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# PROGRESSIVE RECONSTRUCTION

## MELDING EXPEDITIONARY MANEUVER WARFARE WITH NATION BUILDING–STABILITY OPERATIONS.

By Maj Karl C. Rohr

“If when taking a native den one thinks chiefly of the market that he will establish there on the morrow, one does not take it in the ordinary way.”

—Marshal Hubert Lyautey

The Twenty First Century Capstone Concept of Expeditionary Maneuver Warfare calls on the Marine Corps to defeat America’s enemies from the sea, utilizing the sea as a maneuver area with an enhanced ability to assail the asymmetrical enemy. The concept is built on the legs of Operational Maneuver From The Sea, Ship to Objective Maneuver and Sea Basing. This is a strong foundation and will carry the Corps proudly and efficiently into the next century of conflicts. But it could be made stronger still. The addition of yet one more leg that of Progressive Reconstruction will fully round out the EMW concept to cover conflicts more in–depth. Progressive Reconstruction will fully integrate the Warfighting Functions with the necessary rebuilding of the target nation not after the war is complete but right on the heels of the assault and capture of the objectives. By striking while the iron is hot, when US influence is the strongest immediately after the initial shock of the assault has been delivered the Corps can gain a decisive advantage in peace–making.

“All our recent conquest...developed through two phases: that of the initial war, with the winning of apparently decisive victories, followed by that of insurrection, inevitable painful, and of which the issue was more administrative

than military, the organization of the country.”---E.F. Gautier 1910.

Progressive Reconstruction is loosely based upon the French Colonial Concept of Progressive Occupation, which assumed the initial conventional military victory and focused on immediate conservation and rehabilitation of the occupied territory.

In Progressive Reconstruction (PR) the Transition Phase begins immediately after the first rounds hit and the first objective is secured and continues concurrently with combat operations. PR would limit the ability of terrorist or guerrilla forces by removing their power base utilizing a combination of applied force and politics. Raid a town build a school. The rear area forces would be organized to conduct Area denial operations never allowing the insurgency to develop.

As we see today in Iraq such a policy of Progressive Occupation / Reconstruction would have better served the pacification efforts by providing a Military Governmental Structure to the newly liberated countryside in the wake of the assaulting forces. There would have been little to no power vacuum and the Coalition Forces would have fully capitalized on the

immense prestige created by the rapid destruction of the Iraqi armed forces.

In classical warfare (Clausewitz and Jomini) the goal is to crush an organization, a military machine. In a preemptive war on terrorism, the goal of warfare is to create a stable democratic nation. To do so one must attack not only the armed forces of the enemy but also the roots of the psychology of terrorism: poverty, corruption, instability, etc. PR changes the focus of military intervention from a purely combat operation to a military –political action. In Modern warfare the line between Transition and Decisive Operations is becoming increasingly blurry. Stability Operations need to be concurrent with decisive operations and not reserved for a separate Transition Phase. Interventionist forces must begin transforming the newly secured areas immediately and have a framework of reconstruction fully established while awaiting follow-on forces.

STOM and Sea Basing are designed to provide Assured Access and Power Projection. The question asked here is this, now that we have secured the objectives, what is next? In a Raid, NEO, Humanitarian Assistance, or Disaster Relief we withdraw. In a Regime Change we have to stay to replace the government. In Regime Support we have to stay to prop up the government. With PR in play the Corps would be better prepared to deal with the latter two contingencies. Progressive Reconstruction focuses on Democratic Nation Building & Stability Operations and can assist with Humanitarian Relief and Infrastructure Development. All would combine to reduce terrorist generation and insurrection.

## WHY PROGRESSIVE RECONSTRUCTION:

It brings the doctrine of the Corps in line with the Pre-emptive threat removal theory currently in action. It would: Reduce emphasis on valid grievances, underemployment, and corruption; Reduce terrorism by keeping or providing a governmental structure in areas no longer in the war zone; Reduce the ability of the enemy remain behind and guerilla forces from causing the Coalition to loose the initiative in rear areas; Reduce guerilla potency by providing services–feeding, educating, rebuilding & health care; Reduce fear in areas which in regular Military operations would often be left without protection; Develop local self-defense forces or support local self-defense forces; Provide tangible evidence of a better future in rural and poor areas. In a regime change campaign PR provides an immediate framework of government and concentrated effort to win hearts and minds with orderly civic action ALL UNDER ONE MISSION COMMANDER. Civic Action would contribute to the betterment of the lives of the local population. It would gain the support, loyalty and respect of the people for the government/military government and contribute in some measure to national development by building ties with the local population.

