CHAPTER TWO

The Military

The presence of foreign military forces is a unique feature of nation-building, distinguishing these operations from other forms of political or economic intervention. International military forces can separate contending parties, disarm and demobilize former combatants, substitute for or supplement local police, secure borders, deter external interference, and reform or create new indigenous military forces. Their primary objective should be to establish a secure environment in which people and goods can circulate freely, licit political and economic activity can take place free from intimidation, and external donors can bring financial resources and expertise to bear to promote political reform and economic growth. Most nation-building endeavors have been multinational. They have involved military coalitions formed for the purpose by an ad hoc group of nation-states, the United Nations, or regional organizations such as NATO or the African Union.

Key Challenges

Planning and Preparation. As a first step, the intervening authorities need to acquire sufficient information on potential security threats, the organizational structure of local security forces, and sociopolitical conditions within the country that may affect military operations. Key questions include the following: How many military and other security forces are necessary to establish law and order? How many of these should be international forces, and how many should be local forces? What should their primary tasks be? Much of this information will

need to be gathered for the combat phase in cases in which forced entry is believed necessary.

Public Security. Providing for public security is essential to gaining any population's cooperation. Only when the local population feels safer because of the presence of international forces will citizens likely collaborate with the intervening authorities. Even when an intervention is welcomed by the great majority of the local population, the intervening military forces must anticipate the emergence of criminal and extremist elements intent on preying on the population and frustrating the objectives of the intervening authorities. It is essential that political and military steps be taken *immediately* to deter, dissuade, or prevent these criminal and extremist elements from evolving into a source of organized and violent resistance. Failure to preempt the development of overt violent resistance can result in the transformation of the stability mission into a counterinsurgency campaign.

Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration. The disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) of former combatants are important priorities. DDR programs have been developed for tribal militias in Afghanistan, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front in El Salvador, the Resistencia Nacional Moçambicana in Mozambique, and the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia. These programs have met with mixed success. Militias often strongly resist disarming and demobilizing. The success of such programs hinges on the consent, support, and participation of local political and military leaders, including political representatives of the warring parties. Strong international forces can, to some extent, compensate for weak consent among the parties. But under any circumstances, significant attention needs to be given to providing the parties political and economic incentives to cooperate, as well as establishing a framework for international military oversight of the process.

Intelligence, Surveillance, and Reconnaissance. According to British Colonel C. E. Callwell, a military historian,

> It is a very important feature in the preparation for, and the carrying out of, small wars that the regular forces are often working

> very much in the dark. . . . What is known technically as "intelligence" is defective, and unavoidably so.[1]

Nation-building operations demand greater attention to civilian considerations—political, social, economic, and cultural factors in an area of operations—than do more conventional offensive and defensive operations. Military commanders must expand intelligence preparation beyond geographical and force capability considerations. Key missions are not just combating insurgent or criminal forces, but may be restoring basic services or encouraging public support. Cultural information is critical in gauging potential reactions to the operation, avoiding misunderstandings, and improving the operation's effectiveness. Changes in the behavior of the population may suggest a need to change tactics or strategy. Biographical information and leadership analysis help to improve understanding of adversaries, their methods of operation, and how they interact with their environment. Knowledge of the ethnic and religious factions in the area of operations and the historical background of the conflict is vital to mission success.

Civic Action. As Mao Tse-Tung argued, "The richest source of power to wage war lies in the masses of the people."[2] If spoilers are able to separate the population from the government and acquire its active support, they increase the likelihood of an insurgency. In the end, the exercise of political power depends on the tacit or explicit agreement of the population or, at worst, on its submissiveness.[3] Consequently, stability operations must seek to separate spoilers from their support base by helping indigenous governments provide security and essential services to the population. This often means that military forces become involved in civic action or small-scale reconstruction programs. These activities can include a wide variety of projects that range from helping

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1 C. E. Callwell, *Small Wars: Their Principles and Practice*, Wakefield, UK: EP Publishing Ltd., [1906], 1976, p. 43.

2 Mao Zedong, *Selected Military Writings of Mao Tse-Tung*, Peking, China: Foreign Languages Press, 1963, p. 260.

3 Roger Trinquier, *Modern Warfare: A French View of Counterinsurgency*, Daniel Lee, trans., New York: Praeger, 1964, p. 8; David Galula, *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice*, New York: Praeger, 1964, pp. 7–8.

the indigenous government offer basic health care to the local population to rebuilding schools, government buildings, and hospitals.

Security-Sector Reform. Existing military and police forces will almost certainly have to be rebuilt, in some cases from scratch. At the conclusion of any conflict, the number of soldiers will usually be in excess of the society's needs, while the number of police officers is likely to be in deficit. One will have to be decreased while the other is increased. Quality and control are at least as important as numbers in reconstituting state security forces. End-state goals need to be established to provide the society adequate numbers of police officers and military personnel to meet its security needs without overburdening its fiscal resources.

Best Practices

Planning and Preparation

Key components of advanced preparation include intelligence, command-and-control arrangements, education, and training. Several types of intelligence are needed for stability operations. The first concerns the country's current and potential security threats, including an analysis of the root causes of the conflict. These causes may be a result of economic conditions, interethnic disputes, or other factors. A second type of intelligence involves information on the organization of local military and police forces and of other armed combatants. Who are they? How are they organized? How effective have they been? How does the population perceive them? A third category of intelligence relates to social, political, and cultural conditions in the country. International military forces need to be sensitive to such issues as the role of women in the local society, the importance of tribal affinities, and religious practices.

Unity of command is as desirable in a stability operation as in war. Planners should attempt to maintain unit integrity to the extent possible. Most military forces train as units and are much better able to accomplish a mission when deployed as a unit. By deploying as an existing unit, forces are able to continue to operate under established

procedures, adapting these to the mission and situation as required. When personnel and elements are drawn from various units, they are less effective. It takes them more time to adjust to the requirements of the mission.

