STABILITY AND RECONSTRUCTION OPERATIONS:

CONNECTING THE DOTS BETWEEN MILITARY AND CIVILIAN EFFORTS

Dr. Jack D. Kem

SEN. LEVIN: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. General Shinseki, could you give us some idea as to the magnitude of the Army's force requirement for an occupation of Iraq following a successful completion of the war?

GEN. ERIC K. SHINSEKI: In specific numbers, I would have to rely on combatant commanders' exact requirements. But I think –

SEN. LEVIN: How about a range?

GEN. SHINSEKI: I would say that what's been mobilized to this point – something on the order of several hundred thousand soldiers are probably, you know, a figure that would be required. We're talking about post–hostilities control over a piece of geography that's fairly significant, with the kinds of ethnic tensions that could lead to other problems. And so it takes a significant ground–force presence to maintain a safe and secure environment, to ensure that people are fed, that water is distributed, all the normal responsibilities that go along with administering a situation like this…

Less than a month after US Army Chief of Staff General Eric Shinseki testified before the Senate Armed Services Committee[1] Operation Iraq Freedom was initiated. General Shinseki had already considered the consequences of the invasion of Iraq based on his experiences in Bosnia a decade earlier; the United States Army would need "several hundred thousand soldiers" in the post–hostilities phase. The invasion of Iraq began on March 20, 2003; a little over six weeks later President Bush landed on the USS Abraham Lincoln in a dramatic carrier landing, welcomed with a "Mission Accomplished" banner in the background. The mission, however, was not accomplished. The larger problem of rebuilding Iraqi society – in what is commonly referred to as "Phase IV" in Operation Iraqi Freedom – requires a nonlinear approach to building the institutions of society with multiple simultaneous actions among diplomatic, informational, military, and economic realms. As General Shinseki noted, the problems of maintaining a safe and secure environment, ensuring that people are fed, water distributed, and all of the normal responsibilities of stability and reconstruction operations are a massive effort.

Since the end of major combat operations, the efforts in Iraq for stability and reconstruction operations identified a number of major deficiencies in interagency coordination and planning. The transition from the Office of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance (ORHA) to the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) and finally to the handover to the "new sovereign Iraq" was fraught with a lack of integrated efforts to rebuild Iraq. The interaction between the different instruments of national power in the United States – diplomatic, informational, military, and economic – were not well coordinated nor considered from the beginning of combat operations in Iraq.

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[1] Senate Armed Services Committee Hearing, February 25, 2003.

As a result, there has been significant effort within the United States government to address these specific concerns. In the future, stability and reconstruction operations will be considered and undertaken simultaneously with major combat operations, rather than as linear activities that begin after a transition from major combat operations – with the active involvement of the Department of Defense and the Department of State, as well as other governmental and non-governmental organizations. This approach will consider the implications of "winning the peace" simultaneously with the implications of "winning the war."

One of the major efforts to accomplish "winning the peace" has been a collaborative effort by Department of Defense and the Department of State to develop common tasks and objectives for Stability and Reconstruction Operations. The recently formed Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization (S/CRS) in the Department of State has taken the lead to facilitate the interagency coordination necessary for the task list and objectives.   This office has the mission "to lead, coordinate and institutionalize U.S. Government civilian capacity to prevent or prepare for post-conflict situations, and to help stabilize and reconstruct societies in transition from conflict or civil strife, so they can reach a sustainable path toward peace, democracy and a market economy." The Department of Defense has additionally initiated a number of related efforts to coordinate stability and reconstruction operations through the development of doctrinal and organizational approaches "to identify and implement initiatives to increase capabilities to plan and conduct stability operations in a joint, interagency and multinational context." This paper will focus on the interagency initiatives and challenges to address the complex issues of "winning the peace" while simultaneously conducting major combat operations.

THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE INITIATIVES: EMBRACING INTERAGENCY OPERATIONS

Within the military, there have been a number of initiatives that have expanded the concept of warfighting to include interagency considerations and the use of the full range of national instruments of power. These instruments of power – diplomatic, informational, military, and economic instruments – are normally referred to as the "DIME." Naturally, the Department of Defense has considered the "M" in DIME as the predominant instrument to be used in situations such as Iraq. Times are changing… Within the doctrinal manuals of the military, there is a greater emphasis on diplomacy, information, and economic power as instruments that are not only to be used as the first choice, but also to be fully integrated when the military is called upon to respond. This doctrinal change in the approach to the use of military power hearkens back to the military writings of Clausewitz, who understood fully that the military instrument of power – the primary instrument for conducting war – does not act in isolation.

> We maintain … that war is simply a continuation of political intercourse, with the addition of other means. We deliberately use the phrase "with the addition of other means" because we also want to make it clear that war in itself does not suspend political intercourse or change it into something entirely different. In essentials that intercourse continues, irrespective of the means it employs. The main lines along which military events progress, and to which they are restricted, are political lines that continue throughout the war into the subsequent peace. How could it be otherwise? Do political relations between peoples and between their governments stop when

diplomatic notes are no longer exchanged? Is war not just another expression of their thoughts, another form of speech or writing? Its grammar, indeed, may be its own, but not its logic.[1]

The change in mindset for integrating all of the instruments of power is evident in the greater use of "logical lines of operation" as a planning construct for military planners.   The concept of logical lines of operation or logical lines is considered a common construct in stability operations in the US Army's *Operations* manual. This construct also provides a way to consider nonmilitary instruments of power, while synchronizing activities to achieve the end state. The current Joint Operations doctrine manual (JP 3–0) states that military Joint Force Commanders "pursue attainment of the national strategic end state as sustained combat operations wane by conducting stability operations independently and/or in coordination with indigenous civil, US Government, and multinational organizations." The manual further states that "operations in the 'stabilize' phase ensure the national strategic end state continues to be pursued at the conclusion of sustained combat operations. Several lines of operations may be initiated immediately (e.g., providing humanitarian relief, establishing security, etc)."[2] For example, the logical lines of operation that were used in Northern Iraq during the initial stages of stability operations were: Establishment of the Rule of Law; Economic Development/ Infrastructure Recovery; Democratic Reform; Combat Operations/Leadership Interdiction; Security Sector Reform; and Information Operations.[3]

The construct for logical lines of operations is also evolving for stability and reconstruction operations. The basic construct of the "DIME" is still considered, but the military shifts its focus to security, while the diplomatic instrument focuses on governance. Hence, you may see "logical lines of operations" in a stability and reconstruction operations that refers to the four components of Security, Governance, Economic, and Informational instruments or elements of national power. In the case of post–hostilities, the military role shifts from a combat role to a security role, which can be transitioned to indigenous police forces as they become capable.

The concept of "phasing operations" in military planning has also adapted based upon the lessons from Iraq. As late as September 2004 the general construct for phasing military operations consisted of four phases: Deter/engage; Seize Initiative; Decisive Operations; and Transition (the traditional Phase IV). By December 2005, the construct had changed to acknowledge greater interface with other civilian authorities and agencies to consist of six phases: shape, deter, seize the initiative, dominate, stabilize, and enable civil authority.[4] The phasing construct also indicates that these actions are characterized by level of effort as opposed to being distinct phases – meaning that all activities (including stabilization and enabling civil authority) are initiated at the beginning of the operation – "winning the peace" begins at the same time as "winning the war."

