CIMIC

in Missions and Operations

Reflections on History, Current Affairs and Perspectives

Wessel Toonen

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THINKING ABOUT PENGUINES…

Some years ago, I came across a picture from the 1982 Falklands War which showed penguins and British soldiers in a largely barren landscape. Having been active in Civil-Military Cooperation as a staff officer for quite some time, this picture appeared to me a strong statement of what Civil-Military Cooperation is all about: In military operations, wherever in the world, if there are only penguins and soldiers, then there is no need for Civil-Military Cooperation! (CIMIC) Everywhere else, CIMIC must be an integral part of any kind of operation, whether on the

British soldiers on Falkland Islands 1982

tactical, operational, or strategic level. This will not just help win battles, but also win lasting peace by facilitating a comprehensive civil-military approach.

First as a teenager and later as a career officer of the "Cold War Era", there was no such thing as CIMIC or any interaction with the civilian side. My military education and training followed the dream of empty battle fields in the Northern plains of Germany, devoid of any population, where the Blue tank armies of NATO would engage the Red tank armies of the Warsaw

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Pact, without being interruption from the civil environment. Following the fall of the Iron Curtain, I experienced 25 years of Stabilization Operations and, with them, the birth of CIMIC and its development into this type of operation as well as the key link between the military and the ever-growing number of civilian organizations focused on reconstruction.

When taking over responsibility of the CIMIC Centre of Excellence in July 2016, I did so being keenly aware of the ever-changing security and human-itarian paradigms of our time. At the end of the Cold War, our societies had relished for too long on the assumption of assured stability and prosperity across Europe. Even our armed forces only had to deal with Stabilization Operations to a certain degree, and the related sacrifices in regions far away from the territory of the NATO Alliance. Yet, by the summer of 2016, various threats and scenarios had begun to challenge the flawed assumption of a peaceful Europe. At the Northern and North-Eastern borders of NATO, an increasing number of destabilizing hybrid activities had commenced against our stable and sovereign partners. At the same time, massive migration and refugee trails from failed and failing states in the South and South-East culminated in and beyond the 2014/15 window.

In analyzing these challenges from a CIMIC perspective the following findings became obvious to me at an early stage: As available resources determined priorities in practice, the drastic budget cuts and shrinking numbers of CIMIC units in many NATO member countries proved that the military capability of CIMIC no longer received sufficient attention. This had been mirrored by the impression that the actors who resorted to hybrid aggression had a much better understanding of the need to integrate civilian and military means of power than we did.

On the renaissance of Collective Defense, the blueprints of the Cold War Era were outdated and useless to emulate in these new scenarios. Recent events have shown a much more sophisticated and fragmented use of covert military, propaganda, separatist, ethno-religious, criminal, economic, and cyber activities. All these types of actions have received growing attention in political, military, and academic circles under the label of Hybrid Threats. These orchestrated activities share the common goal of destabilizing a func-tioning state and society by forming a powerful threat, which remains just below the threshold of the definition of an armed attack according to the United Nations Charter. In the near future, NATO is likely to be confronted

by complex hybrid challenges which do not immediately reach the threshold established by NATO's Article 5.

In such a Hybrid Warfare scenario, all military planning and activities have to align with the 'total defense' approach of the affected societies at a very early stage. In addition, other challenges such as developing national and collective resilience, mass-migration, and refugee movements cannot be answered, less be resolved, in a traditional military way. With regard to capacity building, relevant for both the Northern and the Southern borders, the buildup of territorial CIMIC by enhancing endemic security forces should develop into a significant contribution of NATO CIMIC for contingency planning. Overall, there is a growing need to develop and apply new responses to counter these new challenges.

Finally, on the basis of all these findings, it remains the most important challenge for the Centre to make our counterparts in the military, like the non-military environment, more aware of the relevance of CIMIC for countering these new challenges by providing advice on the tactical, operational, and strategic levels. Thus, I am convinced that the CIMIC Centre of Excellence, and with it CIMIC in NATO, will have to be highly pro-active in both domains, in order to avoid short-comings and dire consequences in future planning and decision making.

On the military side for 2017, we have placed our focus on making it very evident to NATO, and its sovereign member states, that CIMIC is essential in enhancing and facilitating the national resilience and defensive composure in Collective Defense. With this objective in mind, the CCOE has pro-actively engaged with our national and international partners in NATO and, as we are always dealing with just one single set of forces, albeit under different mandates, with organizations beyond NATO, such as the EU and the UN family.

For 2018, we will dedicate our efforts to the significant number of international, governmental, and non-governmental organizations across Europe, that are still unaware of CIMIC's function. Our focus will be on our still largely un-resourced opportunities to mitigate the effects on civil populations in crisis situations. This will largely happen in the context of the growing challenges in the South and South-East of the NATO Alliance.

We will do this by reaching out and engaging with the civilian stakeholders and personnel handling crisis resolution in a decidedly non-military way.

Through and beyond the 10-year anniversary event of the CCOE in October 2017, we will thus reach out in an unprecedented way to the number of non-military relief and development organizations, with whom we share a common humanitarian understanding for the Rule-of-Law, Good-Governance, Gender Equality, Children in Armed Conflicts, Cultural Property Protection, anti-corruption, and the general protection of civilians in conflicts. To uphold and maintain these common values, the civilian and the military side will apply different tools and measures as defined by their individual mandates. Yet the intended goal, or the unity of purpose, is usually the same for all of us.

