simple peacekeeping mandate), "integrated" (some formal connection, however limited, between the UN mission and the UN country team of humanitarian and development organizations) and "stabilization" (a generally vague term subject to interpretation).

Many aspects of UN peacekeeping have improved in the last two decades. Troop contributing countries (TCCs) tend to place more emphasis on deploying better prepared contingents, and the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations has produced a wealth of guidance and training materials to improve performance. However, much greater progress could be achieved; for example, training centers based on U.S. military institutions could provide more realistic training to UN components preparing for a mission.

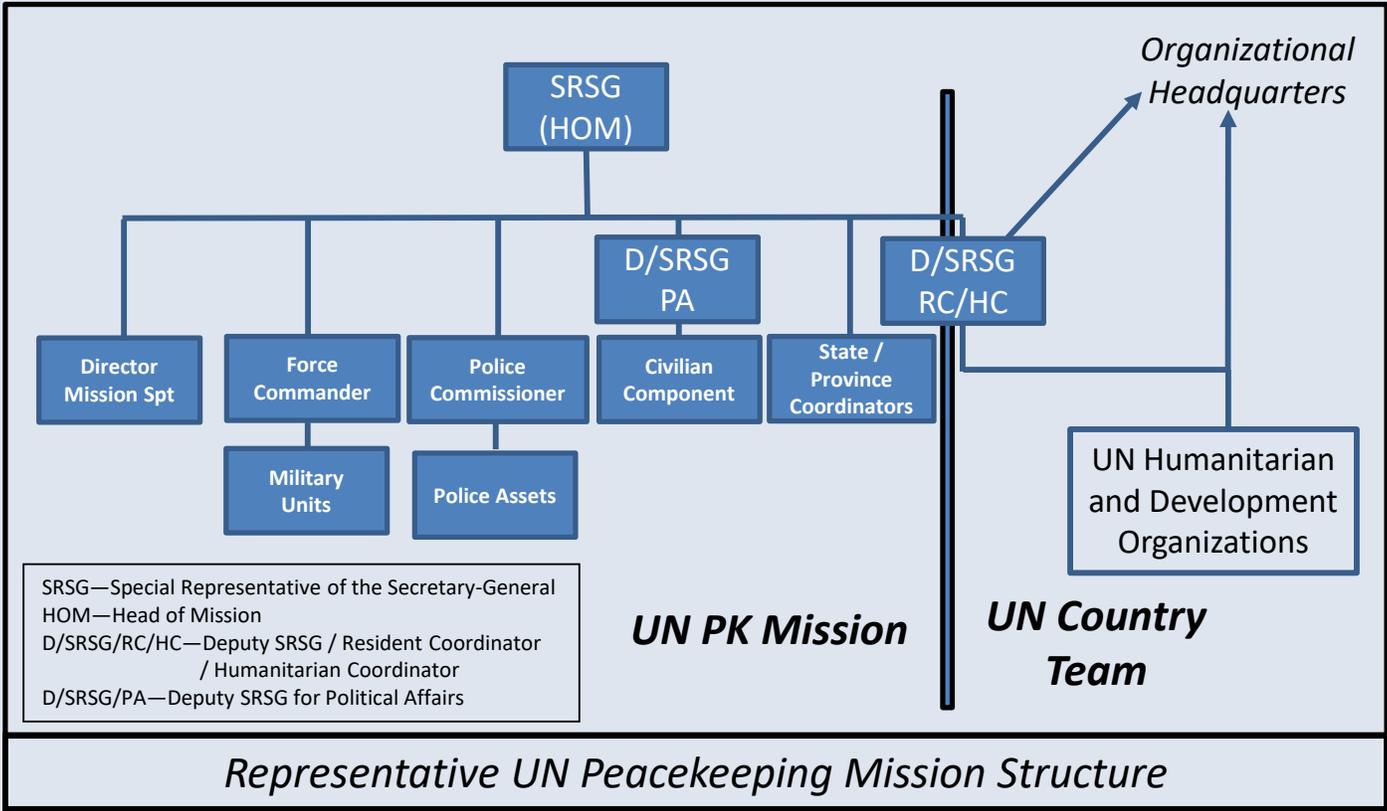
Two fundamental shifts in the strategic approach to peacekeeping should be explored so that missions are better able to dominate the complex circumstances they confront. These include the authorization of transitional authority missions (sometimes referred to as an executive mandate) and the complete integration of UN assets under the mission. Transitional authorities have been tried in the past with arguably better results than when they are not established. While some UN literature mentions the possibility of a completely integrated mission, like an executive mandate, it seldom seems to be taken seriously.

Transitional Authority Mandates

Under a transitional authority, the UN or perhaps some other entity, would be given governance authority and responsibility

until the host state develops the requisite capability. Past examples included transitional administrations in Cambodia, East Timor, and Kosovo. After World War II, Germany and Japan in effect had external transitional authorities for a period. Such a measure might be suitable in the aftermath of a major conflict, in case of a “failed state,” or perhaps when a new state is formed. In theory, a transitional authority would immediately bring a governance structure staffed with the requisite technical expertise, which is less susceptible to the power struggles, incompetence, and corruption that has plagued the governments of many countries where UN missions have operated.