In addition to addressing stability and reconstruction operations in doctrinal manuals, the Department of Defense has also provided directive guidance concerning military support for stability, security, transition, and reconstruction operations. Department of Defense Directive 3000.05 states

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[1] Carl von Clausewitz, On War, ed. and trans. Michael Howard and Peter Paret (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976), p. 605.
[2] United States Department of Defense, Joint Operations, Joint Publication 3-0 (JP 3-0) (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 2006), p. xxiv.
[3] Jack D. Kem, "The Problem of Phase IV: A Case Study Analysis of Building a Society in Northern Iraq." Public Performance and Management Review 29(2), pp. 217-242.
[4] JP 3-0

that stability operations are a "core U.S. military mission that the Department of Defense shall be prepared to conduct and support."[1] Acknowledging stability operations as a "core competency" of the Department of Defense was an explicit response to a recommendation by the Defense Science Board in December 2004.[2] Department of Defense Directive 3000.05 further states that many of the tasks in stability operations are "best performed by indigenous, foreign, or U.S. civilian professionals" but the U.S. military "shall be prepared to perform all tasks necessary to establish or maintain order when civilians cannot do so."[3] The Under Secretary of Defense for Policy is specifically tasked to coordinate stability and reconstruction operations with the Department of State's Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization.[4] The military departments are also directed to "support interagency requests for personnel and assistance to bolster the capabilities of U.S. Departments and Agencies."[5]

   At the operational or regional level, another initiative has surfaced in the Department of Defense that will facilitate coordination between the different agencies of government. The Joint Interagency Coordination Group (JIACG) concept is designed as a deployable headquarters to coordinate interagency operations during contingency operations. As a permanent forward deployed headquarters, the membership consists of representatives of from the Department of Defense, Department of State, Department of Justice, USAID, Department of Health and Human Services, and Department of Agriculture, and the Department of Treasury. The JIACG assists in post-hostility
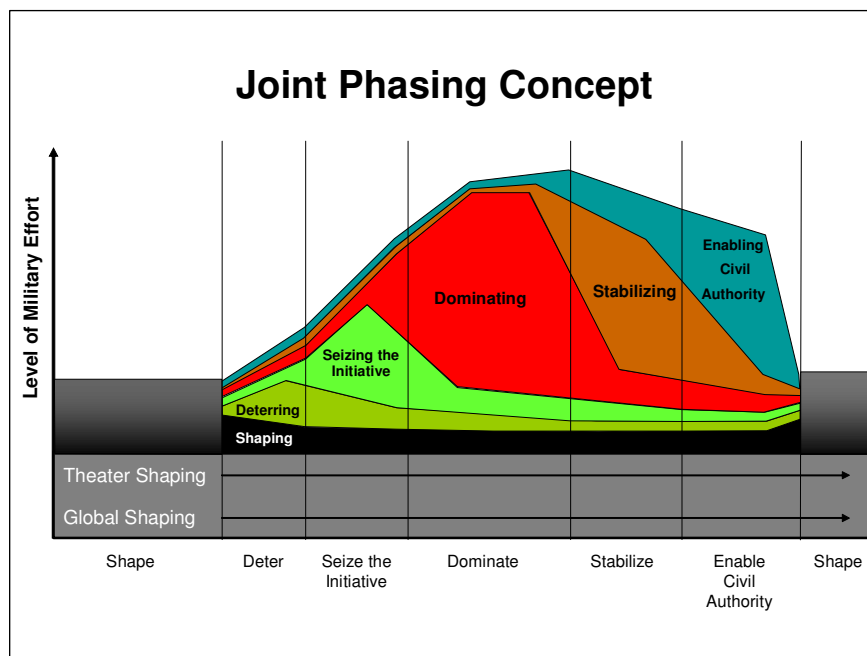

Figure 1. Joint Phasing Concept

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[1] United States Department of Defense, Military Support for Stability, Security, Transition, and Reconstruction (SSTR), Department of Defense (DoD) Directive Number 3000.05 (Washington, DC: Department of Defense, 2005), p. 2.
[2] United States Department of Defense, Defense Science Board 2004 Summer Study on Transition to and from Hostilities (Washington, DC: Department of Defense, 2004), p. vi.
[3] DoD Directive 3000.05, p. 2.
[4] Ibid., p. 4
[5] Ibid., p. 11

operations, as well as humanitarian relief, civic assistance, and infrastructure rebuilding.[1] The JIACG serves as a "regional mini-National Security Council" to help coordinate interagency efforts in the region. Although the JIACGs are now just coming into reality, the JIACG at the U.S. Pacific Command in Hawaii played a critical role in the national response to the tsunami relief efforts in the Pacific region in December 2004.[2]