This book shall provide you, the curious reader, with a comprehensive picture of the origins of CIMIC in the 1990s and its development through Stabilization Operations during the ensuing quarter of the century. This will be followed by the description of CIMIC's role within Collective Defense, enhanced by the challenges in the humanitarian environment such as societal Resilience and Hybrid Warfare since the 2014/15 period and its related perspectives through and beyond the 2027 anniversary mark.

In this regard, CIMIC and this Centre of Excellence will have to prove its relevance in these new scenarios by significantly enhancing its outreach and relevance in both directions, or there will be no need for a 20th Anniversary in ten years. A think-tank and a capacity which does not provide answers and solutions as they are needed would then only remain as an anachronism out of its time.

Colonel Wolfgang Paulik
Director, Civil-Military Cooperation
Centre of Excellence
(CCOE)

Indroduction to the book

On one of his most memorable days in Afghanistan, it was the first time that Captain Jean-Michel Paquet of the Canadian Forces Base Valcartier went to the small village of Haji Gulan within the Kandahar Province.

It was going to be a long foot patrol, between 9 and 10 km in total. His unit used a small path alongside the Arghandab river, which separated the Canadian monitored Panjawii district from the US controlled Zhari district. There had always been many contacts on the other side of the river, and so the military men and women came prepared, as something clearly was about to happen. As he walked on, Captain Paquet could see many poppy fields, and found them very beautiful, despite being aware of their inteded use. He remembered reading about Afghanistan's scarce usable land, together with its low-income status even before a long cycle of violence had set it further back. Decades of war had indeed left Afghanistan's people scarred and its state structures destroyed or neglected. This allowed for pervasive, entrenched and systemic corruption to shortly follow suit, which would go on to reach an unprecedented scope in Afghan history.[1]

How surreal it seemed, that even within this ravaged place, nature somehow still managed to produce beauty with such simplicity. While it puzzled him at first, the thought of those fields would soon begin to fill Captain Paquet with hope.

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1. 'Assessment of Corruption in Afghanistan', © USAID (2009) – Contract Number: GS-10F-0425M, Contract Number: GS-10F-0425M, Afghanistan "Services under Program and Project Offices for Results Tracking" (SUPPORT) p. 6.; Astri Suhrke, 'The Limits of Statebuilding: The Role of International Assistance in Afghanistan', CMI: The Chr. Michelsen Institute (2006) p. 1.

As he marched on, he realized how the very presence of these flowers meant that the grounds underneath them were fertile enough to sustain life, growth and development. This held a promise for a brighter future, one that he was helping to build. In a strange way, Paquet's brief thought about something simple as poppy fields once again reaffirmed the need for his mission to take place. He knew he was doing right by being there. When the soldiers finally got to the village, they established contact with the local leader and did their reconnaissance for the projects they wanted to start in the area: *"The villagers were really friendly to us and invited us for chai once the job was done. On our way back, the American Forward Operating Base (FOB) on the other side of the river, maybe less than a kilometer from us, came under heavy shelling. We could hear the bullets, see the mortar hitting the ground, see the smoke and fire. As we were getting close to our FOB, we could see the locals fleeing to our side of the river. It struck me how different things were between our side and the other side of the river. It made me proud to serve in an army that can fight against enemy, but can also live among the people, talk and listen to them, understand them."*[2]

Such stories have emerged from Afghanistan since NATO deployed the first troops of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) to Kabul in August, 2003. It did not take long before ISAF military and civilian personnel were confronted by the realities of a full-scale counterinsurgency war, burgeoning opium trade and a vastly larger and less hospitable **A**rea of **O**perations (AO). The documented records from several rotations demonstrate, at best, mixed results. Afghanistan, after all, presented NATO forces with a far more difficult challenge in civil-military teamwork than the one they had encountered while intervening in the Balkans during the 1990s.[3] Nevertheless, this relay of Captain Paquet's first tour of Afghanistan offers a fine example of civil-military interaction. Best defined as an overarching mindset that describes the necessity of interaction between civil and military actors, civil-military interaction applies to all soldiers and acknowledges the importance of the civil domain within military operations. By virtue of the safe haven these Canadian soldiers had provided to the people of Haji Gulan, together with their demonstrable effort to involve these local villagers in their plans, their force was in turn heartedly welcomed into the area.

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2. Jean-Michel Paquet, 32 years old, Captain CFB Valcartier. Five years in the Canadian Forces. First tour of Afghanistan. Author's edit. Original story published by multimedia project The Long Road.
3. Hans Binnendijk and Patrick M. Cronin, (eds.), Civilian Surge: Key to Complex Operations. A Preliminary Report, The National Defense University (December 2008) p. 194.

This quickly demonstrates how both the military and civilians could benefit from their interaction within war-torn environments. Whereas such interactions do not follow any doctrine, it is not hard to imagine their operational rationale. While facts and figures about local ***power-brokers** and ****insurgents** in Afghanistan may for example have been elusive to ISAF, they are common knowledge to local people.[4]

* **Power brokers** are figures with considerable socio-political, economic and/or financial power, who by virtue of their status, connections and affiliations can shape or exert influence on the decisions of other parties and therewith change their group dynamics, which allows them to act as intermediaries in a conflict.