An important aspect of such an approach is grooming host state government officials at the national, provincial, and local levels, to progressively transition governance functions from external actors to host nation officials. Conceivably, a transitional authority could be established in a troubled part of a country, rather than an entire state. For example, northern Mali might be a suitable candidate for such a solution. There are currently no UN missions with executive mandates; the nearest approximation is the UN mission in the Central African Republic, which is mandated “urgent temporary measures” to arrest in some cases. These measures arguably are not very temporary (five years in existence) and fall far short of the authorities and responsibilities that accompany an executive mandate.



Fully Integrated Missions

A second radical strategic shift would be to alter the typical arrangement of UN organizations in a host state. Usually, the Head of Mission is the Special Representative of the Secretary General (SRSG), while the UN's humanitarian and development organizations that comprise the UN country team (UNCT) fall under the Resident Coordinator/Humanitarian Coordinator (HC/RC), as shown in the figure on page 38. The UNCT is not subordinate to the peacekeeping mission, although the HC/RC often wears another hat as one of the two Deputy SRSGs in the mission. While this arrangement is common practice in an "integrated" mission, the Deputy SRSG (HC/RC) has limited practical ability to fuse the peacekeeping mission and the UNCT.

An alternate structure, used in many special political missions, is to place all UN assets under a single Executive Representative to the Secretary General (ERSG). This would provide better "delivery as one" (or "unity of effort") and allow flexibility when circumstances require a change in priorities, such as from establishing security to peacebuilding, and the execution of sequenced mandates. Military and police components would likely better accomplish mandated peacebuilding tasks (such as "support" security sector reform or "support" humanitarian assistance) when the Head of Mission (the ERSG) has actual responsibility for these efforts.

Neither transitional authority mandates, nor the idea of a completely integrated mission garner much support in UN circles. They are contrary to the UN's normal way of doing business and would incur a responsibility burden that, frankly, no one wants to assume from the host state. However, they would be more appropriate in failed states, when a UN mission must accomplish a shifting combination of peacekeeping, peacebuilding, peace enforcement, peacemaking, and conflict prevention. It is hard to see how these measures would be inferior to the current situation in which peacekeeping missions are in danger of being devoured by their challenges, like the prey in the opening picture.



About the Author: Dwight Raymond joined PKSOI in July 2009 after retiring from the Army as an Infantry Colonel. His military assignments included infantry leadership, command, and staff positions; faculty positions at the United States Military Academy and the US Army War College, theater-level plans positions, and training and advisory assignments at the National Training Center and in Iraq as a Brigade Military Transition Team (MiTT) Chief. His awards include the Defense Superior Service Medal, Legion of Merit, Bronze Star Medal, and Combat Infantryman's Badge. Dwight has a Bachelors Degree from the United States Military Academy and Masters Degrees from the University of Maryland, the US Army School of Advanced Military Studies, and the United States Army War College.

Notes:

- ¹ Carlos Alberto dos Santos Cruz and William R. Phillips. Report on Enhancing the Safety and Security of Peacekeepers (New York: The United Nations, December 2017).
- ² High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations, Uniting Our Strengths for Peace—Politics, Partnership and People (New York: The United Nations, 16 June 2015), 11-14.
- ³ Antonio Guterres, Summary of Initiatives Undertaken by the Secretariat to Strengthen United Nations Peacekeeping (New York: The United Nations, 28 March 2018).
- ⁴ See Aditi Gorur, Defining the Boundaries of UN Stabilization Missions (Washington, D.C.: The Stimson Center, December 2016) for discussion of different interpretations of "stabilization" in the context of UN peacekeeping.
- ⁵ See Integrated Assessment and Planning Handbook (New York: The United Nations, December 2013), 38-39.



The Women in Blue Helmets: Gender, Policing, and the UN's First All-Female Peacekeeping Unit

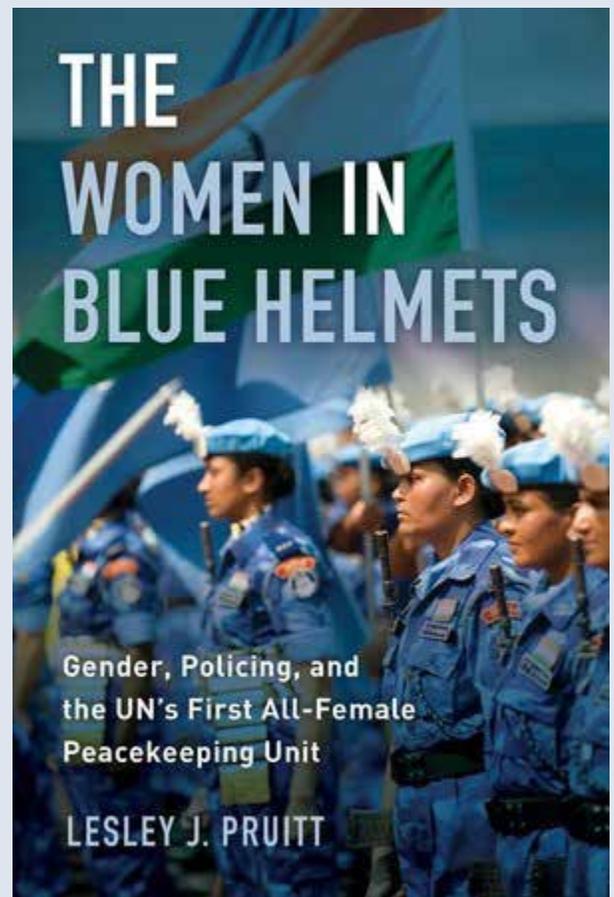
by Dr. Karen Finkenbinder

Lesley J. Pruitt's *The Women in Blue Helmets: Gender, Policing, and the UN's First All-Female Peacekeeping Unit* seminal book is worth reading. It is the story of the female Indian Police Battalion that arrived in Liberia in January 2007. These 105 women peacekeepers and their handful of male support staff, were from India's Central Reserve Police, a paramilitary police organization.¹