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE INITIATIVES: TRANSFORMATIONAL DIPLOMACY

At the direction of the National Security Council, the Department of State created the Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization (S/CRS). This office was created based on the growing realization that the State Department had an increasing role in stabilization and reconstruction efforts throughout the world and needed an agency dedicated to conduct interagency coordination. Ambassador Carlos Pascual was the initial Coordinator for S/CRS; on March 20, 2006, Secretary of State Rice appointed Ambassador John Herbst as the new coordinator. The mission of S/CRS is to "lead, coordinate, and institutionalize U.S. Government civilian capacity to prevent or prepare for post-conflict situations, and to help stabilize and reconstruct societies in transition from conflict or civil strife so they can reach a sustainable path toward peace, democracy and a market economy." The office is expected to truly take the lead for the United States Government with the following core functions:

> **Core Functions:** S/CRS will lead and manage civilian response teams in Washington and the field, identify and plan responses to post-conflict situations, and coordinate USG participation in multilateral operations. S/CRS will engage interagency partners to identify states at risk of instability and focus attention on policies and strategies to prevent or mitigate conflict. S/CRS will coordinate interagency efforts to integrate civilian and military planning, and will provide interagency leadership on: monitoring of potential states in crisis, assessing lessons learned and integrating them into operations and planning, supporting budget requests for capacity-building, recommending resource allocations for a response, developing and managing civilian standby capabilities for deployment, and coordinating with international partners.[3]

A key component of S/CRS is to get civilian interagency teams, coordinated by the State Department, into post-conflict operations as early as possible. In April 2005, S/CRS completed a key planning document to enable this process by developing the "Reconstruction and Stabilization Essential Tasks" list. The task list was developed using a construct of five technical sectors – similar to the "lines of operation" used by military planners. The technical sectors are: Security; Governance and participation; Humanitarian assistance and social well-being; Economic stabilization and infrastructure; and Justice and reconciliation. In each of these five technical sectors there are essential tasks to be conducted in three different conceptual phases: Initial Response (short-term); Transformation (mid-term); and Fostering Sustainability (long-term).[4]

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[1] LtCol Harold Van Opdorp, USMC, "The Joint Interagency Coordination Group: The Operationalization of DIME," Small Wars Journal 2 (July 2005), pp. 2-5, accessed at http://smallwarsjournal.com.

[2] B.F. Griffard, Art Bradshaw, and Kent Hughes Butts, "Disaster Preparedness: Anticipating the Worst-Case Scenario," Center for Strategic Leadership Issue Paper 05-05 (Carlisle, PA: United States Army War College, 2005).

[3] United States Department of State (DoS), State Department Fact Sheet, Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization (S/CRS) (Washington, DC: Department of State, 2005), accessed at http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/43429.pdf.

[4] United States Department of State (DoS), Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization, Post-Conflict Reconstruction Essential Tasks (Washington, DC: Department of State, 2005), p. iii.

The "Reconstruction and Stabilization Essential Tasks" list was developed as an interagency process; it is obvious that the document is designed to be an over-arching task list for all U.S. Government agencies in a post-combat theater. Although the document does not list responsible agencies for each of the tasks, there are tasks that obviously pertain to specific agencies. For example, under the security technical sector tasks, the goal is to "establish a safe and secure environment." Specific tasks include "conduct counterinsurgency operations" and "enforce ceasefires," clearly military tasks. Lessons from Iraq also appear to be learned, with the listing of specific tasks such as "protect and secure strategically important institutions (e.g., government buildings, museums, religious sites, courthouses, communications, etc.)."[1]

On December 7, 2005, President Bush strengthened the stabilization and reconstruction role of the State Department by issuing a Presidential Directive (NSPD-44) empowering the Secretary of State as the U.S. Government lead for coordinating, planning and implementing reconstruction and stabilization assistance for foreign states and regions before, during, and after conflict or civil strife. The White House statement on the Presidential Directive stated:

