

Governance and Stability

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The materials presented during General Lindström's keynote presentation titled *Governance and Stability* have been prepared for publication in this proceedings volume by Woodcock. The figures contained in this paper are based extensively on those provided by the General during his keynote presentation. These materials review aspects of the General's deployment to US Central Command (USCENTCOM) Headquarters in Florida, U.S.A. and describe the components of Operation Enduring Freedom undertaken by USCENTCOM.

DEPLOYMENT TO CENTCOM HEADQUARTERS

The General began his presentation at the Cornwallis workshop with a brief review of his experiences as the senior Swedish Military Representative at US Central Command (USCENTCOM) Headquarters in Florida (Figures 1 and 2). His experience benefited greatly from discussions with officers from among the 30 nations listed in Figure 2 and others. During his deployment, the general was able to study the relationship between Swedish doctrine and that of other nations represented at USCENTCOM and to contribute to the overall activity at the Headquarters. The USCENTCOM Area of Responsibility (AOR), which is shown in Figure 3, includes Egypt and Sudan in the west, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan in the center and east, and Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Kazakhstan in the north. Operation Enduring Freedom involved operations centered on Afghanistan and aspects of that Operation are reviewed below.

INFLUENCES APPEARING TO AFFECT UNITED STATES POLICY

The threat environment faced by the United States and others has included the attack on the World Trade Center in New York in 1993, the US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998, the USS Cole in 2000, the World Trade Center and the Pentagon in 2001, and continuing operations in Afghanistan and Iraq. (Figure 4). Key influences acting on the United States

appear to be the United Kingdom, followed by a second tier consisting mainly of: Canada, Germany, Australia, France, Italy, Japan, and Turkey (Figure 5). Nations that are host to US activities and others can also exert influences. A third tier appears to involve other NATO and European countries, and a fourth tier involves the United Nations as an entity.



Figure 1: General Lindström was deployed to CENTCOM Headquarters in Florida.



Figure 2: International representatives at the Coalition Village at Central Command.

Important Elements of United States policy now appear to involve the meeting of new threats and the exertion of new influences on events around the world. New trends have emerged in which the US, the single super power seeks the active involvement of other nations identified as the “Coalition of the Willing.” Different goals may exist where the

requirement to achieve some form of “Strategic Stability” conflicts with the need to provide resources to support development or for humanitarian aid. The complex political and military environment has led to the need for increased coordination of political, economic, diplomatic, military, and other resources and the involvement of military forces, host nations, the United Nations, and non-governmental (NGO) and international (IO) organizations.



Figure 3: CENTCOM Area of Responsibility (AOR) and *Operation Enduring Freedom*.

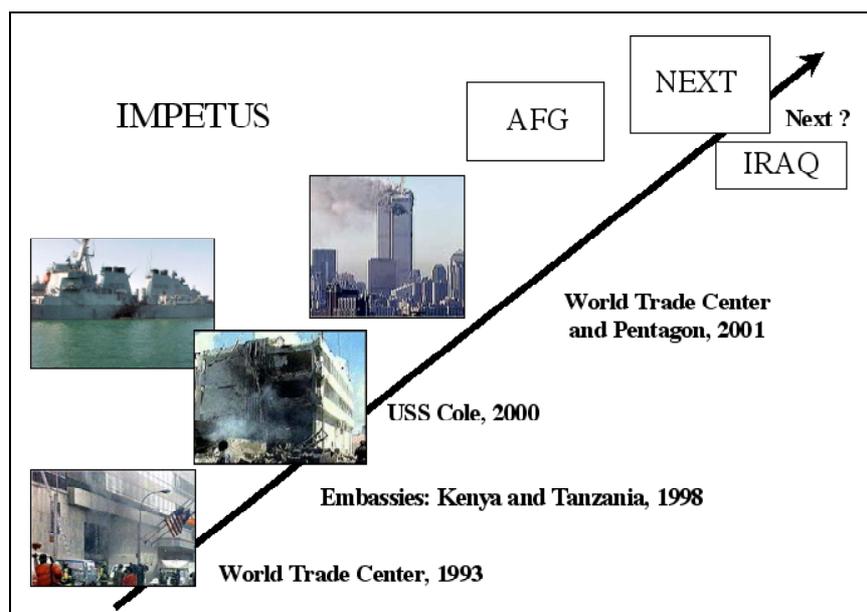


Figure 4: The threat environment involving the United States and other nations.