** **Insurgents** are organized groups of people who engage in protracted armed conflict with a domestic ruling authority or international presence they deem illegitimate. They take the form of paramilitary organizations that seek to control areas and populations. To this end, they use political resources and violence against combatants to achieve immediate military aims and gain increased (international) recognition in the long run.

Picture: US soldiers patrolling through poppy fields in Southern Afghanistan

4. E.C.G.J. van Duren, 'Money is Ammunition in Afghanistan', Militaire Spectator Vol. 179 No. 11 (2010) p. 568.

FROM OCCUPYING LANDS TO REBUILDING ENVIRONMENTS

There is of course little historic novelty in the phenomenon of soldiers inter-acting with local civilians in the field. It far predated the NATO military deployments to either Afghanistan, Iraq, Kosovo, or Bosnia-Herzegovina. Nor were the first civil-military interactions masterminded by think tanks or International Organizations (IOs) such as the UN, EU or NATO during the post-1945 era. Armed conflicts, in fact, have always had an undeniable impact on the lives of civilians. Soldiers in action have always crossed into civil territories, often with devastating effects on the latter, while engaging with the people inhabiting them. At times, these soldiers were on the lookout for shelter or foraging for supplies. On other occasions, they needed medical assistance to treat their wounded. They interacted with civilians to obtain new equipment or to gather information, while sometimes even catching them in the crossfire. Whereas the phenomenon of the interaction between civilians and the military is as old as human history itself, its modern purpose does constitute a decisive breach with the antiquated, Latin principle of bellum se ipsum alit ("The war feeds itself").

As violent conflicts have historically always fed themselves from and on the back of the civilian population, this understanding had permeated itself through the ages. In literature, this principle had first been laid out in *Titus Livius' History of Rome*, which was initially published between 27 and 9 BC. The phrase was attributed to a Roman statesman, who during the conquest of the Iberian Peninsula in 195 BC allegedly refused to spend more money on additional supplies for his troops.[5] Instead he ordered his soldiers to supply themselves, primarily by extracting resources from the lands they occupied.

During the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), this practice gained new prominence when the Imperial military commander Albrecht von Wallenstein began to systematically exploit occupied territory. Ultimately, his soldiers were being paid and fed entirely from the contributions of war loot. Both convenient and cost-effective, other armies quickly adopted Von Wallenstein's example by using military force to collect contributions from occupied territories.

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5. Ernst Lautenbach, Latein – Deutsch: Zitaten-Lexikon (Berlin-Hamburg-Münster: LIT Verlag, 2002) p. 101.

In this way, *"The war feeds itself"* became an expedient manner to sustain protracted armed conflict. Armies would ruin environments wherever they came by extracting resources, supplies, services and new recruits for the preservation of their fighting capability. Local authorities, in turn, were forced to cooperate with them without much of a choice or say in return.[6] The devastation of the civilian environment increased the desolation of the civilian populations, thwarting effective reconstruction efforts during the multi-decade conflict.

Albrecht Wenzel Eusebius von Wallenstein

During the post-World War II period, military planning then tended to ignore the civilian aspect of operations: it was simply not factored in. NATO's defensive planning for the center of Europe considered the deployment and movement of several million of soldiers with tens of thousands of pieces of military hardware of all sizes, while completely ignoring the existence of millions of civilians right in the middle of the conflict. Military planning assumed a wide spread evacuation of large parts of a population, ignoring the possibility millions of refugees, the outbreak of widespread panic, or a complete breakdown of the civilian infrastructure.

By contrast, modern stability operations seek to assist the local administration to provide security and essential services to the population. Rather than tearing civil environments apart, Allied military forces now frequently become involved in the restauration of civilian authority, the return to the rule of law, and the establishment of economic security, including the facilitation of selected civic action enhancement projects. Subsidiary to the much better resourced and qualified international relief organizations, these may still include a wide variety of projects that range from assisting local government authorities in offering basic healthcare to local populations to rebuilding

6. Brigitte Beier, Die Chronik der Deutschen (Wissenmedia Verlag, 2007) p. 151.; Kersten Krüger, 'Kriegsfinanzen und Reichsrecht', Formung der frühen Moderne (Berlin-Hamburg-Münster: LIT Verlag, 2005) p. 38.

schools, public buildings and hospitals.[7] Those projects are usually undertaken to support the politically authorized mission of the force, together with the calculated benefits for the local population. The often forced engagement between civilians and the military has therefore changed into Civil-Military Cooperation to support stability and economic sustainability. To this end, CIMIC has broadened the operational toolbox for military commanders by adding a two-way streamed cooperation process between soldiers and civilians. In this way, the stabilization objective of a mission can now be achieved. Post-Cold War military operations thus departed from *"The war feeds itself"*, or the utter disregard for the civilian factor, in so far as the intended end state now aims to starve armed conflict by increasing national stability and government capacity. This is, indeed, a world apart from undermining both of these while engaging in efforts to sponsor protracted violence.