The author collected supporting data from UN documents, public discourse, global media outlet, a series of semi-structured interviews with current and former officials that were involved in implementing the Female Formed Police Unit (FFPU) and interviews of Liberians by her research assistant in Monrovia.

If you are looking for performance measurements and best practices for Formed Police Units, you will be disappointed. The author is clear that she did not attempt to measure the FFPU's performance against their male colleagues.² Rather, she was more interested in how FFPU's and "similar practices further gender equality, peace, and security and what difficulties they raise in society and for the direct participants."³ And she did that. Nonetheless, as the security community is interested in operational effectiveness, there is an opportunity for future researchers to more deeply explore what effectiveness means and to develop assessment tools that go beyond measuring simple outputs.

In **Chapter 1**, the author provides the global context for the development of the FFPU. The Formed Police Unit (FPU) is a paramilitary police force that has some military capabilities. As such, they are recruited and deployed as units from a member state – similarly to military units. They were first used in the Balkans and East Timor in the late 1990s and as they are "quicker to deploy, are better armed, and can operate independently, they are used for managing public order, protecting UN personnel, and assisting UN Police (UNPOL) and local police units in high risk situations."⁴ The author identifies the tension between women's rights advocates (include women in security because it is their right to be there) and operational effectiveness (women should be there because they make us more effective).



Chapter 2 does a superb job of describing the genesis of the FFPU concept. Police Advisor Mark Kroeker, from the United States, floated the idea with Kiran Bedi. As India's first officer in India's Police Service (IPS) and a former UN police advisor, she called India's home minister to encourage support.⁵ As others in the UN were trying to find ways to increase women's participation in peacekeeping, Kroeker and Bedi's awareness of All-Women Police Stations (AWPS) in India⁶ made an FFPU worth exploring.

Chapter 3 provides an overview of how the FFPU provided security. As noted by the author and other works, security is often "understood and enacted in a militarized and masculinist way" that generally focuses on crime control and apparent violence.⁷ But, this view fails to account for a feminist approach, best summed up by Tickner, in which she defined security as

“the absence of violence, whether it be military, economic, or sexual.”⁸ Most of us have a basic understanding of military and sexual violence, but economic violence? Tickner’s economic violence refers to “violence” encountered by women when they are unable to access funds and credit, are discriminated against by traditional inheritance and property laws, and barred from working (by male partners).

Because the FFPU used a broader definition of security – they were required to volunteer for a second shift to do “community building tasks,”⁹ a practice that seems patently unfair and risked burning out and negatively impacting FFPU members’ ability to do the expected FPU tasks. So, though the FFPUs had their traditional, military-like tasks to minimize crime and apparent violence – they attempted to tackle broader human security issues and creatively encouraged Liberian women to rebuild Liberia.¹⁰ In essence, the Indian FFPU conducted “problem-oriented” policing instead of “law enforcement alone.”¹¹ Another consideration was that peacekeepers have been, and sadly still are, sometimes the perpetrators of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV). Though all women in the FFPU may not have been the best at dealing with SGBV issues over some men, it was socially acceptable for them to do so.¹² But, as noted by FFPU commander – the emphasis should be on training – not just being a woman.¹³

Chapter 4 fleshes out the political economy, women, and peacekeeping. This chapter expands on Tickner’s observations that gender hierarchies impact women’s economic status and often disadvantage women and, as such, economic security is a key component of security and when it is lacking, people are insecure.¹⁴ Thus, such inequalities make women more vulnerable to violence and abuse – in any country. The presence of FFPU officers in Liberia not only enhanced their own personal economic status but motivated others to join the security sector.¹⁵

Chapter 5 is an enjoyable chapter – “Who’s Afraid of the Girls.” It is a robust discussion of gender mainstreaming and the fears of UN officials. The author found that her data raised many common gendered fears from men and women about what is “good” participation by women.¹⁶ She identified two camps – the first is what she describes as a stereotypical view that women should not even be in peacekeeping and the second is a “liberal-informed tendency to be suspicious of gender segregation in all forms.”¹⁷ The first camp is influenced by the traditional militarized and masculine history of peacekeeping. The second is informed by feminist theory that tries to break down traditional roles for men and women and resulted in UNSCR 1325 that asks member states to mainstream gender in their contributions to peacekeeping. In practice, this became the desire to

have gender balance resulting in gender equality; in actuality it has not been understood nor implemented (and UN staff have admitted it). This latter view impacted the UN staff view of FFPUs. Subsequently, there was and continues to be resistance toward all female units and a desire for integration.¹⁸ And, there seems to be bias toward women that they may not be well-trained to be in FPU – as if poor training was not an issue with men in FPU! However, the data found that the Liberians were very pleased with the professionalism of the FFPU.