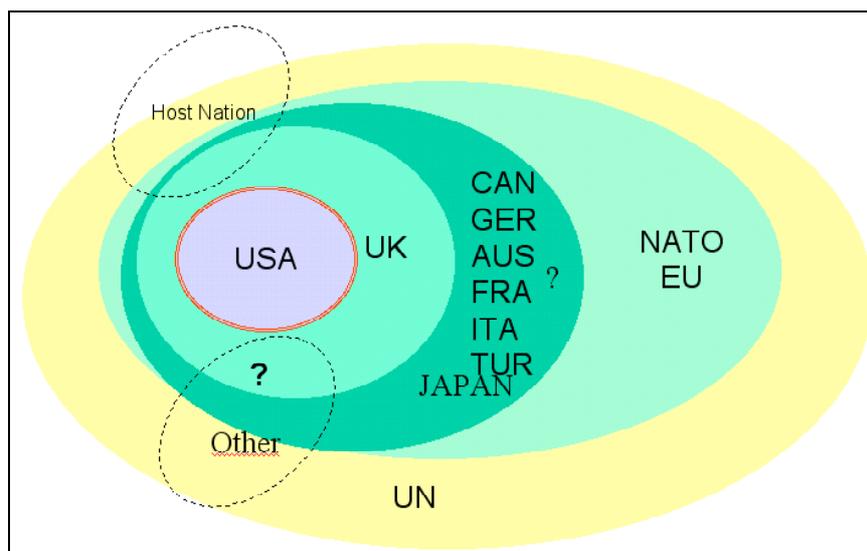


Figure 5: Influences appearing to act on the United States appear to form several tiers.

OPERATION ENDURING FREEDOM

The mission of *Operation Enduring Freedom* was (1). Eradicate terrorist networks with global reach and (2) Convince or compel states and non-state organizations to cease support of terrorism. Within the context of that Operation, the mission of USCENTCOM was to eliminate Al Quiada and remove the Taliban from Afghanistan. The Campaign Plan for *Operation Enduring Freedom* can be summarized rather simply: Avoid the mistakes made during historical operations in Afghanistan. Coalition Operations were designed to leverage the unique strengths of the participating nations, including the provision of long-range air combat with high technology weapons and logistic support with very significant air transport assets.

ACTIVITIES IN SUPPORT OF OPERATION ENDURING FREEDOM

Support to the Northern Alliance to facilitate their ability to attack the Taliban during *Operation Enduring Freedom* involved the provision of military and other supplies (Figure 6). Close air support and special operations force support were also provided as appropriate. Humanitarian aid was provided to the people of Afghanistan and involved the air-drop and overland delivery of supplies (Figure 7). Initial activities involved the establishment of forward bases. This was followed by the use of conventional and special operations forces in a range of activities including collection of intelligence on adversarial actions and operations (Figure 8). Transition to civil-military operations permitted a more significant integration of military actions with those of civilian entities in the wider society.

Operational execution involves a synergy of capabilities involving at least Special Operations Forces (SOF) working as needed with conventional forces, decisive strikes, unconventional warfare, humanitarian relief, information operations, and political/military actions (Figure 9). Theater Strategy is executed by conducting thousands of peacetime

activities aligned to these engagement categories. These categories are defined by the Chairman's Manual (CJCSM) 3113.01A, Theater Engagement Planning and are the same categories used to report all engagement activities against in the annual submission of activity reports to the Joint Staff.



Figure 6: Support was provided to elements of the Northern Alliance Forces.



Figure 7: Airborne delivery of supplies provided enhanced levels of resources in a timely manner in order to support operations.



Figure 8: Conventional and special operations forces acted against the Taliban and other adversarial forces.

The following discussion is aimed at providing some representative engagement activities for some of these categories to provide a flavor of what those categories include (Figure 9).