Political and other considerations often lead to divided command arrangements in stability operations. In Sierra Leone in 1999–2000, British forces operated independently in support of a UN military mission. In 2003 in the Democratic Republic of Congo, an EU force operated in support of, but independently from, a larger UN force. In Afghanistan, two separate coalitions operated in increasingly close proximity—one led by the United States and the other led by NATO. While such arrangements may maximize the capacity of national governments to control or circumscribe the activity of their troops, they increase the risk of losses through either fratricide or failure to render effective and timely support. The activities of these separate forces can be deconflicted, but only at the cost of additional command time and effort and with unnecessary friction.

The education of commissioned and noncommissioned officers is a key component of stability operations. Preparation requires different skills and a different mindset from major combat operations. Of particular importance is recognizing the need for popular support and designing a strategy that ensures public security and basic humanitarian needs for the population. Education for such operations should begin with basic leadership training and culminate at the senior service or academy level. Education on stability operations should ensure that leaders at all levels understand the objectives, principles, and characteristics of stability operations, and can plan and conduct these operations. Leader education should include discussions, lessons learned, and situational exercises, and should culminate with senior leaders performing in command or staff positions during stability operation exercises.

Training should ensure that individuals and units have the necessary skills for the mission and that the staffs can plan, control, and support the operation. Depending on the anticipated operation, predeployment training should include individual skills training; situational training exercises; field training exercises; combined arms live-fire exercises; mobility exercises; command post exercises; and simulation

exercises to train commanders, staff, and units. If there is sufficient time prior to actual deployment, predeployment training for units should culminate in a joint training exercise based on the anticipated operation. The unit tasked with the operation should participate in the exercise with the supporting units with which it normally deploys, and, if possible, with the next-higher headquarters for the actual operation. Once deployed, and if the situation allows, military skills training at the individual and unit levels should continue. Training following redeployment should again focus on the unit's missions. There may not always be time to train soldiers for a specific operation, but a well-prepared force can adapt to stability operations under the leadership of commissioned and noncommissioned officers in these operations.

Public Security

International interventions are invariably launched to deal with a *security gap* that has emerged: Either a civil war is under way, public order has broken down, or a regime is abusing its own citizens or threatening its neighbors. In general, in the immediate aftermath of civil or interstate wars, a period of anarchy ensues in which groups and factions seek to arm themselves for protection. Some may also have offensive intentions and want to impose their ideology on others, seize the property of rival factions, or exploit public resources for private gain.[4] Whatever the antecedent circumstances, the intervening military force will almost always need to provide some measure of public security, either because the indigenous security institutions have disintegrated or because they have been discredited as a result of abusive behavior. A key element in filling this security gap is to quickly vet and deploy indigenous security forces. Even minimally competent, vetted indigenous forces can be extremely beneficial in quickly establishing a minimal level of order. These forces speak the local language, are familiar

[4] Barry Posen, "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict," in Michael E. Brown, ed., *Ethnic Conflict and International Security*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993, pp. 103–124; Michael W. Doyle and Nicholas Sambanis, "International Peacebuilding: A Theoretical and Quantitative Analysis," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 94, No. 4, December 2000, pp. 779–802 [p. 780]; Roland Paris, *At War's End: Building Peace After Civil Conflict*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004, pp. 161–163.

with the culture, and may be more trusted than international forces by the local population. The use of local security forces brings with it attendant problems of potential human rights abuses and difficulties in separating out those found to be unsuitable for a reformed police force or military. Nevertheless, it is usually preferable to rely on flawed local security forces, provided these are closely monitored, than to cede the streets to criminals and political extremists. Only an exceptionally large and well-equipped external intervention force can expect to fully substitute for such local capacity.

If the intervening authorities do not move quickly to provide for public security, the resultant vacuum will be progressively filled by criminal and extremist elements. The longer such elements are left unchallenged, the more opportunity they have to organize, gain confidence, intimidate the population, cow any remaining local security forces, and present an enduring threat to the intervening authorities. As discussed in Chapter One, international interventions can profit from a "golden hour." This is an initial period during which the shock of their arrival, the relief at the end of conventional combat, and uncertainty about the future can help secure for the intervening authorities a high degree of local cooperation, a degree of cooperation that is likely to diminish over time. To the extent that international forces arrive quickly, in sufficient numbers, and with well-conceived plans for rapidly expanding public security, this "golden hour" can become the period during which the intervening powers' authority is consolidated, and that of local and transnational spoilers is marginalized.

The contrast between the international community's experience in Bosnia and Kosovo in the late 1990s is illustrative. In the former, local police remained responsible for public security while international military forces separated combatants and enforced disarmament and demobilization. In Kosovo, by contrast, the international community was compelled to assume responsibility for law enforcement from the first day of the intervention. In Kosovo, the international community deployed a much larger number of international police officers, but the society was still plagued by disorder and high levels of violent crime. On the other hand, Kosovo has probably come further than Bosnia in creating a professional, honest, multiethnic police force because it

could start from scratch. Thus, while the Kosovo approach may have its advantages, it is only feasible in relatively small societies in which the international community is ready to make a relatively large investment. Replicating the Kosovo approach in Iraq, for instance, with a population 12 times larger, would have required the deployment of 60,000 international civil police officers, a number far exceeding the total number of such police currently deployed worldwide.

Once military forces have been deployed to help fill the security gap, they conduct a range of operations: basic law enforcement, counternarcotics, counterterrorism, counterinsurgency, and miscellaneous functions such as securing elections. International forces engaged in stability operations may not have to conduct all of these tasks. But they will likely have to conduct many of them and may need to conduct all of them. Local security forces should be associated with such missions as soon as possible; leadership should be transferred to them as quickly as their capacity permits.

Intervening military forces should be prepared to conduct law enforcement operations and to support, reinstate, and establish civil authorities. Law enforcement operations should be designed to restore stability to the point at which indigenous forces and international police can effectively enforce the law and reinstate civilian authorities. Basic tasks include patrolling streets; guarding key public buildings, weapon depots, and other infrastructure such as oil facilities; and monitoring borders. Military forces may be given the authority to detain people suspected of criminal or unlawful actions. Interpreters and military police officers should be used when possible. Military forces may also be asked to capture war criminals.