The enemy of America is adapting, soft tactics are defeating our technological edge. The terrorist and guerillas melt away when the heavy forces arrive only to reemerge when they leave. TE Lawrence once stated that the advantage in an insurgency is in the hand of the insurgents through a common ideology: rationalized and focused discontent anchored in social organization. In this type of warfare relationships with the people mean more than

bullets and bombs. The firepower and technology advantage is important but in counter-insurgency it is not decisive. Insurgents from rival states can obtain modern weapons and technologies. The recent disabling of an M1A1 by a mystery round is an example. Artillery is marginalized, FWCAS is limited and RWCAS is vulnerable. Technology cannot replace sound strategic planning.

The goal of military intervention is to gain the collapse of the resistance as quickly as possible thereby removing the imminent threat. PR provides a means to defeat an enemy who is not tied to a capital or other critical objective and to fill the void created by the removal of the target nation government or the crushing of the insurgent main forces in the area of operation. The US, Coalition zone should become a center of attraction vice repulsion. Military forces conducting PR must be capable of conducting a highly mobile defense, with capability to conduct saturation operations. Mobile infantry is necessary to protect resource centers: LOC/MSR, Mercantile Centers, Ports, Airfields, Factories, Power & Water Plants, Sanitation and Medical Facilities; and to protect National Centers of Influence: Religious Sites, Universities, Museums and Archeological Sites etc. The native population must profit in the US/UN/Coalition presence. The protection should have a definite economic orientation. Encourage trade, attract investors, and bring not only a promise of security but also material prosperity.

## PR CONCEPTS:

Advance Militarily: hunt the insurgents and enemy armed forces. Foster economic development on the heels of military action. Control Information by taking immediate control of TV, Radio, Print, and Internet

sources. Ensure through imbedded PsyOps that the population attributes improvements to US/Government intervention. The Military Forces must conduct Population and Resource Controls: Overt and covert surveillance of population; Movement control and curfews and Issuance of Papers—manifests—ID's. Concentrate on visible benefits to the people who work with us and foster peaceful relations. Isolate the troubled areas. Operate on a wide front, rapidly creating secure rear areas. Utilize surprise attacks and encirclement against insurgent strongholds. Develop and utilize local auxiliary forces for intelligence and security. Organize Regular Forces for point defense and raids. Conduct operations designed to transform dissidents into associates. Do not neglect Political Warfare. Devise ways to undermine the power of the government being replaced; conduct a systematic disintegration of the old power base –removal of authority from the old regimes former supporters.

Unity of Command: Unity of Command = Unity of Effort

Why: Because Military and Civilian officials don't always view success in the same way and because political action is more important than military. Clear military and Political goals must be established and developed from a common source before the invasion/intervention begins. Unity of Command must reach beyond just military functions. "A colonial expedition should always be under the command of the chief appointed to be the first administrator of the country after its conquest." –Marshal Hubert Lyautey. The goal is to ensure that the Commander of the Operation views the invasion/intervention as a whole entity not as two parts further integrating the warfighting with the peace making efforts. Additional unified territorial commands would need to be

established in the occupied territory (IMEF in Iraq splitting the southern zone into RCT and BN Sectors is a good example). This would create not an occupied point but a zone, and not a military post but a center of influence and action. All of these zones must answer to a common leader, a leader who also commanded the initial invasion/intervention this will further enhance the prestige of the occupying forces.

Force Structure: Warfighters–Peace Makers–Nation Builders.

In this type of warfare it is necessary to alter the traditional Western designed force structure, which is built for the European battlefields. Force structure must meet the unique requirements of the counter–insurgency. No force is more uniquely qualified for peace making than the Corps. The Marine Corps' Force structure heavy on mounted infantry is perfect for stability operations. The MAGTF is a complete package not only for warfighting but also in engineering and service support. The same structures could be augmented to serve the role of Nation builders. With the addition of Joint, Coalition and Governmental assets the MEB would be the perfect platform from which to launch the PR concept.

Marines could participate by supporting the Active Defense: Building local auxiliary forces, police, and army. Guarding Key infrastructure points (power, communications, transportation). They can assist with the rebuilding or building of key infrastructure points. If planned in advance they could foster the rebuilding of the market, making the target nation economically feasible and self–sustaining thereby providing jobs and making daily life safer.

To increase the effectiveness of EMW in today's strategic landscape the Corps must increase the strategic agility and tactical flexibility of the concept. This calls for the ability to pacify as well as defeat the enemy. Keeping the enemy off balance throughout the theater by removing not just the immediate threat but also the roots of future threats. It must be stressed that Transition begins immediately after the first round impacts with the boots on the ground and the capture of the first objectives. Again the goal of Progressive Reconstruction is to ensure when combat operations are over that there is already a unified government/military government in control of the target nation demonstrating the benefits of US military intervention. Adding a key piece of stability in order to reduce the breeding ground for terrorist and insurgents. Thus by acknowledging that the only way to defeat swarms of mosquitoes is not by attacking each individual but by draining the swampland they breed in the Corps can benefit by adding Progressive Reconstruction to the EMW concept. By conducting Progressive Reconstruction behind combat operations the Marine Corps will demonstrate the true benefits of Democracy.

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