Chapter 6 is a meaty chapter that discusses increasing women’s participation in peace and security. It discusses well-covered ground in the policing world that women have lower complaints of misconduct and improper use of force against them and tend to be better at persuasion and negotiation. It talks to the positive benefits that women police bring to making safer spaces for women and girls, their abilities to calm crowds, and increase reports of sexual violence. And, it covers the ground of the many reports on male peacekeepers that reflect abuse and assault of those they are supposed to protect. It concludes that women peacekeepers behave better and influence their male colleagues to behave better.¹⁹ But, for all the benefits, there are many obstacles to recruiting women and the author provides four challenges and barriers: 1) women, nationally, are less likely to join the security sector; 2) even if women are part of their national security service, they are less likely to join a peacekeeping contingent; 3) “Blue Tape”²⁰ within the UN system creates barriers for women candidates; and 4) once deployed, women face added challenges and expectations relative to the men.²¹

The last chapter presents the author’s conclusions that though the United Nations does not feel that FFPUs fit its long-term vision for gender equality, FFPUs could be an alternative, worthwhile temporary special measure. And that makes sense. As FFPUs can greatly increase the numbers of women in peacekeeping, parallel efforts could integrate women into mixed units and in positions on UN staffs, ordinarily occupied by men. But, as noted in the book, no matter who the peacekeeper is – performance is the key. And good performance is built upon a foundation of selecting the right people, training them in the right way, and supervising them appropriately. Whether peacekeepers are male or female – this approach must be the foundation. As noted in many other UN reports, poor performers must not be allowed to remain in mission, no matter who they are. And we cannot determine who those poor performers are without objective performance measurements. Such measurements need to consider security from the women’s perspective. Absence of visible crime and violence is not enough.



About the Author:

Karen Finkenbinder, Ph.D. is the Rule of Law, Justice and Reconciliation Advisor at the Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute (PKSOI), at the Army War College, in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, U.S.A. While at PKSOI, she teaches peacekeeping to senior military leaders, has served on many USG, bilateral and multilateral exercises, boards and workgroups as a peacekeeping and stabilization expert, and contributes to concept and policy development and operational projects. She serves as the U.S. expert for Community Policing to the United Nations and recently spent a year in Hanoi, Vietnam working with the Vietnam Ministry of National Defense Peacekeeping Center as the Professor of Peacekeeping. In addition to her federal experience at the Army War College, Dr. Finkenbinder teaches at Pennsylvania State University and Shippensburg University.

Dr. Finkenbinder's applied background includes a career in civilian policing as the Director of Training for a state law enforcement agency and as an Education and Training Specialist for the Pennsylvania State Police as well as at the local level, where she served several years as a municipal police officer leaving as a patrol sergeant to finish her doctorate. She has more than ten years as a police trainer for recruits and veteran officers at various police academies. She has often been called to testify or make presentations on criminal justice training, operations, policy and emergency management issues to the Legislature, courts, police executive organizations, and other bodies.

Notes:

¹ Pruitt, Lesley J. (2016). *The Women in Blue Helmets: Gender, Policing, and the UN's First All-Female Peacekeeping Unit*, University of California Press: Oakland, CA., 1.

² Ibid, 8.

³ Ibid, 8.

⁴ Ibid, 17; United Nations, Department of Peacekeeping Operations, Department of Field Support, Ref. 2016.10 (2017), *Formed Police Units in United Nations Peacekeeping Operations*, USG DPKO: New York.

⁵ Pruitt, Ibid, 40.

⁶ India has been one of the top peacekeeping contributing nations for many years and today it the 4th largest contributor with about 600 police and 6,000 military troops.

⁷ Pruitt, Ibid, 51.

⁸ Tickner, J. Ann (2014). *A Feminist Voyage through International Relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press as quoted in Pruitt, Ibid, 51.

⁹ Pruitt, Ibid, 52.

¹⁰ Pruitt, Ibid, 59.

¹¹ Law enforcement is one function of police – arrest. Problem-oriented policing attempts to get at the root cause(s) of crime and mitigate the cause(s). Doing it well requires understanding the culture and the context of the problem through a local lens. Intervenors often do not understand what the real issues are – this is one reason why community involvement is crucial to success. If intervenors do not understand the problem, their proposed solutions will likely fail.

¹² Pruitt, Ibid, 60.

¹³ Pruitt, Ibid, 62.

¹⁴ Pruitt, Ibid, 66.

¹⁵ Pruitt, Ibid, 71.

¹⁶ Pruitt, Ibid, 85.

¹⁷ Pruitt, Ibid, 85.

¹⁸ Pruitt, Ibid, 91.

¹⁹ Pruitt, Ibid 101.

²⁰ Blue tape are the bureaucratic requirements placed upon police in peacekeeping (usually time in service that fail to account for unique qualifications) and that recruitment and deployment strategies focus on independent men with no family responsibilities.