Military forces should be prepared to counter drug traffickers and other organized criminal groups. Virtually all stability operations have faced serious problems with organized crime. In general, military forces may be asked to help detect, monitor, and counter the production, trafficking, and use of illegal drugs and other substances. They may also be asked to target the infrastructure—personnel, materiel, and distribution systems—of illicit entities. This may involve searching areas and apprehending personnel, confiscating contraband, or interdicting smuggling operations. Operations may be as simple as using check-

points to search personnel and vehicles, or may involve more complex missions such as cordon and search operations. Searches, apprehensions, and seizures must be legal and in compliance with the mandate or agreement worked out at the beginning of the operation.

Terrorism may pose a significant security challenge. Combating terrorism involves both offensive and defensive operations. Offensive actions usually involve strikes and raids against terrorists and their infrastructure. They are generally conducted by special operations forces that are organized and trained for this purpose. Defensive actions should aim to reduce the vulnerability of individuals and property to terrorist acts and should include response and containment by indigenous military forces. This usually involves improving the capabilities and resources of indigenous personnel in such areas as crisis management, airport security, terrorist financing, and border control. Military commanders are responsible for planning, resourcing, training, exercising, and executing counterterrorism measures.

Military forces may assist in holding elections. This may include providing administrative support and security at polling stations and voter registration centers, as well as creating an environment that permits refugees and internally displaced persons to vote. The integrity of elections is typically the responsibility of the election commission. But military commanders should work with the appropriate international and local agencies during elections to help ensure that integrity, especially since those who stand to lose power may use violence to destabilize or discredit elections.

Finally, demining has been important in establishing security during stability operations in such countries as Afghanistan, Cambodia, El Salvador, Mozambique, and Namibia. Antipersonnel landmines cause serious injuries to civilians, including blindness, burns, destroyed limbs, and shrapnel wounds. Most of these countries already had mine-clearing programs before their respective interventions. These were run by the UN or nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). In addition to supporting demining, normally a civil function, international military forces should provide education on mine awareness and train host-nation personnel to survey and mark minefields and to clear mines. Military specialists, such as explosive ordnance disposal

personnel, may be called on to destroy unexploded ordnance, such as shells and rockets.

Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration

Successful DDR of former combatants hinges on the consent, support, and participation of local political and military leaders. These include the political representatives of the state and warring parties, military commanders, and warlords. Strong international forces can, to some extent, compensate for weak consent among the parties. But only a voluntary process is likely to be very effective. Consequently, the intervening authorities need to pay attention to providing the parties political and economic incentives to cooperate, as well as arranging for the nuts and bolts of this process.

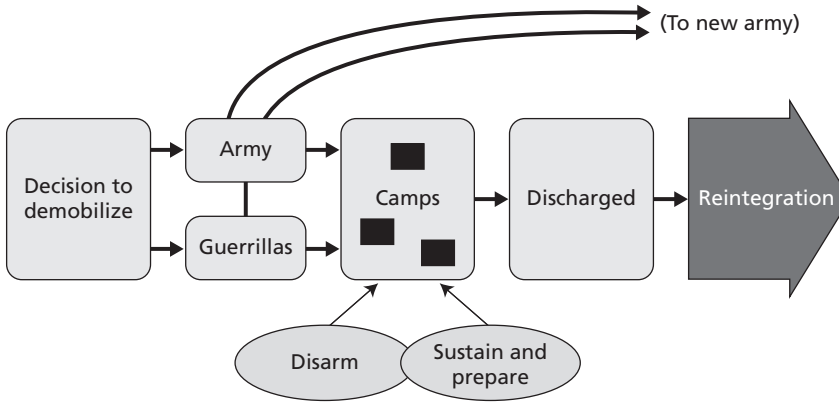
Under most disarmament programs, combatants hand over weapons to international or local authorities, who are responsible for their collection, safe storage, disposal, or destruction. Disarmament generally involves three steps: (1) a weapon survey; (2) weapon collection; and (3) weapon storage, reutilization, or destruction. A weapon survey is necessary to answer vital planning questions at an early stage: Approximately how many weapons are there? Who is expected to turn them in? Who controls weapons outside the armed forces? For weapon collection programs to be successful, advice and assistance from explosive ordnance disposal and ammunition specialists is needed. Weapon collection programs should minimize the risks of loss posed by the movement, management, and storage of collected arms. Programs may involve exchanging weapons for food, goods, or money. Those running the program need to create storage areas large enough to secure, store, inspect, and possibly destroy weapons and materiel. Space must be allocated to support a security force and administration capabilities, such as accounting for materiel stored, collected, transferred, or destroyed. The program needs to maintain logs accounting for personnel or units surrendering materiel. Security and accountability are critical. Disarmament may include seizing ammunition, collecting and destroying weapons and supplies, closing weapon and ammunition factories, and preventing resupply.

Demobilization entails disbanding a formerly armed unit or reducing the number of combatants in an armed group. It can also involve disassembling—and then reassembling—the host country's armed forces. Demobilization entails registering, counting, and monitoring combatants, and then preparing them for discharge (see Figure 2.1). The process of demobilization comprises different scenarios, from individual combatants flowing through temporary centers to the collection of soldiers in camps designated for this purpose. The dwelling time in the camps should be as short as possible and should lead to a direct transition to reintegration. If the capacities of the reintegration programs are insufficient, the implementation of these measures will be delayed. Until then, the combatants should remain in the camp. Some camps are dissolved years after demobilization, since they provide reliable maintenance and take care of the ex-combatants. International forces can play an important role in demobilization in several ways:

- Provide intelligence support and overall security during demobilization.
- Provide incentives for forming, arming, and training a competent new defense force under government control.
- Support information operations.
- Provide liaison coordination teams to local commanders as a confidence-building measure.

Reintegration is the process under which combatants reenter the civilian workforce. The objective of reintegration programs is to assist ex-combatants in their social and economic reintegration into civilian society so that they do not return to banditry or violence. Programs need to incorporate into their plans the community in which the ex-combatant will settle. Matching the skills and needs of the individual to the receiving community can mean the difference between an individual who becomes a productive member of a community and an ex-combatant who resorts to violence and crime. One of the first steps of reintegration programs should be to provide training; employment; shelter; and, where appropriate, land to ex-combatants. The demand for land cannot be addressed solely within a DDR program.