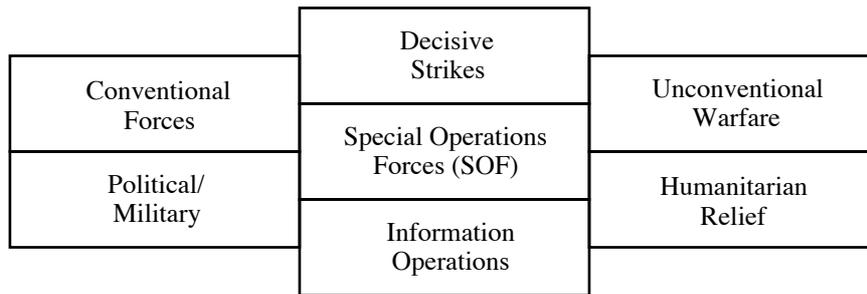


Figure 9: Execution of an operation involves the synergistic interaction of different activities.

- Political-Military Activities extend beyond coalition building and can involve information sharing and the exchange of intelligence (Figure 10). Other civil-military actions can insure the de-conflicting of future operations and support to a range of US State Department actions. Political military activities often form a critical aspect of operations and have played important roles in the cases of Pakistan, India, Iran, Iraq the Arabian peninsula, Egypt, the Central Asian States and elsewhere (Figure 11).



Figure 10: Political-military activities can involve the exchange of information.



Figure 11: Political-military activities can involve providing security for civilians.

- Information Operations involve a range of activities including public affairs, deception, psychological operations, operations security, electronic warfare, physical destruction, civil affairs, counter-deception, counter-propaganda, counter-intelligence, computer network defense and computer network attack.
- Decisive Strikes can involve the use of air power and other high technology assets to project military force deep into the area of responsibility of adversarial forces (Figure 12).



Figure 12: Air power can be used in decisive strikes against hostile targets.

- Conventional Forces Activities involve the establishment of forward operating bases, the undertaking of reconnaissance operations and the securing of key terrain. Such operations in Afghanistan involved securing Kandahar city and airfield, the road system, Bagrum airfield, Kabul city and Kabul International Airport, and Mazar-E Sharif airfield. Conventional force operations in Afghanistan also involved engaging the Taliban and Al Qaida forces and supporting operations involved in the provision of humanitarian assistance.



Figure 13: Unconventional warfare can involve the preemption of hostile actions through the seizure of assets and the enforcement of sanctions.

- Unconventional Warfare activities could involve use of helicopters and other assets to monitor shipping and other transport facilities to detect the smuggling of weapons, drugs, fuel, personnel, or other assets by adversarial forces and to enforce internationally-mandated sanctions, for example (Figure 13).
- Humanitarian Assistance can involve the provision of security to civilian and other entities involved in the provision of actual assistance and the military forces can create a form of “Strategic Anchor” for those actions (Figures 14 and 15). Other military actions can support various actions of the US Department of State. In Afghanistan, military support to humanitarian assistance activities involved the opening of land and air bridges, the opening of the Freedom Bridge to Uzbekistan, the repair damaged airfields, the building of humanitarian assistance hubs at key locations. Eventually the humanitarian assistance-related military activities would be turned over to civil humanitarian entities.



Figure 14: Humanitarian assistance can involve providing security to and assisting in the transport of resources in response to civilian needs.



Figure 15: Humanitarian assistance can involve the air-dropping of food and other time-critical resources to displaced persons.

**SELECTED ACTIVITIES DURING *OPERATION*
*ENDURING FREEDOM***

Significant activities associated with so-called Phases III and IV of *Operation Enduring Freedom* are shown in Figure 16. It is recognized that many of the tasks conducted in Phase III carry over into Phase IV. Importantly though, the tasks in Phase III support decisive combat operations while the tasks in Phase IV support the prevention of the reemergence of terrorism. The accomplishment of the key tasks of the destruction of Al Qaida and Taliban command and control assets, and the bringing to justice of key Al Qaida leaders, provides a clear delineation between Phase III and IV, and also supports the Phase III end-states.