²¹ Some of the added challenges and expectations include absence of social support when deployed in mixed units as women are often few and far between and as such often internalize a more masculine approach. Women have reported having restricted duties in operations just because they are women. And some scholars are critical because it promotes the view that women must work with women and are not fully capable.

Women and the War on Boko Haram: Wives, Weapons, Witnesses

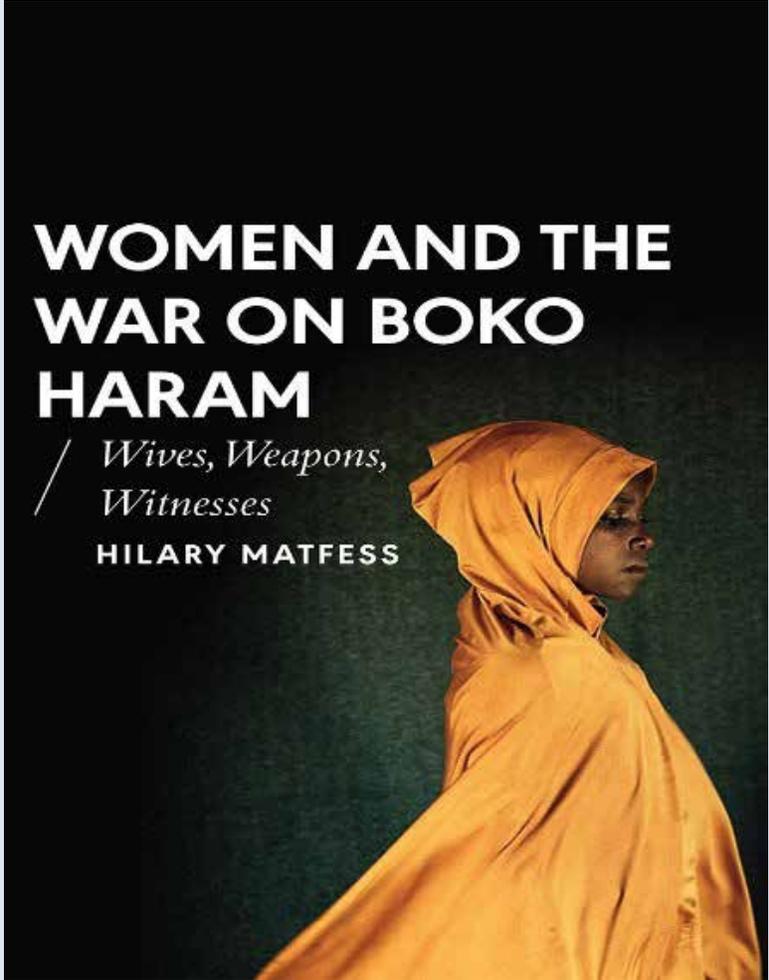
by Whitney Grespin



In her first book “Women and the War on Boko Haram: Wives, Weapons, Witnesses”, Hilary Matfess documents the origins, evolution, state, and future potential of Boko Haram, paying particular attention to the gender perspective through which women have been observers, participants, and mitigators to the conflict in Nigeria. A quote from an interview with Governor Kashim Shettima of Borno State, succinctly captures the comprehensive nature of the requirements to combat the group’s ideological and military advances: ‘If someone says there is a military solution only to Boko Haram, they are being economical with the truth.’

Matfess sets the scene for the book through her treatment of the roots of the group and the origins – and incentives – for its expansion. Her discussion of the sociopolitical environment that eventually grew to host Boko Haram solidly grounds the group in its local context. Matfess noted,¹ “Before sharia was officially implemented across the north, an estimated three in four cases were adjudicated by local courts, many of which were governed by customary laws that often included sharia.”² Instead of supplanting the corruption and patronage networks that dominated Nigeria’s political sphere, sharia merely provided another version of patrimonialism.³ The push for sharia was, in essence, a demand for more responsive governance.⁴ This fact - as well as that many of Boko Haram’s precursors held similar grievances against the inadequacies of existing local political and religious elites – is notable. This supports the assertion that desire for a consistent and reliable rule of law should be prioritized by those combating Boko Haram, and speaks to the importance of a whole-of-government approach to addressing the societal ills that allow for the sustainment of such groups as Boko Haram.

Matfess’s attention to in- and post-conflict gender fragilities is particularly relevant to the current interests of the USG regarding the application of the Women, Peace, and Security agenda. As March 2018’s Joint Publication 3-07.3 Peace Operations doctrine explains, “Women, peace, and security is an internationally recognized term that includes protective and participatory dimensions and addresses the disproportionate and unique impact of conflict on women. Sexual violence, and other gender-based violence, frequently occurs during conflict and in fragile societies. It is usually, but not always, directed against



WOMEN AND THE WAR ON BOKO HARAM

Wives, Weapons, Witnesses

HILARY MATFESS

women and girls... Gender issues also include women’s participation in a nation’s political, economic, and security sectors and institutions, as women are vital to establishing peace and maintaining future stability.”