Figure 2.1
Demobilization Steps



SOURCE: Adapted from Colin Gleichman, Michael Odenwald, Kees Steenken, and Adrian Wilkinson, *Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration: A Practical Field and Classroom Guide*, Frankfurt, Germany: Druckerei Hassmuller Graphische Betriebe, 2004.

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Reintegration programs should be linked with existing programs for agricultural training and land distribution to facilitate access to land.

The military may not be the appropriate actor to lead reintegration efforts, which are probably better handled by civilians. However, military forces have nonetheless provided temporary jobs to former combatants. In the Balkans, for example, NATO forces employed ex-combatants for such short-term jobs as painting, repairing sidewalks, repairing roads, and picking up garbage. Over the long run, however, reintegration programs need to incorporate a training component, since many ex-combatants have few marketable skills. There will be considerable differences in the social and educational profiles of ex-combatants. Target groups can be differentiated on the basis of age, sex, marital status, formal qualifications, work experience, and education. Training should improve the chances for ex-combatants to find better-paying employment. Business training and small credits may be used to support those who want to set up their own businesses.

Employment creation schemes are seldom a productive use of donor resources following a conflict. The exception to this rule is for former combatants. Finding alternative sources of livelihood for these individuals is an important security concern and should be addressed accordingly. Based on past behavior, former combatants may well be the least deserving elements of society. However, they remain the most necessary to assist if renewed conflict is to be avoided. While long-term employment of former combatants should be the goal, this may not be realistic. The minimum objective should be to detach these individuals from their former associates long enough to prevent them from easily reassembling, rearming, and again posing a threat of renewed conflict.

An alternative to demobilization is to integrate some former combatants into new or reformed local security units. These units will require careful vetting and oversight. International authorities should be careful not to build new security forces larger than the country can afford to maintain over the longer term. In most cases, the host state will not have the resources to pay for and maintain its own security forces for several years following the intervention. If the intervening authorities also fail to do so, these new units will themselves become a source of insecurity and renewed conflict.

Critical to an effective DDR program is the process of registering the former combatants and providing each some source of livelihood while the process goes forward, either in the form of a stipend, in-kind payment, or alternative employment. Once the former combatants have been registered, and have had their immediate needs cared for, the process of deciding which are to be demobilized, which are to be reformed into new units and retrained, and which are to be offered alternative civil employment or vocational training can proceed at a more deliberate pace. One does not need to begin the process knowing exactly how many former combatants will be discharged and how many retained, as long as all the former combatants are rapidly identified and assured an interim source of livelihood while their longer-term prospects are determined.

Intelligence, Surveillance, and Reconnaissance

Stability operations require multidisciplined, all-source, fused intelligence. Human intelligence (HUMINT) is usually the most useful way to gather information in stability operations. Interpreters, low-level source operations, debriefs of indigenous personnel, screening operations, and patrolling are good sources for assessing the economic and health needs, military capabilities, and political intent of adversaries. Military commanders should emphasize to all personnel the importance of being conscious of sources of intelligence and should provide basic guidelines to improve their intelligence-gathering capabilities. Medical personnel must be aware of Geneva Convention restrictions against their collecting information of intelligence value except that which is observed incidentally while accomplishing their humanitarian duties.

However, a single-source approach cannot support all requirements. Manned and unmanned aerial intelligence sensors can provide valuable information when other means of collecting intelligence are not available. Remote sensing systems can provide information on terrain, weather, and other environmental factors. Data from space systems can be used to update antiquated maps and provide up-to-date locations of facilities and obstacles. Sensors on space and aerial platforms can also monitor terrestrial force movements and assist in treaty verification. Communication systems can provide secure, reliable dissemination of intelligence and other information where there are few or no existing civilian communication systems.

Counterintelligence should support operations even if no well-defined threat exists. Adversary HUMINT efforts focus on gaining access to international military personnel and operations information by providing services such as laundry, cooking, driving, and translating. Adversaries or spoilers may also attempt to exploit other members of the local populace who interact with international forces.

Surveillance and reconnaissance may be employed to determine the disposition, activities, and intentions of civilian populations (hostile and neutral) and uniformed or irregular threats. Reconnaissance for information collection and security should continue throughout the operation. Forces conducting domestic support operations must

know the legal limitations when acquiring information on civilians. In many instances, international organizations and nongovernmental humanitarian agencies have been in the area of operations long before international military forces. These organizations produce reports, have Web sites, and maintain databases. These organizations have often conducted surveys of minefields using global positioning system (GPS) data. International forces can access much of this information before deploying. Military commanders should communicate and coordinate with these organizations to become familiar with the cultures and sensitivities of the local population. This means establishing trust and good relations with international and nongovernmental organizations *before* an operation so they are willing to share information.

Civic Action

The nature of stability operations places military forces in direct contact with civilians, local and government officials, and NGOs. These relationships make humanitarian and civil-military operations critical to any stability operation. As noted previously, international and nongovernmental organizations—not military forces—should normally take the lead in providing humanitarian assistance. But military forces are often the first international personnel on the ground and have become increasingly involved in humanitarian operations. In addition to providing a security shield for early humanitarian relief and reconstruction activities, civil affairs units of the military can help provide health care, supply food and water to the population, deal with mines and hazardous materials, institute quarantine measures in the event of communicable disease outbreaks, guide the return of refugees, and perform emergency repairs of infrastructure. In Afghanistan, for example, military forces worked closely with civilian personnel in provincial reconstruction teams. Projects implemented by these teams included roads, water supply plants, irrigation systems, government administrative buildings, schools, health clinics, and micro–power-generation plants. Military forces need to include personnel with the language and background skills necessary to work effectively with a wide range of official and civilian actors in a dynamic, complex, and sometimes murky environment.