THE NEED FOR CIVIL-MILITARY COOPERATION

In order to successfully establish a basis for their liaison activities, the military thus needed to depend on its ability to engage effectively with non-military actors. The gathered information on the civil environment shall in return contribute to ***strategic level**, ****operational level** and *****tactical level**[8] objectives. Similarly, coordinating and cooperating with a whole range of different non-military organizations in areas of common interest will help to complement each other's strengths and weaknesses in working towards a shared goal. In this way, there is thus a significant correlation between the effectiveness of civil-military interaction and the prospects the military faces for fulfilling its political mandate. Such "effectiveness" for instance means that soldiers must understand and sensitize themselves to local customs, traditions, culture and ways of life. Identifying common goals and interests with civilian stakeholders will help to avoid misunderstandings and will assist in managing civilian expectations. The military needs to unambiguously clarify to the local populace its grounds for being there, as well as its planned activities within the area. Coordinating roles and responsibilities between the military, Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and IOs will make it easier for these different actors to work together, rather than against each other.

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7. Dobbins et al., The Beginner's Guide to Nation-Building, © RAND Corporation – National Security Research Division (2007) pp. 21-22.
8. 'Three Levels of War', USAF College of Aerospace Doctrine, Research and Education (CADRE), Air and Space Power Mentoring Guide Vol. 1 – Maxwell AFB, AL: Air University Press, 1997 (excerpt).

* **Strategic level** focuses on defining and supporting (inter)national policy and relates directly to the outcome of a war, mission or conflict as a whole. Usually modern wars and conflicts are either won or lost at this level rather than at the operational or tactical levels. The strategic level applies to all forms of war and conflict, from military activities short of war through insurgent, conventional, and nuclear warfare. This level involves a strategic concept, plans for preparing all national instruments of power for war or conflict, practical guidance for preparing the armed forces, and leadership of the armed forces to achieve strategic objectives.

** **Operational level** is concerned with employing military forces in a theatre of war or theatre of operations to obtain an advantage over the enemy and thereby attain strategic goals through the design, organization, and conduct of campaigns and major operations. In theatres of war, the campaign involves deploying military forces in a series of related military operations to accomplish a common objective in a given time and space. In theatres of peace support operations, campaigns consists of a series of related military, economic, and political operations to accomplish a common objective in a given time and space. Commanders should design, orchestrate, and coordinate operations and exploit tactical events to support overall campaign objectives.

*** **Tactical level** translates potential combat power into success in battles and engagements through decisions and actions that create advantages when in contact with or in proximity to the enemy. This stems from the fact that the various operations that make up a campaign are themselves made up of manoeuvres, engagements, and battles. Tactics deal in the details of prosecuting engagements and are extremely sensitive to the changing environment of the battlefield. In nuclear and conventional warfare, the focus of the tactical level is generally on military objectives and combat. Tactical activities are the means to achieve goals set at the operational level.

Through civil assessments and exchanging information via civil-military liaison, CIMIC Units then help their force commander to his or her NATO mission in the best possible way. During the past two decades, NATO has outlined several principles that facilitate successful civil-military interaction, which ultimately depends on the mutual trust and confidence of all those involved. For the military, this means that it must demonstrate transparency through openness, competence, and the capability to resolve problems. Soldiers should further help to prevent difficulties between military and civilian actors by maintaining open and consistent lines of communication. These are tough challenges, given that individual participants may have different opinions on whether cooperating with the military will help them to achieve their goals. An intrinsic problem to establishing effective cooperation between civil and military stakeholders, is to mitigate the problems that may arise from the different structures, needs and priorities of the various stakeholder groups. Due to the huge diversity of non-military actors in the field, only harmonization efforts may be achieved. Deploying an authoritative military approach might in this way be counterproductive to establishing, building and maintaining effective relationships with indispensable civil organizations during missions abroad.

TOWARDS NATO CIMIC

Prior to 1997, civil-military interaction activities by NATO forces in the Balkans was still ad hoc and sporadic by nature. This means that it took place without being grounded in the explicit recognition of civilian aspects within the scope of military planning. This rather sporadic application marks the difference with the concept of CIMIC, which is structurally embedded as a military capability by both NATO and individual nations. Consistently, the term is used in both NATO doctrine, national policy statements, military training and education. This structural development had been triggered by the Balkan stabilization operations in Bosnia-Herzegovina (1992-1995) and Kosovo (1998-1999). With these operations, which often took place in the midst of strongly populated areas, NATO leadership identified a growing necessity to devote more structural attention to the civil-military aspects during operations outside of the core Alliance territory. Military planning for the Balkans had still happened on the basis of a Cold War operational mentality, which

now had to take into consideration large groups of resident civilians right in between the various armed groups. This led eventually led to the establishment of the first CIMIC units, comprised of specialized personnel to facilitate interaction and communication exchange between the civil and the NATO military sides.