Although addressing the victimization of women at the hands of Boko Haram, Matfess also focuses on women’s agency, roles, and options for self-determination in the group’s hierarchy once absorbed (willingly or otherwise) into the group structure. This recognition of the agency of women – whether in a small subgroup or society writ large – is critical, given that studies have demonstrated that advancing women’s status in society is one of the most effective ways of preventing a relapse into conflict.⁵

Further, Matfess’s field experience positioned her uniquely to explore avenues of inquiry on the ground, which would not

have been accessible through remote interviews alone. Her observation that humanitarian intervention outside a few urban pockets is next to impossible given the extent to which the insurgents still control territory and maintain the capacity to engage in raids and attacks, despite reported Nigerian state military gains,⁶ is insightful as “Protection here is a huge issue, because the insurgents kill, the soldiers kill, there is massive displacement [of the civilian population].”⁷ Matfess’s field work provides valuable insight into a largely non-permissive environment.

Matfess thoroughly treats a myriad of challenges to affected communities in Chapter 6, but chooses to view the future in a positive light given that, “The post-conflict environment presents not only an array of challenges, but also a valuable opportunity to lay the groundwork for gender equality through thoughtful, inclusive programming.”⁸ The concluding chapter continues, “Although the post-conflict era is not a tabula rasa in which history, cultural practices and political economies are erased, reforms made in this period can provide the foundation for more stable, less oppressive societies. Disarmament, demobilisation, and reintegration (DDR) programmes, legislative reform and transitional justice programmes provide valuable venues for these reforms to be implemented.”⁹ Truer words have not been written.

Overall, this book provides even-handed analysis of a breadth of issues, including a discussion on the merits of Boko Haram’s organization through the provision of social and educational services – even if the efforts are self-serving and propagandistic – thus allowing practitioners to understand the forces that must be equalized to disincentivize participation in similar groups. The further exploration of broader sociopolitical and economic factors that plague Internally Displaced Persons and analysis of continued marginalization, offers lessons valuable not only in Nigeria, but in complex environments worldwide.

About the Author:

Whitney Grespin is a contracted Peace Operations Analyst at PKSOI and a PhD candidate at King’s College London studying contingency contracting in complex operations. She also serves as a researcher and subject matter expert at the UK Centre for Military Ethics, and is a Lecturer at the George Washington University’s Elliott School of International Affairs. She can be reached at whitney.grespin@kcl.ac.uk.



Notes:

¹ Matfess 37

² Kendhammer, Brandon (2016) *Muslims Talking Politics: Framing Islam, Democracy, and Law in Northern Nigeria*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago.

³ Matfess 37

⁴ Kendhammer 2016

⁵ Matfess 186

⁶ Matfess 180

⁷ Interview with UNHCR field staff, Maiduguri, Borno State, June 2016.

⁸ Matfess 185

⁹ Matfess 201



PKSOI Information Sheet

Women, Peace, and Security



Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) is featured in the November 2017 U.S. National Security Strategy (NSS). The NSS calls for the empowerment of women to enable societies to reach their full potential, and recognizes that societies which empower women to participate fully in civic and economic life are more prosperous and peaceful. It stipulates support for advancement of women's equality, protecting the rights of women and girls, and promoting women's and youth empowerment programs.

The United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security in 2000. It affirms the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts, peace negotiations, peace-building, peacekeeping, humanitarian response, and post-conflict reconstruction and stresses the importance of equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security (UNSCR 1325, 2000).

Thereafter, U.S. Executive Order 13595 was signed in 2011 and directed the implementation of the plan throughout the federal government. Since then, the United States has become the first country to enact comprehensive WPS guidance into law with the passing of the 2017 WPS Act. The Act consists of three key areas. First, the "U.S. should be a global leader in promoting the participation of women in conflict prevention, management, resolution, and post-conflict relief and recovery efforts." Second, "the political participation and leadership of women in fragile environments, particularly during political transitions, is critical to sustaining democratic institutions." Finally, "the participation of women in conflict and conflict resolution helps promote more inclusive and democratic societies and is critical to country and regional stability."

Correspondingly, "the Department of Defense shall ensure that relevant personnel receive training in conflict prevention, peace processes, mitigation, resolution, and security initiatives addressing the importance of participation by women. It shall also include gender considerations and participation by women, including training regarding international human rights law and protecting civilians from violence, exploitation, and trafficking in persons (WPS Act of 2017).

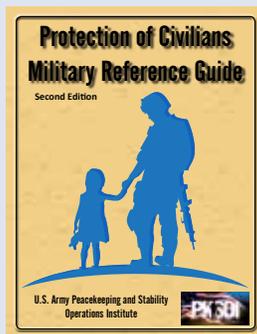
- ▶ Executive Order 13595 (December 2011)
- ▶ U.S. Army Techniques Publication (ATP) 3-07.6, Protection of Civilians (October 2015).
- ▶ U.S. National Action Plan (NAP) (June 2016)
- ▶ Joint Publication (JP 3-07) Stability (August 2016)
- ▶ Women Peace and Security Act of 2017
- ▶ PKSOI SOLLIMS Lessons Learned Sampler: “Operationalizing WPS” (November 2017), and “Women, Peace, and Security” (August 2014).
- ▶ Joint Publication (JP 3-07.3) Peace Operations (March 2018)