"Team Village" missions have been used effectively in some stability operations. *Team Village* refers to a group of personnel—usually a mix of civil affairs and psychological operations personnel—tasked with conducting civil-military operations within a larger campaign. Many include tactical HUMINT teams, interpreters, military police, media and public affairs personnel, medical personnel, and local forces. Health care operations can be particularly successful in winning support from the local population. International military forces may encounter lines of patients seeking treatment for everything from mild bumps and bruises to more serious injuries and illnesses. These can be treated from the back of the high-mobility multipurpose wheeled vehicles or in more secured compounds.

Security-Sector Reform

The military component of any mission usually contributes to the rebuilding of a local military, either by promoting the reform and professionalization of an existing military force or building a new military force. The military has also participated in efforts to rebuild the police in such countries as Iraq and Afghanistan, though it is usually preferable for the civil element of the mission to organize such training.

A first step in building or rebuilding a security unit is vetting those who are retained for past human rights abuses, corruption, and ability. Vetting is important in verifying that soldiers and police have not been involved in major human rights violations, are not corrupt, and have achieved at least a minimal level of competency. Individuals who successfully pass through the vetting process are likely to require retraining, new equipment, and a period during which international supervisors monitor their performance. Blanket exclusions on the basis of membership in political parties or other groups are not usually a good way of undertaking vetting. In Iraq, the decision to ban ranking Baath Party members from public-sector employment meant that large numbers of senior officers in the defense and interior ministries and security-related services were released from duty, not to mention thousands of schoolteachers and other mid-level functionaries. Some of these individuals were apolitical and had only become party members as a condition of employment. Vetting can be challenging: Interna-

tional and local military forces and personnel may be unable to accurately evaluate applicants because of the loss—or absence—of central government files and databases. International staff should be employed in these capacities until it is clear that indigenous personnel can execute these responsibilities effectively.

Training of indigenous forces should create skills necessary for effective operations and maintenance of equipment, assist in developing the expertise needed for effectively managing the defense establishment, and foster development of an indigenous training capability. Infantry training includes basic rifle marksmanship; platoon- and company-level tactics; use of heavy weapons; and engineering, scout, and medical skills.

There are three primary methods of training. The first includes mobile training teams, which are used when a host nation requires on-site training or needs surveys and assessments of training requirements. These teams may be single-service, joint, special operations forces, or conventional forces. But they must be tailored to the host country's needs. A second method involves technical assistance field teams deployed for extended periods to train host-nation personnel on equipment or in specific military skills. The third method includes international military education and training outside the host nation. This involves bringing local military personnel to other countries to attend training and education programs. Training abroad is often provided on an individual basis for more senior officers.

Equipment needs will vary by country. International military forces may assist host-nation militaries to design, implement, and integrate command, control, communications, and computer systems to counter likely security threats. Military commanders must consider sustainability issues when providing equipment, as well as interoperability with existing equipment. Host nations may request expensive equipment as a status symbol when improved training and professionalism among the existing force would enhance the overall strength of the military. Service support is usually integrated with equipment support. It includes any service, test, inspection, repair, training, publication, technical assistance, or other aid used to furnish military assistance. Many types of service teams exist. Quality assurance teams

inspect equipment to ensure that it remains mission-capable. Technical assistance teams respond when the host nation has difficulty with imported equipment.

Institutional development also requires building the capacity of ministries of defense to support the armed forces; building command, control, and coordination capabilities; improving management, personnel, and financial processes; reforming military legal codes; and transforming the armed forces' logistical tail. Institutional development in a postconflict state must be tackled within the wider context of public administration reform. Leadership training is a critical component. The aim should be to staff defense ministries with a significant number of civilians, as well as to tie the armed forces into the civil service by adopting budgeting and management practices similar to those in other parts of the government. Sustainability is a critical element of institutional development. In the immediate postconflict phase, external involvement is likely to be significant. However, reforms will be successful only if they are embraced by the host government, ministry of defense, and armed forces.

Key Actors

With few exceptions, most post–Cold War stability missions are conducted by multinational coalitions—sometimes under the command of a lead nation, sometimes under the control of an international institution. Ad hoc coalitions offer the lead nation maximum control, in exchange for which it must also bear most of the expense and risk. Coalitions overseen by international organizations spread the burden of expense and risk more widely, but also disperse responsibility for decisionmaking. Sometimes one type of coalition can give way to the other. For example, the United States led ad hoc coalitions into Somalia in 1991, into Haiti in 1994 and again in 2004, and into Afghanistan in 2001. The first three operations were quickly turned over to the United Nations, and the last is in the process of being turned over to NATO.

Operations requiring forced entry normally call for a coalition led by single major power capable of providing most of the command, control, and enabling forces. Most such coalitions are organized specifically for a particular operation, although NATO also meets this definition. In situations in which permissive entry and some level of acquiescence among the contending parties can be anticipated, the United Nations offers the best combination of competence, legitimacy, cost-effectiveness, and burden-sharing.