Destroyed civilian infrastructure in Bosnia

To keep in check with the respective needs of time and scenarios, CIMIC conducts real time doctrinal development, audience and task oriented specific training programs and is likewise subject to academic studies. NATO defines CIMIC as a " *joint function, comprising a set of capabilities integral to supporting the achievement of mission objectives, and enabling NATO commands to participate effectively in a broad spectrum of civil-military interaction with diverse non-military actors." Levels of interaction may differ from "Cooperation": working together for mutual benefit. "Coordination": bringing together different elements of a complex activity or organization into an efficient relationship. "De-confliction": avoiding undesirable interference among actors, especially where they perform the same function or occupy the same physical space. "Consultation": seeking the opinion or advice of other actors, and "Coexistence": existing at the same time or in the same place. This generally means that two or more organizations will be aware

of each other's presence, but will not directly interact in the field.[9] Thus, CIMIC enables the military to sustain essential working relationships with civil actors in the field. Ultimately, this provides the necessary support to NATO forces to help them fulfil their political mandate. Civil organizations usually outnumber Allied troops within territories during missions abroad. Enabling these soldiers to work together with the civil environment in areas of common interest is therefore needed to achieve the desired end-state of their activities.

This escalating military capacity building process is crucial, as civil environments have been growing rapidly more complex since the end of the Cold War. Operational areas of the armed forces have come to include a range of different actors including NGOs, civil society representatives, humanitarian and development actors, as well as private sector agents. Those also interact and engage with the civilians, (local) government authorities, enemy combatants, and other actors that make up the overall operating environment. This growing level of complexity and the multitude of actors presents civil and military forces with multifaceted threats, challenges and pitfalls. At the same time, it also provides military actors with renewed windows of opportunity to achieve their political stabilization mandates by engaging constructively with all stakeholders in a crisis region. CIMIC therein helps to avoid potential unintended negative consequences for the mission area which may result when soldiers work in the same space as non-military actors.[10] For example, when aid workers run a greater security risk when they are identified with soldiers, which happened in South Afghanistan among other mission areas.[11]

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9. Ibid., 1-4, 1-5, 2-1.
10. Ibid., 1-4.
11. Frerks et al., Principles and Pragmatism: Civil-Military Action in Afghanistan and Liberia, Study commissioned by Cordaid (May 2006) p. 10.

The crucial determinant herein lies in the effectiveness with which the military manages to interact and align with their civil counterparts in a theatre of operations. With overall force capacities reduced, military operations becoming more complex, multidimensional and integrated, ****NATO Centres of Excellence** have played an indispensable part by observing new trends, being critical towards current practices and recommending needed change. As for the CIMIC Centre of Excellence, this has resulted in fresh insights and expanded CIMIC knowledge. In turn, it has also led to improved training, education and learning methods enabling practitioners and NATO commands to utilize the broad spectrum of civil-military interaction more effectively.

A coherent development of CIMIC policies contributes to these efforts by filling the gap between theory and practice. In this way, NATO now formally distinguishes between three different core-functions of CIMIC activities: support to the non-military actors and the civil environment, support to the military force, and civil-military liaison.[12] These functions are based on the explicit recognition of the civil domain within areas of operation, including territories, international actors, local populations and their infrastructures.

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12. AJP-3.4.9 (B) / (AJP-3.19) Allied Joint Doctrine for Civil-Military Cooperation, 2-7.

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CIMIC, in this way, provides the key added value to Alliance forces of identifying and recognizing civil aspects within a broad range of military activities. This allows NATO forces to remain adaptable in both conflicts and civil environments that are increasingly growing more complex. The deployments to Bosnia, Kosovo, Afghanistan, Mali, and Northern Iraq have already emphasized this changing nature of armed conflicts. The end of the Cold War inaugurated an era in which the Allied forces, often US or NATO led, increasingly did find themselves engaging within failed or semi-failed states[13], requiring stability instead of conventional operations.

CIMIC: WHICH SCOPE AND PURPOSE?

Traditionally, military organizations have been reluctant to systematically consider civilian factors into their activities. The development of the new CIMIC concept in the 1990s indeed saw an emerging divide within NATO over the scope and purpose of civil-military cooperation. Many national debates were centered around the fundamental question whether soldiers should just stick to "ordinary" military tasks, or if they should instead move beyond conventional military operations to also engage in complex and seemingly infinite public processes in out-of-area deployments.[14]

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13. John Ubaldi, 'Why Civil Military Operations will be a Combat Multiplier in Counterinsurgency Operations', Small Wars Journal (July 31, 2009) – © Small Wars Foundation, p. 2.
14. Thijs W. Brocades Zaalberg, 'Countering Insurgent-terrorism: Why Nato Chose the Wrong Historical Foundation for Cimic', Small Wars & Insurgencies Vol. 17. No. 4 (2006) p. 406

Retired Lieutenant-Colonel Rob Schuurman – who served in the Royal Netherlands Army from 1969 to 2003, before switching to CIMIC in 1996 – offered his personal experience: *"Both on the national and NATO level, CIMIC used to be treated primarily as a logistical function. It was a remnant of the Cold War era, essential for reinforcing and supplying Allied bases during times of crisis and war. Belgian and Dutch ports for instance harbored facilities designed for the supply and transit of US forces and equipment, next to storage functions in depots. Back then, CIMIC already was meant to fulfill an important, coordinating task in regulating the flows of refugees within the territories managed by Allied forces. To this end, NATO's soldiers were required to consult with whichever military forces, civil organizations and public authorities still been remaining in the area."*[15]