> The directive establishes that the Secretary of State shall coordinate and lead integrated United States Government efforts, involving all U.S. Departments and Agencies with relevant capabilities, to prepare, plan for, and conduct stabilization and reconstruction activities. Depending on the situation, these operations can be conducted with or without U.S. military engagement. When the U.S. military is involved, the Secretary of State shall coordinate such efforts with the Secretary of Defense to ensure harmonization with any planned or ongoing U.S. military operations across the spectrum of conflict. The United States shall work with other countries and organizations, to anticipate state failure, avoid it whenever possible, and respond quickly and effectively when necessary and appropriate to promote peace, security, development, democratic practices, market economies, and the rule of law.[2]

The implementing guidance of the Presidential Directive provided specific actions that would be conducted by the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization. These included:

- Develop strategies for reconstruction and stabilization activities; provide U.S. decision makers with detailed options for R&S operations; ensure program and policy coordination among U.S. Departments and Agencies; lead coordination of reconstruction and stabilization activities and preventative strategies with bilateral partners, international and regional organizations, and nongovernmental and private sector entities.
- Coordinate interagency processes to identify states at risk of instability, lead interagency planning to prevent or mitigate conflict, develop detailed contingency plans for integrated U.S. reconstruction and stabilization, and provide U.S. decision makers with detailed options for an integrated U.S. response.
- Lead U.S. development of a strong civilian response capability; analyze, formulate and recommend authorities, mechanisms and resources for civilian responses in coordination with key interagency implementers such as AID; coordinate R&S budgets among Departments and

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[1] Ibid., p. I-1 and I-4.

[2] White House. Statement on Presidential Directive on U.S. Efforts for Reconstruction and Stabilization. (Washington, DC: White House, 2005), accessed at http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/12/20051214.html

Agencies; identify lessons learned and integrate them into operational planning by responsible agencies.[1]

Shortly after the Presidential Directive was issued, Secretary Condoleezza Rice outlined changes in the State Department that were necessary to support "transformational diplomacy." Secretary Rice clearly outlined the convergence of post-hostility actions between the State and Defense Departments:

Over the past 15 years, as violent state failure has become a greater global threat, our military has borne a disproportionate share of post-conflict responsibilities because we have not had the standing civilian capability to play our part fully. This was true in Somalia and Haiti, in Bosnia, in Kosovo, and it is still partially true in Iraq and Afghanistan. These experiences have shown us the need to enhance our ability to work more effectively at the critical intersections of diplomacy, democracy promotion, economic reconstruction and military security…The diplomacy of the 21st century requires better "jointness" too between our soldiers and our civilians, and we are taking additional steps to achieve it. We for decades have positions in our Foreign Service called Political Advisors to Military Forces, affectionately called POLADS, in our business. We station these diplomats where the world of diplomacy intersects the world of military force, but increasingly this intersection is seen in the dusty streets of Fallujah or the tsunami-wrecked coasts of Indonesia. I want American diplomats to eagerly seek our assignments working side-by-side with our men and women in uniform, whether it is in disaster relief in Pakistan or in stabilization missions in Liberia or fighting the illegal drug trade in Latin America.[2]

U.S. NATIONAL INITIATIVES: LEGISLATIVE AND EXECUTIVE BRANCH ACTIONS

Congress and the White House have also pushed for increased interagency integration for post-conflict operations. The Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization was created with bipartisan support in Congress and at the direction of the National Security Council.[3] The initial funding (taken from reprogrammed funds) amounted to only $17 million, which was barely adequate to hire a minimum staff of 37 (out of the desired 80).[4]

Congress has also addressed the issue of education and training to enhance interagency coordination. A recent Congressional Research Service report highlights specific language in the Department of Defense Directive 3000.05:

Responding to calls to enhance the ability of the wide variety of participants in stability operations to work together, the directive provides a number of ways to incorporate military personnel and civilians of many backgrounds in education and training courses, including personnel from U.S. departments and agencies, foreign governments and security forces, international organizations, non-governmental organizations, and members of the private sector is stability operations planning, training, and exercises.[5]

The National Defense Authorization Act of 2006 (H.R. 1815) addressed the issue of interagency training for stability, security, transition, and reconstruction operations – in Section 360 of the bill.