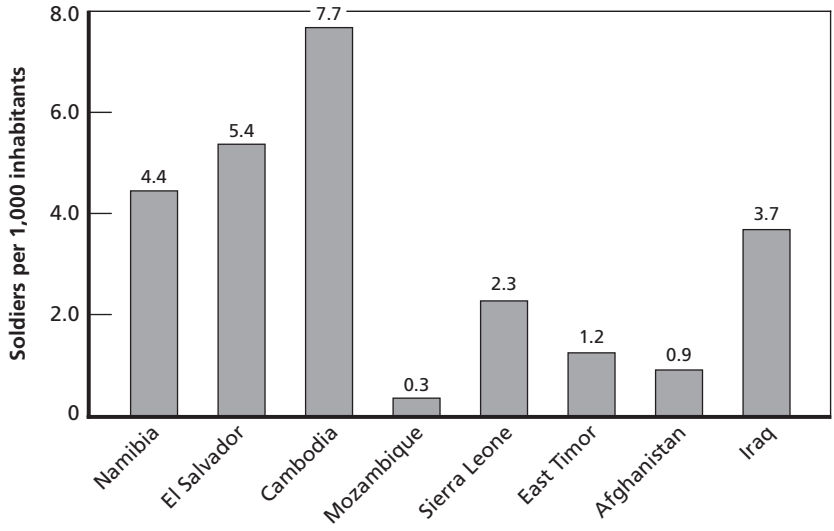
Sizing

In settled societies, the ratio of military personnel to local inhabitants generally ranges from 0.2 soldiers per 1,000 inhabitants to nearly 1 per 1,000 inhabitants. Examples include the Philippines (0.8), the United States (0.2), Chile (0.2), Britain (0.3), Japan (0.5), and South Africa (0.8).[5] Postconflict societies are likely to need a higher proportion of military personnel, though probably considerably less than that under arms when the conflict ceases. Figure 2.2 shows military-to-population ratios for eight postconflict societies five years after stability operations began (or, in the case of Afghanistan, as of this writing). They ranged from a low of 0.3 in Mozambique to a high of 7.7 in Cambodia, with an average of three soldiers per 1,000 inhabitants. The highest ratios were usually in countries with high levels of violence or criminality. Afghanistan is an outlier with significant violence but few soldiers, probably because local and tribal militias are not captured in the figures.

International forces must be large enough to maintain order; capable of training indigenous forces; and have a robust intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance capability down to the small-unit level. Peace enforcement requires a much greater commitment of military force than do more benign types of operations, such as peacekeeping. However, entry by force is by no means the most demanding aspect of the operation. For a well-equipped Western force, the conventional

[5] Christopher Langton, ed., *The Military Balance, 2006*, London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2006.

Figure 2.2
Local Military Forces Five Years After Start of Stability Operations



SOURCE: Data compiled from the International Institute for Strategic Studies; United Nations, Department of Peacekeeping Operations; *Jane's Online*; U.S. Department of State, Afghan Progress Reports and Iraq Weekly Progress Reports; and UN Secretary-General's reports to the United Nations Security Council.

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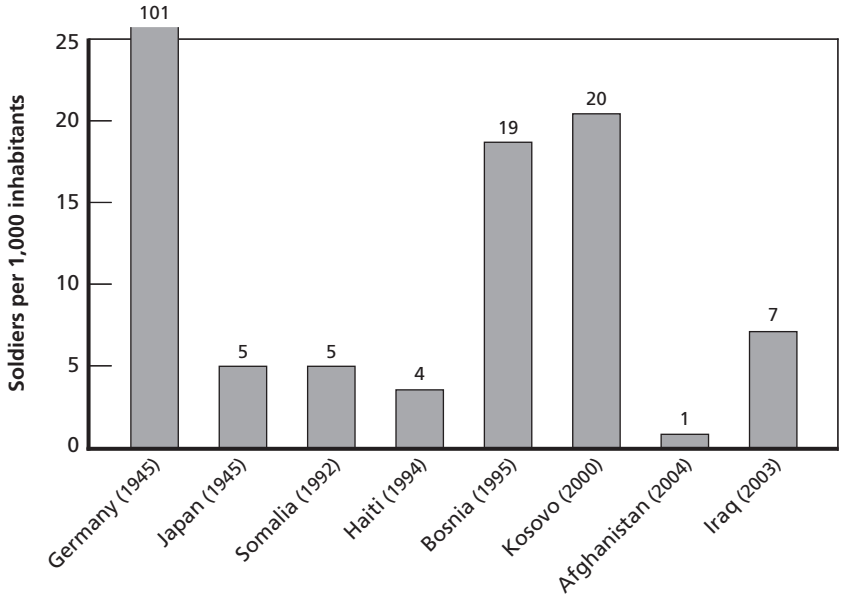
battle, if any, is likely to prove the quickest and least costly aspect of the operation. In some cases, the mere threat of force may be sufficient to gain entry (as in Haiti in 1994); in some cases, air power may largely be sufficient (as in Kosovo in 1999); and in other cases, air power in support of indigenous forces in addition to small numbers of international forces may suffice (as in Bosnia in 1995 and Afghanistan in 2001). Even where conventional ground operations prove necessary, the numbers required will probably not approach those needed to subsequently stabilize the society.

Figure 2.3 shows peak levels of international military forces in eight stability operations. High levels of forces have generally tended to correlate with high levels of security and order and low levels of casualties. Failure to deploy sufficient numbers in a peace enforcement operation can lead to incipient local resistance taking organized and violent form, as has occurred in Somalia, Afghanistan, and Iraq.

Figure 2.3
Peak Military Levels for Peace Enforcement



SOURCE: Data compiled from Earl F. Ziemke, *The U.S. Army in the Occupation of Germany, 1944–1946*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Army Center of Military History, 1975; U.S. Department of the Army, *Strength of the Army*, weekly report series, STM-30, Washington, D.C., December 1, 1946; International Institute for Strategic Studies; United Nations, Department of Peacekeeping Operations; *Jane's Online*; Oliver Ramsbotham and Tom Woodhouse, *Encyclopedia of International Peacekeeping Operations*, Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO, 1999; United Nations, Department of Public Information. Population data, U.S. Census Bureau International Data Base.
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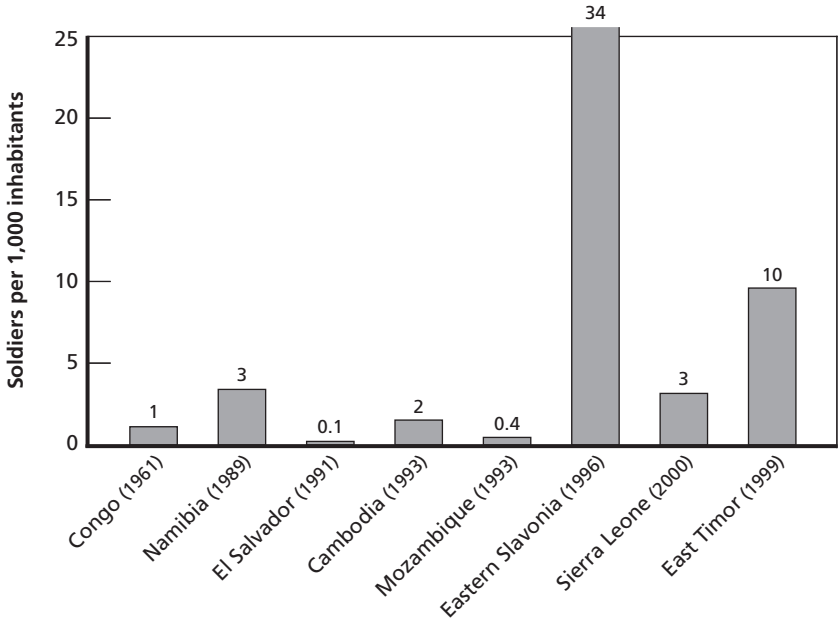
In situations in which the parties have ceased fighting more or less of their own accord and have been persuaded to invite in an international military mission, personnel needs can be significantly lower, on occasion fewer than one foreign soldier per 1,000 inhabitants. In these circumstances, the international authorities are not imposing, but facilitating, a settlement. The international force is not choosing sides, but attempting to maintain peace between contending factions with the cooperation, or at least the acquiescence, of each. Public security is left mostly in the hands of local forces. Figure 2.4 illustrates the peak levels of international military forces in eight UN stability operations.