During the early 1990s, a series of events, however, began to trigger change. According to Schuurman: *"Great political turmoil in Europe, including the civil war in former Yugoslavia, did not just urge NATO to anticipate quickly. It also compelled the Alliance to start contributing to the UN-mandated peacekeeping operations at a very short notice. Coordinating with civil actors such as the UN in turn required the concepts, procedures, structures and allocated means. Around 1995, the US Colonel W.R. (Bob) Philips then became head of an international CIMIC staff, tasked to develop a NATO CIMIC policy and doctrine."*[16]

This led to a NATO policy that avoided any military involvement in *nation-building[17]. By contrast, the ambitions expressed for the creation and operational capacity of the NATO CIMIC model became tremendous. Soon the CIMIC Group North indeed prepared to deploy CIMIC reserve officers to provide "functional expertise, advice, and assistance in identifying and assessing" in the areas of civil administration, civil infrastructure, economy and commerce.[18]

15. Input by Retired Lieutenant-Colonel Rob Schuurman, Royal Netherlands Armed Forces (August 2017) Para. 1. This document is in the author's possession.
16. Ibid., Para. 2.
17. Brocades Zaalberg, 'Countering Insurgent-terrorism', p. 407.
18. H. Rappard, 'An Active Dutch CIMIC Policy is Not a Bridge Too Far,' in: M.T.I. Bollen, R.V.A. Janssens, H.F.M. Kirkels, and J.L.M. Soeters (eds.) NL-Arms, Netherlands Annual Review of Military Studies 2002, pp. 74-77.; Brocades Zaalberg, 'Countering Insurgent-terrorism', p. 407.

* **Nation-building** is a normative concept that means different things to different people. The latest conceptualization is essentially that nation-building programs are those in which dysfunctional or unstable or "failed states" or economies are given assistance in the development of governmental infrastructure, civil society, dispute resolution mechanisms, as well as economic assistance, in order to increase stability. Nation-building generally assumes that someone or something is doing the building intentionally. Based on historical cases in which American military power has been used in the aftermath of conflicts to underpin democratization elsewhere around the world since World War II, nation-building can be defined as "the use of armed force in the aftermath of a conflict to underpin an enduring transition to democracy." Many however argue that using the military to bring about democracy may be inherently contradictory. Whether nation-building can be imposed from outside remains one of the central questions, as is the question whether the military is suited and capable of doing so.

** **Non-Article 5 Crisis Response Operations** are multifunctional operations that encompass political, military and civil activities. They are initiated and executed in accordance with international law, including humanitarian law, and contribute to conflict prevention, conflict resolution and crisis management. They also serve humanitarian purposes, in pursuit of declared Alliance objectives.

** **Comprehensive, Integrated or Whole-of-government approaches** started as national-level initiatives to foster greater coherence across government departments. The UN, EU and NATO then each developed their own specific approaches according to varying degrees of sophistication. Depending on their scope, these approaches aim to coordinate policies across different layers of government, including inter-ministerial and inter-agency activities, military and civilian capabilities. They also serve to align policies and procedures between host-nation and international actors, including NGOs and the donor community. NATO, as a military alliance, participates in comprehensive approaches, which it will pursue with other relevant organizations in the field.

In particular, the 1999 Washington Summit had recognized that future NATO involvement in **non-Article 5 Crisis Response Operations**[19] was needed to ensure both the flexibility and ability to execute evolving missions not described under NATO's Article 5 "Collective Defense". Rather, these operations were aimed at responding to crises in a timely and coordinated manner, if these crises carried the potential to either affect the security of NATO countries, or threaten stability and lead to conflicts on the Alliance's periphery. Depending on the desired end-state, they would be limited by objective, means, and time. At the same time, they may include both defense, offence, stability, and enabling activities.[20] Thus, while the term "nation-building" was deliberately avoided in describing CIMIC's purpose, the scope of activities that required a CIMIC capability became tremendous nonetheless.

EMERGING SECURITY CHALLENGES

While anniversaries should be celebratory events, they should also provide for an opportunity to reflect on the current state of an organization and preview the challenges lying ahead. While NATO CIMIC has had demonstrable its merits during previous "non-Article 5 Crisis Response Operations", and in providing military assistance to humanitarian relief efforts, first-hand experiences and academic studies nevertheless suggest different options to utilize CIMIC in more effective ways. These are particularly essential for CIMIC's support to implementing the renewed NATO security agenda, which has been determined on the highest political level during Summits in Wales (2014) and Warsaw (2016). Within this agenda, NATO has invoked strong emphasis on its founding articles providing for the Collective Defense of its members. To meet the new security challenges posed by *hybrid threats*[21], CIMIC must contribute effectively to **comprehensive, whole-of-government approaches**[22] to enhance the societal resilience of NATO members. As hybrid threats tend to cut across different branches of executive government, it is the best remedy to strengthen these branches as an integrated

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19. AJP-3.4(A) – Allied Joint Doctrine for Non-Article 5 Crisis Response Operations (Ratification Draft 1), © North Atlantic Treaty Organization (2010-10-15) 1-1, 1-4.
20. For further reading: Élie Tenenbaum, 'Hybrid Warfare in the Strategic Spectrum: An Historical Assessment', in: Guillaume Lasconjarias & Jeffrey A. Larsen (ed.) NATO's Response to Hybrid Threats – Forum Paper 24, NATO Defense College "NDC Forum Papers Series" – © Nato Defense College (Italy, 2015) pp. 95-112.
21. Cedric de Coning & Karsten Friis, 'Coherence and Coordination: The Limits of the Comprehensive Approach', Journal of International Peacekeeping Vol. 15 (2011) pp. 246, 248-249.
22. Unattributed quote by Winston Churchill, in: Richard Langworth, Churchill by Himself: The Definitive Collection of Quotations (Public Affairs – Perseus Books Group, 2008) p. 580.

 whole. Upcoming chapters will elaborate further on this enhanced scope for CIMIC in collective defense.