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[1] United States Department of State (DoS), Fact Sheet, President Issues Directive to Improve the United States' Capacity to Manage Reconstruction and Stabilization Efforts. (Washington, DC: Department of State, 2005), accessed at http://www.state.gove/r/pa/prs/ps/2005/58067.htm
[2] United States Department of State (DoS), Speech by Secretary Condoleezza Rice, Georgetown University, Transformational Diplomacy (Washington, DC: Department of State, 2006), accessed at http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2006/59306.htm.
[3] State Department Fact Sheet, Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization (S/CRS).
[4] John C. Buss, "The State Department Office of Reconstruction and Stabilization and its Interaction with the Department of Defense," Center for Strategic Leadership Issue Paper 09-05 (Carlisle, PA: United States Army War College, 2005).
[5] Nina M. Serafino, CRS Issue Brief for Congress, Peacekeeping and Related Stability Operations: Issues of U.S. Military Involvement (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Office, 2006), p. CRS-7.

Not later than February 1, 2007, the Secretary of Defense shall submit to the congressional defense committees a report on joint field training and experimentation conducted to address matters relating to stability, security, transition, and reconstruction operations during fiscal years 2005 and 2006. The report shall include--

(1) a description of each such joint field training and experimentation event, including a description of the participation of other Federal departments and agencies and of the participation of allied and coalition partners;

(2) the findings of the Secretary as a result of such joint field training and experimentation; and

(3) such recommendations as the Secretary considers appropriate in light of such joint field training and experimentation, including recommendations with respect to legislative or administrative action and recommendations for any funding required to implement such action.[1]

The associated Conference Report for H.R. 1815 recognized that the "Department of Defense has developed and is already executing a program to improve its joint and interagency stability operations planning, exercises, and operational capabilities." The Conference Report further encourages the Department of Defense to "more fully incorporate other federal departments and agencies, as well as allies and coalition partners."[2]

The Conference Report for H.R. 1815 also addresses the Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization (S/CRS) by commending the Defense Department's "active support of and cooperation with S/CRS" and urging the Department of Defense to "continue to deepen its coordination with the Department of State on planning for and participating in post-conflict stability operations and reconstruction effort."[3]

The National Defense Authorization Act of 2006 also has a related provision to interagency cooperation. Although the measure primarily addresses interagency coordination for homeland security, the provision could potentially enhance interagency cooperation for post-conflict stability operations. Section 583 of H.R. 1815 states:

It is the sense of Congress that –

(1) the Secretary of Defense, in consultation with the Secretary of Homeland Security, should study the options among public and private educational institution and facilities (including an option of using the National Defense University) for providing strategic-level homeland defense education and related research opportunities to civilian and military leaders from all agencies of government in order to contribute to the development of a common understanding of core homeland defense principles and of effective interagency homeland defense strategies, policies, doctrines, and processes…[4]

The Executive Branch has also played a significant role in encouraging interagency cooperation for post-conflict stability operations. The most significant contribution has been the establishment (at the direction of the National Security Council) of the Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization (S/CRS) in the State Department in 2004. President Bush has clearly established the

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[1] United States Congress (109th, 1st Session), House of Representatives, National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2006, H.R. 1815 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2005).
[2] United States Congress (109th, 1st Session), House of Representatives, Conference Report to Accompany the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2006, H.R. 1815 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2005), p. 676.
[3] Ibid., p. 802.
[4] National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2006, H.R. 1815, p. 143.

Department of State as the lead agency for reconstruction and stabilization operations by Presidential Directive (NSPD-44).