Figure 2.4
Peak Military Levels for UN Operations



SOURCE: Data compiled from Ziemke (1975); U.S. Department of the Army (1946); International Institute for Strategic Studies; United Nations, Department of Peacekeeping Operations; *Jane's Online*; Ramsbotham and Woodhouse (1999); and United Nations, Department of Public Information. Population data, U.S. Census Bureau, International Data Base.

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Force levels in some UN operations—such as Congo, El Salvador, and Mozambique—were significantly lower, at one or fewer soldiers per 1,000 inhabitants. Many of the UN operations cited, including Namibia, El Salvador, and Mozambique, were nevertheless successful despite lower troop numbers because the contenders had exhausted themselves and were ready to cooperate.

The size, capability, and cost of an international military force that intervenes for the purpose of a heavy peace enforcement operation are substantially greater than in a light peacekeeping scenario, consistent with the international community's experience with these two types of operations. For the heavy peace enforcement scenario, we

calculated the number of soldiers using the average number of international military personnel deployed in the first year of eight peace enforcement operations.[6] For the light peacekeeping scenario, we used the average number of soldiers in the first year of six peacekeeping operations.[7] This resulted in an average of 13 soldiers per 1,000 inhabitants for peace enforcement operations, and two soldiers per 1,000 inhabitants for peacekeeping operations.

The necessary size of the international force should be determined by the scope of its mission or, alternately, the scope of its mission should be limited by the likely size of the available force. Only when large numbers of well-equipped, capable soldiers are available can the intervening authorities prudently embark on rapid and thorough reform of a nature that fundamentally redistributes power, thereby directly challenging powerful and entrenched interest groups in the society. In the majority of cases, the ratio of foreign troops to population falls well below 13 soldiers per 1,000 inhabitants, and success depends on co-opting local power brokers, reconciling contending factions, and promoting gradual reform. This will require redirecting competition for wealth and power in the society from violent into peaceful channels without threatening the complete eclipse of any important faction, community, or interest group.

Costs

Intervening powers must anticipate funding not only their own expenses, but also most of the expenses for local security forces over the first several years of an intervention. The indigenous government, if there is one, is in most cases unlikely to have sufficient revenue to equip, maintain, and pay for a professional army and police force. If

[6] The eight operations were East Timor, Eastern Slavonia, Japan, Somalia, Haiti, Bosnia, Kosovo, and Iraq. We excluded the two outliers—Germany on the high end and Afghanistan on the low end—from the average.

[7] The six operations were Congo (in the 1960s), Namibia, Cambodia, Mozambique, Sierra Leone, and El Salvador.

local security forces do exist, they are likely to be funding themselves through various forms of corruption and extortion, living in a symbiotic relationship with the criminal and extremist elements they are supposed to be combating. Until such links are broken, these forces will remain a source of insecurity.

The international cost burden may be borne by the following: (1) U.S. and other high-end Western forces conducting peace enforcement operations and (2) UN forces engaged in peacekeeping, not peace enforcement. We first estimate the cost of deploying peace enforcement forces based on the cost of coalition operations in Iraq and Afghanistan after the overthrow of Saddam Hussein and the Taliban regime, respectively. Using data on the force size and cost of these operations, we calculated the average cost per soldier for military and civilian personnel, personnel support, operational support, and transportation. We estimate that annual costs are approximately $200,000 per soldier per year for peace enforcement operations.[8] These costs would be somewhat lower in a more benign environment, like Bosnia or Kosovo.

Second, we estimated the cost of deploying UN soldiers for nonenforcement missions based on four operations: Haiti, Sierra Leone, Congo, and Liberia.[9] We calculated the average per-soldier cost by compiling information on personnel costs for military observers and

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[8] Data are from U.S. Congress, Congressional Budget Office, *Estimated Costs of Continuing Operations in Iraq and Other Operations of the Global War on Terrorism*, Washington, D.C., June 25, 2004. We thank Adam Talaber at the Congressional Budget Office for his assistance with the calculations.

[9] Data compiled from United Nations General Assembly, "Budget for the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti for the Period from 1 July 2005 to 30 June 2006 and Expenditure Report for the Period from 1 May to 30 June 2004: Report of the Secretary-General," A/59/745, 59th session, agenda item 155, March 18, 2005b; United Nations General Assembly, "Performance Report on the Budget of the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone for the Period from 1 July 2003 to 30 June 2004: Report of the Secretary-General," A/59/635, 59th session, agenda item 136, December 21, 2004b; United Nations General Assembly, "Performance Report on the Budget of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo for the Period from 1 July 2003 to 30 June 2004: Report of the Secretary-General," A/59/657, 59th session, agenda item 127, March 4, 2005a; and United Nations General Assembly, "Performance Report on the Budget of the United Nations Mission in Liberia for the Period from 1 August 2003 to 30 June 2004: Report of the Secretary-General," A/59/624, 59th session, agenda item 134, December 20, 2004a.

military contingents, as well as on what the UN calls "operational costs."[10] These include a combination of transportation, infrastructure, and other costs. We estimate a cost to the UN of roughly $45,000 per soldier per year.[11] The major difference between U.S./Western and UN costs is that UN soldiers are paid by their own governments according to their own national rank and salary scale. The contributing countries are reimbursed by the UN at a flat rate of a little over $1,000 per soldier per month. The UN also reimburses countries for equipment and other operational costs.