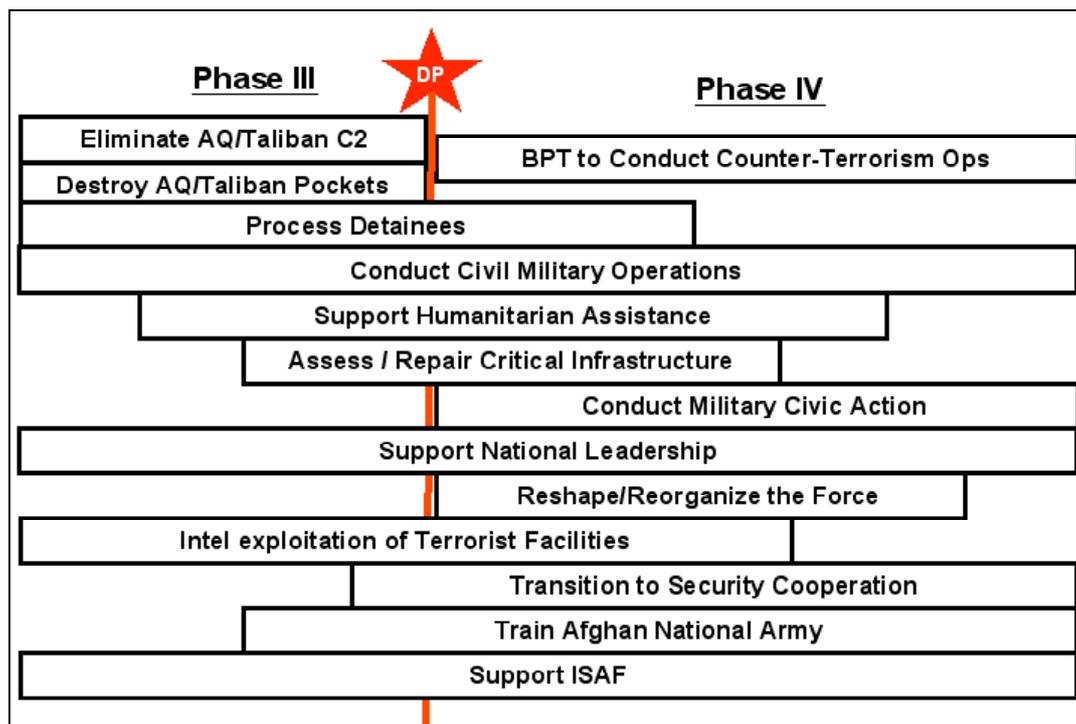


Figure 16: Selected Peace Enforcement and Peace Keeping activities in Afghanistan.

- Phase III activities involve the elimination of the command and control capabilities of the Taliban and Al Qaida forces and the destruction of pockets of resistance. Other actions, which were continued into Phase IV, involved the processing of detainees, the undertaking of civil-military operations, the provision of support to humanitarian assistance operations and assessing damage and repairing critical infrastructure assets. Support to the National Leadership in Afghanistan, the intelligence exploitation of terrorist facilities and support to the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) was also provided during Phase III.
- Phase IV activities involved the undertaking of counter-terrorist operations, the continuing processing of detainees, the conduct of civil-military operations, further support was given to humanitarian assistance activities, and the repair of critical infrastructure assets was continued. Military-civic operations and restructuring of the forces were begun in Phase IV. The

intelligence exploitation of terrorist facilities was continued. Transition to a condition of security cooperation and the training of the Afghan National Army, begun toward the end of Phase III was continued, as was support to ISAF.

Several of the activities undertaken in Afghanistan during Operation Enduring Freedom are displayed in Figure 17. These activities included requests for work on the Kandahar-Spin Boldak bridge in the south of Afghanistan, the Chaghcharan airfield in central Afghanistan, the Herat-Quala-e-Naw bridge in the west of Afghanistan, the Mazaar-I-Sharif airfield and the Taloqan-Rustaq bridge in the north.