The recently-issued (March 2006) National Security Strategy specifically addresses post-conflict stabilization and reconstruction:

Once peace has been restored, the hard work of post-conflict stabilization and reconstruction must begin. Military involvement may be necessary to stop a bloody conflict, but peace and stability will last only if follow-on efforts to restore order and rebuild are successful. The world has found through bitter experience that success often depends on the early establishment of strong local institutions such as effective police forces and a functioning justice and penal system. This governance capacity is critical to establishing the rule of law and a free market economy, which provide long-term stability and prosperity.

To develop these capabilities, the Administration established a new office in the Department of State, the Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization, to plan and execute civilian stabilization and reconstruction efforts. The office draws on all agencies of the government and integrates its activities with our military's efforts. The office will also coordinate United States Government efforts with other governments building similar capabilities (such as the United Kingdom, Canada, the EU, and others), as well as with new international efforts such as the U.N. Peacebuilding Commission.[1]

The National Security Strategy also emphasizes the leading role of the Department of State in reconstruction and stabilization operations as part of the "transformational diplomacy" initiative:

… reorient the Department of State towards transformational diplomacy, which promotes effective democracy and responsible sovereignty. Our diplomats must be able to step outside their traditional role to become more involved with the challenges within other societies, helping them directly, channeling assistance, and learning from their experience. This effort will include … improving our capability to plan for and respond to post-conflict and failed state situations. The Office of Reconstruction and Stabilization will integrate all relevant United States Government resources and assets in conducting reconstruction and stabilization operations. This effort must focus on building the security and law enforcement structures that are often the prerequisite for restoring order and ensuring success.…[2]

The National Security Strategy also appears to deemphasize the previous (2002) National Security Strategy concept of preemption acting alone if necessary; even though the current National Security Strategy states that the United States "must be prepared to act alone if necessary," the strategy also states that "there is little of lasting consequence that we can accomplish in the world without the sustained cooperation of our allies and partners."[3] The use of the military is also deemphasized in the statement "In the cause of ending tyranny and promoting effective democracy, we will employ the full array of political, economic, diplomatic, and other tools at our disposal…"[4] One can only assume that some of the "other tools" include the military.

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[1] White House, The National Security Strategy of the United States of America (Washington, DC: White House, 2006), p. 16.
[2] Ibid., p. 44.
[3] Ibid., p. 37
[4] Ibid., p. 6

The National Strategy for Victory in Iraq, published by the National Security Council in November 2005, uses a construct that is very similar to the concept of "DIME" and the S/CRS *Post-Conflict Reconstruction Essential Tasks.* In this strategy, three different "tracks" are used for post-conflict stability and reconstruction operations: the Political Track; the Security Track, and the Economic Track. Each of these "tracks" include short-term, medium-term, and long-term objectives. The "tracks" are intended to incorporate all of the possible sources of power to be applied in Iraq; the document states "the political, security, and economic tracks incorporates every aspect of American power, with assistance from agencies throughout the federal government, and the involvement of the United Nations, other international organizations, Coalition countries, and other supportive countries and regional states."[1] The sources of power are applied to eight different broad "pillars" or strategic objectives, a similar construct to the "lines of operations" used by military planners: 1) Defeat the Terrorists and Neutralize the Insurgency; 2) Transition Iraq to Security Self-Reliance; 3) Help Iraqis Form a National Compact for Democratic Government; 4) Help Iraq Build Government Capacity and Provide Essential Services; 5) Help Iraq Strengthen its Economy; 6) Help Iraq Strengthen the Rule of Law and Promote Civil Rights; 7) Increase International Support for Iraq; and 8) Strengthen Public Understanding of Coalition Efforts and Public Isolation of the Insurgents.[2]

INTERAGENCY CHALLENGES: PULLING IT ALL TOGETHER

There are a number of disparate actions that are taking place within the Department of State, the Department of Defense, and at the national level designed to foster greater interagency cooperation during post-conflict stability operations. These actions, though notable, still fall short. There remain a number of actions that are still required to ensure the application of the appropriate mix of the instruments of national power for stability operations.