DoD IG WPS NAP



2013

PoC MIL Guide



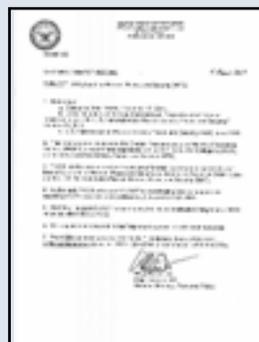
2015

CRSV Mitigation



2016

Army Lead Memo



2017

SOLLIMS



2017

JP 3-07.3



2018

WPS In The News

[Women Peacekeepers Converge In Rwanda To Tell Their Story](#) The “Women in Peacekeeping” panel, composed of female service members who have served on U.N. Peacekeeping missions, will participate in the discussion to inform the public of the importance of women in Peacekeeping Missions as peacekeepers. According to the U.N., while UN Security Council Resolution 1325, which called for female participation in the peace building process, was passed in 2000, as of 2014, women comprised only 3 percent of military personnel and 10 percent of police personnel engaged in UN Peacekeeping missions. “The number of women deployed in peacekeeping remains too low,” said Head of U.N. Peacekeeping.

[Female participation strengthens peacekeeping protection efforts](#) USARAF’s four Accord Series exercises build relevant training scenarios based on a U.N. mission for participants from troop-contributing nations participating in the exercises. PKSOI’s Lt Col Marci Hodge is supporting Shared Accord in Rwanda.

[First enlisted female Soldier to earn the Ranger tab](#) Staff Sergeant Amanda Kelley is the first female enlisted soldier to graduate from Ranger School, joining a small group of women to earn the coveted Ranger Tab. SSG Kelley of the 1st Armored Division became the 13th woman to successfully complete the grueling 62-day small-unit leadership course.

[Al-Shabaab’s Mata Hari Network](#) The co-option of sex workers as intelligence officers suggests that al-Shabaab is a rational actor willing to circumvent its highly public ideological stances when there is significant operational benefit to be gained. The network is further proof that al-Shabaab is one of the most tactically innovative militant groups operating today and prioritizes its intelligence capabilities.

[USEUCOM WPS and USAID: Partnership Going Forward](#) In June of 2018, representatives from the U.S. European Command and U.S. Agency for International Development partnered in support of the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) Act of 2017, to provide two-days of interactive training for staff from USAID, implementing partners, and the Government of Albania’s National Countering Violent Extremism Center.

[British Military steps up Women, Peace and Security efforts](#) The British Defence Secretary confirmed specialist Army trainers will travel to Africa to help tackle sexual violence after visiting Kenya, Somalia and Ethiopia.

[Number of Women and Children Who Joined ISIS Significantly Underestimated](#) Experts warned that the number of foreign women and minors who travelled to Syria and Iraq to join the Islamic State, has been significantly underestimated and could pose a particular security threat. According to a report from the International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation (ICSR) at King's College London, 4,761 (13%) of the 41,490 foreign citizens, who became affiliated with the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria between April 2013 and June 2018, were women. A further 4,640 (12%) were minors.

[Watch Afghan Special Forces' All-Female Platoon Train To Kick Butt And Take Names](#)

The members of the FTP come from the Ministry of Defense, Ministry of Interior and, in some cases, intensive recruiting from the local population, in search of women with the right skill set.

[Women Rise as Raqqa Rebuilds Without the World's Help](#) Local women and local security are reawakening the Syrian city, with few Americans in sight.

[The Holistic and Strategic Approach to Peace and Security: The Nexus between UN Security Council Resolution 1325, Gender Equality, and Culture](#) The delinking of Resolution 1325 from a holistic and strategic approach to peace and security efforts denies the nexus between its role in increasing women's meaningful participation in the defense and security sector generally, and in peace-keeping and other coalition operations specifically.





Training on Gender Perspectives within the U.S. Military

by Dr. Elizabeth Owens Lape

The Women, Peace and Security (WPS) Agenda, to include U.S. strategic guidance and U.N. Security Council Resolutions, has put the need to integrate gender perspectives into military institutions and operations at the forefront of discussions by the military gender community of experts, practitioners and military personnel.

The 2011 and 2016 U.S. National Action plans both stated that DOD needed to “Ensure all relevant U.S. personnel and contractors receive appropriate training on Women, Peace, and Security issues, including instruction on the value of inclusive participation in conflict prevention, peace processes, and security initiatives, international human rights law and international humanitarian law, protection of civilians, prevention of Sexual and Gender-Based Violence (SGBV), prevention of sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA), and combat-ing trafficking in persons (TIP).”¹ Seven of the UN Security Council Resolutions on WPS also state the need for training. The twin challenges of developing new curricula and teaching materials on gender and on WPS, and integrating gender dimensions across all military education and training is a dilemma presented to trainers and educators.