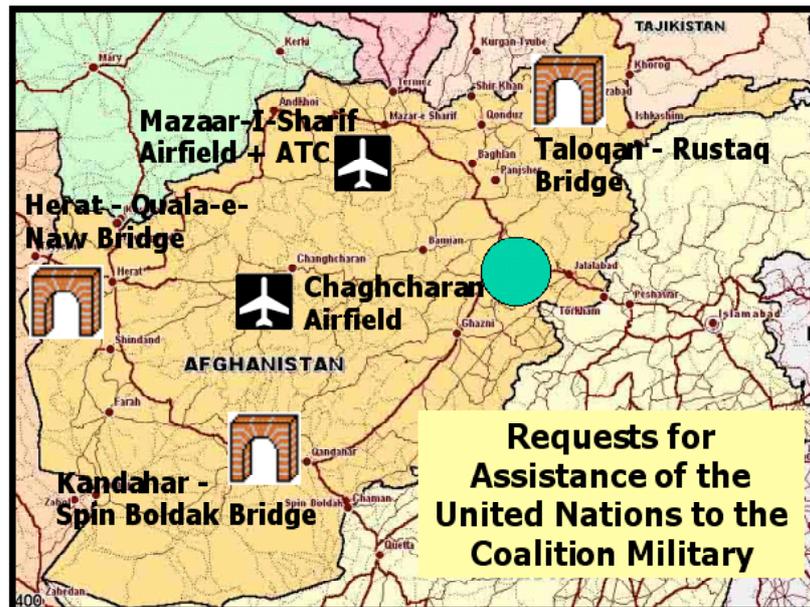


Figure 17: Requests for assistance of the United Nations to the Coalition Military Forces.

Data from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) reflecting the repatriation of refugees into Afghanistan are shown in Figure 18. Estimated returns from Pakistan since January 1 2002 are some 694,000 and 514,000 since March 1 2002. Key return routes are through Spin Boldak in the south, Zaranj and Dogharum in the west, and Jalalabad in the east. Several camps have been established to provide shelter for refugees and some of those camps are shown in Figure 18.

USING THE STRATEGIC MANAGEMENT SYSTEM (STRATMAS) TO SUPPORT PLANNING AND DEPLOYMENT

The Strategic Management System (STRATMAS) developed by a team led by Professor Woodcock, George Mason University, provides a prototype environment for assessing the cost-effectiveness of different combinations of military and civilian entities for undertaking peace enforcement (PEO), peace keeping (PKO), humanitarian assistance/disaster relief (HA/DR), and non-combatant evacuation (NEO) operations as well as force-on-force conflict (FFC).