Costs for building and maintaining a local military force include those for personnel, equipment, facilities, operations, and oversight, including the costs of staffing a ministry of the defense. Figure 2.5 shows the total costs of fielding a national military force for 14 different countries. We express each in terms of cost per soldier as a multiple of the country's per capita GDP. To arrive at these figures, defense ministry budgets from the 14 countries were converted into U.S. dollars and divided by the number of soldiers in the military. These per-soldier costs were then compared to per capita GDP in dollars converted at market exchange rates. RAND found that, on average, the cost per soldier averaged roughly seven times a country's per capita GDP at market exchange rates.

What does this analysis imply for the military component of stability operations? To illustrate, assume the that United States and European countries lead a peace enforcement mission to Macedonia, which in 2006 had a population of 2 million, to halt a hypothetical civil war in that country. Using three soldiers per 1,000 inhabitants, the average number in postconflict societies cited previously, Macedonia would ultimately need 9,000 of its own soldiers to maintain security.

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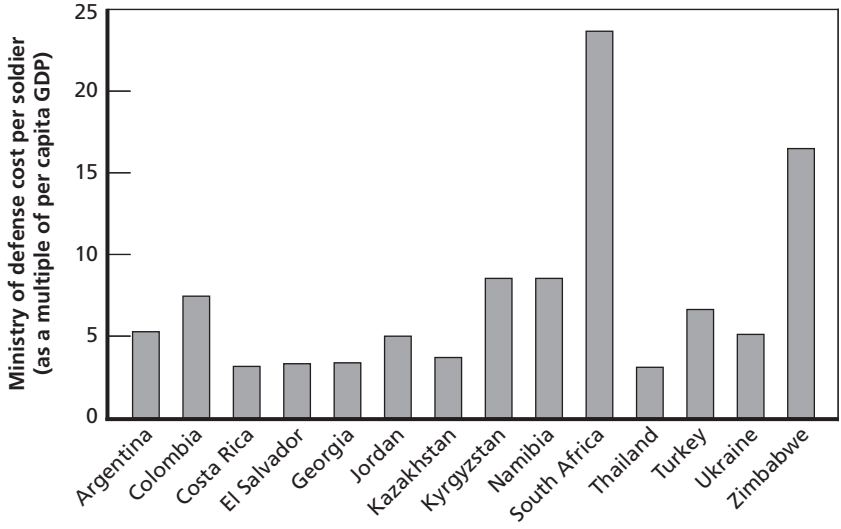
[10] We aggregated costs for facilities and infrastructure, ground transportation, air transportation, naval transportation, communications, medical services, and special equipment. Since the UN does not disaggregate the operational costs of military personnel from civilian personnel, our estimates may slightly overstate per-soldier costs. However, military personnel account for the majority of operational costs.

[11] The per-soldier cost was approximately $32,395 for Sierra Leone, $49,692 for the Congo, $51,201 for Liberia, and $45,540 for Haiti. The average was $44,775, which we rounded to $45,000.

Figure 2.5
Cost of Fielding a Local Military Force



SOURCE: International Institute for Strategic Studies, *The Military Balance, 2004–2005*, London: Taylor and Francis, 2004.
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Macedonia's per capita GDP in 2006 was approximately $8,000. Multiplying $8,000 by seven, then multiplying by 9,000 soldiers, gives a projected annual budget of $500 million. This is a very rough estimate of what would be needed to operate the Macedonia defense establishment following a postconflict intervention.[12] In addition, using the average number of international soldiers (13) per 1,000 inhabitants cited earlier, Macedonia would need approximately 26,000 international force personnel. We then multiply this number by our estimate of $200,000 per soldier noted previously (assuming as we do that the international force in this case is predominantly Western), giving a total interna-

[12] The estimating equations for peace enforcement missions are as follows:

$$\text{number of local soldiers} = 3 \times \text{population} / 1{,}000$$
$$\text{cost of running ministry of defense} = \text{per capita GDP} \times 7 \times \text{number of soldiers}$$
$$\text{number of international soldiers} = 13 \times \text{population} / 1{,}000$$
$$\text{cost of international military} = \text{number of soldiers} \times \$200{,}000.$$

tional military cost of $4 billion per year. Consequently, the total cost of deploying a major U.S.-led stability operation to Macedonia could approach $4.5 billion in the first year alone. Table 2.1 summarizes the results of this analysis and includes comparable estimates for a UN-led stability operation to Niger.[13] These estimates are meant to provide a first cut at estimating numbers and costs for the full range of international and local military operations in the aftermath of an external intervention.

Table 2.1
Estimates for Operations in Macedonia and Niger, Year One

Mission	Number of Local Soldiers Needed	Cost of Running Local Defense Establishment (2006 US$)	Number of Int'l Soldiers Needed	Cost of Int'l Force (2006 US$)	Total Expenditure (2006 US$)
Peace enforcement mission to Macedonia[a]	9,000	500 million	26,000	4 billion	4.5 billion
Peacekeeping mission to Niger[b]	37,500	200 million	25,000	1 billion	1.2 billion

SOURCE: RAND calculations.

[a] The calculations for Macedonia assume a population of 2 million and a per capita GDP of $8,000 (Central Intelligence Agency, *The World Factbook 2006*, Washington, D.C., 2006).

[b] The calculations for Niger assume a population of 12.5 million and a per capita GDP of $800 (Central Intelligence Agency, 2006).

[13] The estimating equations for peacekeeping missions are as follows:

$$\text{number of local soldiers} = 3 \times \text{population} / 1{,}000$$
$$\text{cost of running ministry of defense} = \text{per capita GDP} \times 7 \times \text{number of soldiers}$$
$$\text{number of international soldiers} = 2 \times \text{population} / 1{,}000$$
$$\text{cost of international military} = \text{number of soldiers} \times \$45{,}000.$$