The National Security Strategy identifies the source of conflicts within regions by stating the following:

> Regional conflicts can arise from a wide variety of causes, including poor governance, external aggression, competing claims, internal revolt, tribal rivalries, and ethnic or religious hatreds. If left unaddressed, however, these different causes lead to the same ends: failed states, humanitarian disasters, and ungoverned areas that can become safe havens for terrorists.[3]

Conflicts among the different players involved in post-conflict stability operations are in many ways similar to the conflicts among regional players. Poor governance or management – for a variety of factors, including inadequate funding and personnel turbulence – is a factor to be concerned with. Competing claims and "tribal rivalries" are a concern when there are dramatic differences in the cultures of the different agencies; there is a prevailing view (at least within the military) that "soldiers are from Mars, and diplomats are from Venus." Within each department, there is also a natural resistance to change and transformation. Secretary Rice's desire for diplomats to "eagerly seek… assignments working side-by-side with our men and women in uniform" represents, as she acknowledges, a dramatic departure from the past.

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[1] United States National Security Council (NSC), National Strategy for Victory in Iraq (Washington, DC: National Security Council, 2005), p. 25
[2] Ibid., pp. 25-26.
[3] The National Security Strategy of the United States of America, p. 15.

Although there appears to be a convergence in doctrine and the approach to planning stability operations among the interagency players, there is still a lot to be addressed and worked out. The differing terminology illustrates some of these differences: the State Department uses the term "reconstruction and stabilization"; the Defense Department uses the term "Stability, Security, Transition, and Reconstruction (SSTR) Operations"; the Army recently updated its terminology from "Stability and Support Operations (SASO)" to Stability and Reconstruction Operations (S&RO)." For essentially the same concept, S/CRS uses "technical sectors," the NSC refers to "tracks," and the military uses "lines of operation." While these differences may seem trivial, the terms have precise meanings to each of the different agencies – and it is important to ensure that there is a common language shared by all interagency players.

In spite of these difficulties, there is good reason to be encouraged by the different actions concerning interagency cooperation for post–conflict stability operations. There is bipartisan congressional support for S/CRS and interagency cooperation, and a reasonable expectation that this support will continue into the future. President Bush has clearly established the Secretary of State as the lead for stability operations, and Secretary Rice has made "transformational diplomacy" a key objective for the Department of State. Organizations such as S/CRS and the regional JIACGs are becoming more mature and involved in stability operations, with the full support of all of the interagency players. At the "action officer" level, there is a growing realization that there is a greater need for interagency cooperation, particularly in light of the difficulties in the current operations in Afghanistan and Iraq.

In summary, interagency cooperation for post–conflict stability and reconstruction operations is an evolutionary process to create a complex system. Herbert Simon described complexity in terms of system evolution; complex systems are those systems "made up of a large number of parts that have many interactions."[1] Simon also described complex hierarchic systems as those systems "composed of interrelated subsystems, each of the latter being in turn hierarchic in structure until we reach some lowest level of elementary subsystem."[2] The interagency process necessary for post–conflict stability and reconstruction operations requires a system interaction between different hierarchic systems – in particular the Department of State and the Department of Defense. This system will become even more complex as other interagency actors become imbedded into an interactive system designed to accomplish post–conflict stability and reconstruction operations.

As the interagency system evolves, the system should become a complex, self–organizing, adaptive system that "brings order and chaos into a special kind of balance" at the edge of chaos, as M. Mitchell Waldrop describes. New ideas and innovation of this new system should change the status quo, "where even the most entrenched old guard will eventually be overthrown."[3] The challenge for the United States Government is to manage these changes, and to adapt to those changes at the edge of chaos.

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[1] Herbert A. Simon, The Sciences of the Artificial, third ed. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996), pp. 179-184.
[2] Ibid., 184.
[3] W. Mitchell Waldrop, Complexity: The Emerging Science at the Edge of Order and Chaos (New York: Touchstone Books, 1992), pp. 9-10.

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