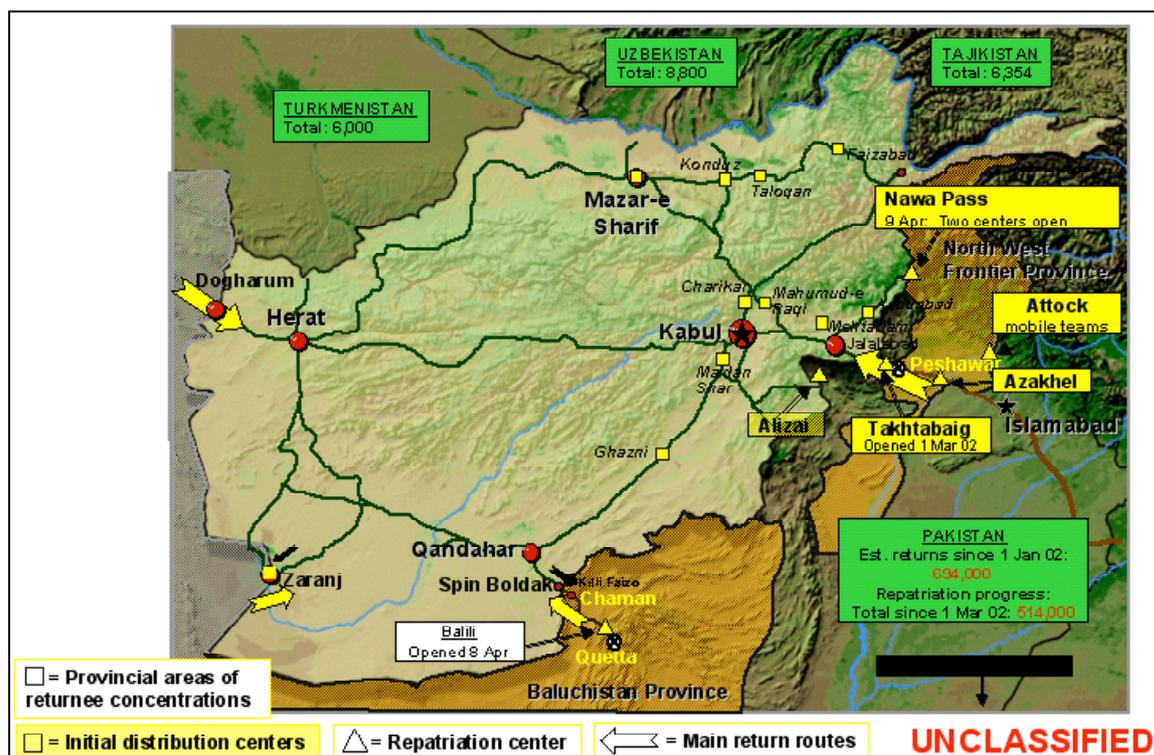


Figure 18: UNHCR-reported repatriation of refugees into Afghanistan.

Phase III of the STRATMAS effort consolidated the research and development advances made in earlier phases of the project. The consolidated system was used to support a post-conflict stabilization study of Afghanistan in January 2003 at the Swedish National Defence College. STRATMAS-generated and other data were used to support the planning for and deployment of notional military forces within Afghanistan. Those deployments were seen to create significant declines in the computed levels of ethnic violence and appeared to create security conditions where societal stabilization and reconstruction would be possible.

In the post-conflict stabilization study activity, STRATMAS provided a realistic representation of a notional societal environment in Afghanistan within which military, peace, and humanitarian operations can take place. STRATMAS-generated societal data were displayed in both map-based and textual formats and used to set the scene for the study participants and to provide a basis for assessing the effectiveness of their actions. Two consecutive activity scenarios were used in the study. The first scenario described the transformation from a post-conflict situation involving high levels of violence to intermediate levels of violence. The second STRATMAS scenario considered further transformations to low violence level conditions where societal reconstruction and development become possible.

DISCUSSION

Experiences in Afghanistan, Iraq, and elsewhere have pointed to the critical need to develop a comprehensive understanding of the cultural, ethnic, and religious environment within which operations are intended to take place. A failure to generate such an understanding may

lead to the undertaking of inappropriate, counter-productive, and misguided actions and create the potential for mission failure. Operations are necessarily context-dependent and part of the context of operations necessarily involves the lives, actions, and beliefs of both civilian and military entities.

Sometimes overlooked in the planning and execution of military operations is the impact of local, national, and international media in shaping the political and military landscape. Actions by relatively low level military or civilian personnel can be broadcast around the world and may have strategic impact through their effect on the population and leadership of both host nations and troop-providing nations. It appears that conflict increasingly involves the media-based so-called court of public opinion where the conflict between political and military goals can impact strategic and tactical decision-making and may lead to changes in the missions of military forces in response to modified political perceptions.

These experiences have also demonstrated the critical need to develop comprehensive long-term strategies to address both the relatively short-term military needs of a situation as well as the longer-term needs of the wider society. Dominating military forces are clearly needed to support military operations, but less robust military forces, and even civilian police can be far more appropriate in low-threat situations involving some form of complex humanitarian emergency. Balancing the troops to the tasks at hand requires detailed planning that could be supported by an enhanced version of the Strategic Management System (STRATMAS).

In order to succeed, complex operations must involve extensive collaboration and cooperation between participants before, during, and after deployment. Establishment of a clear, unambiguous, chain of command with a single overall commander is also of critical importance. Rules of engagement that promote commander initiative in new and emerging conflict situations are also necessary. New methods for modeling military and civilian activities within an overall societal framework and the collection and display of operationally-important data can provide military leaders and their operational planning staffs with significant advantages. Such advantages include the ability to assess the impact of proposed courses of action against different types and combinations of adversarial forces and actions, for example.

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