ABOUT THIS BOOK

In recognition of the CCOE's 10-Year Anniversary, this book seeks to present a synthesis of all these essential issues affecting CIMIC within the broader NATO mandate. Thereto, it addresses the key questions of how NATO CIMIC has developed since the mid-1990s, as well as how the NATO think tank for CIMIC, the CCOE, shall support NATO and its member-states to resolve the enduring challenges to its comprehensive applications in out-of-area missions and within the Alliance alike. By including first-hand experiences and striking stories from various civilian and military actors in the field, this book offers its readers an engaging, intriguing, yet easy readable account of the development and current state of NATO CIMIC. Ample attention is reserved for discussing the differing results of CIMIC and CCOE activities. In turn, this book will highlight CIMIC practices in different countries to compare these respective efforts and results. This will allow to counter enduring mis-perceptions on the scope of CIMIC, which continue to be widespread among many nations.

Chapter I will commence by taking a large sweep through the origins and history of NATO CIMIC. This will provide the basis to understand its core concept, in order to provide for an informed outlook into its future.

Chapter II will delve deeper into the changing perceptions and emerging new challenges to CIMIC. In particular, it will reflect on the development of CIMIC within non-Article 5 Crisis Response Operations: 1) out-of-area stability missions and operations in support of host-nation governments; 2) deploying national military assets to domestic disaster relief efforts within the Alliance's borders; and 3) deploying NATO's military assets during contributions to international disaster relief efforts in cooperation or coordination with IOs and NGOs.

Chapter III then discusses prospects for NATO CIMIC during the early twenty-first century, with special regard for NATO's renewed emphasis on Collective Defense operations. This will describe revised policies, directions, and practices, which might be integrated into the CCOE's training and education schedule to better prepare civilian and military students alike for the demands of CIMIC in the future.

Chapter IV will position the CCOE's respective roles and responsibilities within the ongoing development of CIMIC within the early twenty-first century.

Lastly, the **Observations and Reflections** of this book will be summed up in a number of concluding reflections and observations. In addition, it will specify a number of ways in which the CCOE, by virtue of its different roles and mandate, can contribute to fulfilling these requirements in the future.

As custodian of the NATO CIMIC doctrine, the CCOE shall enhance its relevance by developing future skills and capacities to improve CIMIC on all levels. This places NATO CIMIC at the forefront of effectively facilitating and contributing to a range of different missions and operations worldwide. Getting to this point essentially requires a learning process which inevitably entails self-critique and reflection on the successes and set-backs along the way. It means, in the words of Sir Winston Churchill: *"Success is not final, failure is not fatal, it is the courage to continue that counts."*[23]

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23. Based on the quote "You cannot shake hands with a clenched fist" by Indira Gandhi, who served as the third and fifth Prime Minister of India from respectively 1966-1977 and 1980-1984, before she was assassinated.

The NATO Civil-Military Coopreation Centre of Excellence
The Hague, The Netherlands

As Allied forces cannot shake the hands of civilians while their fists remain clenched, this book also calls on NATO and national planning authorities to consider CIMIC, and civil-military interaction, already in the initial planning phase for any kind of scenario. This is because the one constant factor in any kind of operation will always be the presence of civilian actors. Therefore, I, as the author of the book, do hope that this publication may be a further step towards a growing body of literature that passes on the historic learnings of NATO CIMIC, as well as the CCOE's knowledge, both to future generations of civil-military practitioners, as well as political decision makers.

As the trend towards increasingly complex security environments, together with a steady variety of civil actors is not expected to decline anytime soon, the Alliance has few options but to resolve its current shortcomings within the civil-military interface. The observations and reflections offered at the end of this book outline the perspectives to address these issues.

Chapter I:

From the Roots to Afghanistan: Exploring the Origins of CIMIC

For this story, what can history tell us about the present, or the future? For the more recent NATO military operations, there are some direct lessons that can be learned from previous experience. The transition from the Cold War era into the 1990s shows that the international security environment can change tremendously from one to the other historical epoch. Accordingly, the efforts of international defense organizations will also become subject to changing political and strategic rationales. Nevertheless, whether contemporary military missions engage in stabilization operations on behalf of host-nation support, an international mandate, or provide aid and relief efforts to local populations in the aftermath of a natural disaster, they all build on the historical precedents set by earlier military operations. Those past operations and mission experiences have resulted in enduring ideas that need to be considered when engaging in any complex crisis situation or contemporary conflict.[1]

This first chapter sets out to explore of the historical origins and initial development of NATO CIMIC. It commences with the U.S. Civil Affairs Branch of World War II and moves on to the Cold War era, before entering the 1990s and the mission experiences of the early twenty-first century. This overview will conclude with an observation on the relevance of these historical developments for the future course of civil-military cooperation in NATO in light of the Warsaw Summit (2016).