This dilemma is not one only the U.S. faces, but is a concern of the WPS/gender community around the world. The Nordic Center for Gender in Military Operations (NCGM) was designated as the NATO Department Head for Gender Training in 2013. The Center delivers courses for Key Leaders, Commanding Officers, Gender Advisors and Gender Trainers. Since the courses are conducted in Sweden where only a few can attend each year, the SSR and Education and Development Working Groups of the Partnership for Peace Consortium of Defense Academies and Security Studies Institutes (PfPC) conducted a series of workshops on gender training and education. These activities demonstrated there is a need to strengthen both the capacity of educators to integrate gender in their work and the capacity of military gender experts to deliver educational content. Workshop participants expressed the need for more materials and resources to support the building of faculty and gender experts’ on the integration of gender in military education. The final product of the workshops was a handbook titled “Teaching Gender in the Military” published in 2016.²

Until recently, much of the training on gender within the U.S. military has been externally delivered and/or ad-hoc. There certainly has been a significant need to institutionalize and improve gender-related training and education within the U.S. military, but this is difficult to do without requirements or resources. With the passing of the WPS Act of 2017,³ the requirement for training within the strategy no longer makes it an option. The Act states “The Secretary of Defense shall ensure that relevant personnel receive training, as appropriate, in the following areas: (1) Training in conflict prevention, peace processes, mitigation, resolution, and security initiatives that specifically addresses the importance of meaningful participation by women. (2) Gender considerations and meaningful participation by women, including training regarding—(A) international human rights law and international humanitarian law, as relevant; and (B) protecting civilians from violence, exploitation, and trafficking in persons. (3) Effective strategies and best practices for ensuring meaningful participation by women.”⁴

The development of the curricula and teaching materials on gender and on WPS remains a challenge due to limited resources, but through fortunate circumstances of people in the right place at the right time, this effort is slowly coming to fruition. In addition to the Teaching Gender in the Military Handbook, the PfP Consortium was instrumental in the development of the first computer based online training course on Gender Awareness. This course titled “Improving Operational Effectiveness by Integrating Gender Perspective” was initially based only on the NATO Allied Command Transformation (ACT) Joint Advanced Distributed Learning (JADL) Management System. However, the course is now hosted on Joint Knowledge Online Office (JKO), allowing easier access for U.S. military personnel, any civilian with a common access card, foreign military members, and anyone else that could be sponsored by a government member. JKO recently updated this course making it more interactive for students. JKO also hosts the updated “Role of the Gender Advisor” course. The ability to access this course allows members being assigned this role an initial place to learn more about this position prior to attending an in-residence program.

Based upon attendance at and access to the in-residence course materials presented in the Australian Defence Force Gender



Representatives from U.S. European Commander's Women, Peace, and Security and the International Criminal Investigative Training Assistance Program, of the Department of Justice partnered this week to conduct an initial engagement with the police forces of Kosovo in order to identify areas of collaboration that will be mutually beneficial moving forward. This engagement was a continuation of the EUCOM Women, Peace and Security (WPS) office continued efforts to build solid interagency collaborations between EUCOM and its interagency partners when it comes to implementation of the WPS Act of 2017.

Advisor course, the INDOPACOM WPS point of contact, LTCOL Brad Smith, suggested developing a week long U.S. Operational Gender Course using the Australian course material along with the NATO NCGM Gender Advisor course material. With the permission of the ADF and NCGM, similar lessons in the respective courses were tailored to U.S. requirements. The pilot course was executed in June 2018 with 24 military and civilian students from INDOPACOM and other organizations, effectively doubling the number of trained Gender Advisors within the U.S. military. Overall, the course was well received as mentioned in the last PKSOI Peace Stability Journal, Volume 8; Issue 2 dated August 2018.⁵ This course was also mentioned in an article in Defense One titled "Mind the Gender Capability Gap"⁶ that drew the attention of Congressional Staffers, who were working possible appropriations to support the WPS program.

Feedback from the course participants was reviewed and collated, resulting in a predominantly positive report. In fact, several of the participants indicated they would have liked a longer course! Adjustments made to the schedule and timing of the lessons will ensure the next iteration will adequately cover the

requested material. Currently, SOUTHCOM plans to execute the next iteration of the course in December 2018. EUCOM and AFRICOM are planning to execute tailored version of the course in the spring of 2019. The Joint Staff, as the manager of the course, will assist the Combatant Commands (CCMD) in the execution of their version of the course. The Armed Services can execute this course for their service specific organizations as required, if not already trained as components of the CCMDs.

The CCMDs are conducting the prior training mentioned without dedicated resources. The in-residence course, online computer based training, and command orientation programs are meeting the initial requirements of the WPS Act. One can only imagine filling the gender capability gap with allocated resources dedicated to both personnel and training. This U.S. WPS/Gender perspectives training program is slowly but surely going in that direction.

About the Author:

Elizabeth Owens Lape, Ph.D. (CDR, USN (ret)) completed a 23 year career in the U.S. Navy after serving in a wide variety of shore management, training, and joint billets retiring as an Education & Training Subspecialist and as a Joint Specialty Officer. She graduated from the Purdue University NROTC program, received her Master's in Education from Old Dominion University, and her Doctorate in Higher Education Administration at Old Dominion University. As a Government Civilian, Dr. Lape (GS14) is currently serving as the Deputy of the Individual Training and Learning Branch for the Joint Staff J7 where she is responsible for Joint Course Certification, Blended Learning, Joint Staff Officer Fundamentals and Women, Peace and Security Training/Education.



Notes:

¹ 2011 and 2016 NAPs

² Teaching Gender to the Military: A Handbook

³ WPS Act

⁴ WPS Act

⁵ http://pksoi.armywarcollege.edu/default/assets/File/Peace_Stability_Journal_Volume8_Issue2_reduced.pdf

⁶ <https://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2018/07/gender-capability-gap/149477/>



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