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1. Paul Ramsey, 'The Historical Relevance of British Counterinsurgency in Theory and Practice for Modern Civil-Military Interaction' (Presumably unpublished synthesis of secondary literature made during a six week project) /pp. 1-27, there: p. 6.

This narrative arch will enable readers to better understand CIMIC's meaning, application, and operational context throughout some two decades of military missions. This approach provides for the contextual basis for Chapter 2, which will delve deeper into the system internal and external challenges for NATO CIMIC. As the custodian for CIMIC in NATO, the scope and perspectives for the CIMIC Centre of Excellence are inherently intertwined with the outlook for the discipline as such.

While a certain degree of imagination and adaptability is required to apply historical precedents to present-day situations[2], trying to capture the historical development of CIMIC comprehensively is "like nailing jellow to a wall."[3] United Nations, for instance, already approaches civil-military cooperation differently from NATO. Not to mention all the various NGOs, which usually vastly outnumber NATO forces in the field. Even within NATO, member states stick to various concepts and explain and practice the CIMIC concept differently.[4] It started towards the end of World War II, when General Dwight D. Eisenhower deployed military personnel with specific civil affairs training to the liberated and occupied territories to help maintain law and order, manage flows of refugees, prevent diseases, and exploit the host nation's logistical and infrastructural resources to support the war effort. During the first American offensive in the Western theatre, the General had experienced a clear need for such civil affairs personnel. While leading the Allied military forces in battle against the Axis in North Africa, Eisenhower lamented on 30 November 1942 in a letter to the US Army Chief of Staff General George C. Marshall that *"The sooner I can get rid of all these questions that are outside the military scope, the happier I will be! Sometimes I think I live ten years each week, of which at least nine are absorbed in political and economic matters."*[5]

By virtue of these civil affairs units, the military commander and his combat units in Italy and north-western Europe could now focus exclusively on tasks within the military scope, particularly defeating the enemy and liberating Europe.[6]

Essentially, there are two historical sources laying an intellectual precedent for todays' CIMIC concept and organization: the Allied Civil Affairs

2. Ramsey, 'The Historical Relevance of British Counterinsurgency in Theory and Practice for Modern Civil-Military Interaction', p. 15.
3. Thomas Mockaitis in a general remark at the Seminar 'CIMIC and Counter-Terrorism', CIMIC Centre of Excellence, (October, 2005).
4. Brocades Zaalberg, 'Countering Insurgent-terrorism', p. 403.
5. Harry L. Coles and Albert G. Weinberg, Civil Affairs: Soldiers Become Governors, (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1964) pp. 3, 45.
6. Coles and Weinberg, Soldiers Become Governors, p. 154.

'Monuments Men' of the Allied Civil Affairs Branch

branch that emerged during World War II and the processes of civil-military cooperation during Counter-Intelligence operations in the colonial liberation war era. The main difference is that while comparative institutional structures exist between CIMIC and Civil Affairs in the 1940s, civil-military cooperation in counterinsurgency is a loose process rather than a dedicated military capacity.[7] During the Second World War, the Civil Affairs Branch emerged as a separate military organization. General Eisenhower delegated all civil authority to the many thousands of American, British and other Allied civil affairs personnel, whom had been placed under his full command.[8] This allowed the General and his soldiers to focus predominantly on the American offensive on the Western front. Up to this point, the responsibility for administrating conquered territory in North Africa had still been delegated to a variety of American civilian governmental institutions.

Troubled by bureaucratic infighting and unable to oversee and control the recalcitrant Vichy French colonial administration, these institutions however frustrated the Supreme Allied Commander's war effort. As a consequence,

7. Brocades Zaalberg, 'Countering Insurgent-terrorism', pp. 403, 408.
8. F.S.V. Donnison, Civil Affairs and Military Government in North-Western Europe 1944-1946, London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office (1961); Earl F. Ziemke, The US Army in the Occupation of Germany, 1944-1946, (Washington DC: 1975); Rebecca Boehling, A Question of Priorities: Democratic Reform and Economic Recovery in Post-war Germany (Providence and Oxford, 1996); Harold Zink, The United States in Germany, 1944-1955 (Princeton: 1957).

General Eisenhower became consumed by civilian responsibilities he initially sought to avoid but nonetheless had to manage. He for instance informed Marshall that he was having *"as much trouble with civilian forces behind aiding us as I am with the enemy in front of us."*[9]

Until then, President Franklin D. Roosevelt had been hesitant to allow the military to assume civil authority, which he considered to conflict with America's democratic standards.[10] Eisenhower's complaints ultimately convinced him to authorize the military commander's full governmental responsibility over liberated and occupied territory during the final stage of the war. After the Axis' capitulation in 1945, the Civil Affairs Branch's facilitating role for conventional combat operations however came to an end. As the Allies crossed from liberated territory into Nazi occupied territory, the stabilization of such formerly occupied territories became a purpose on itself. Combat units therein came to assume a supporting role for civil affairs, whose name meanwhile had changed into "military government."[11] In the case of war-torn Europe and especially in occupied Germany, this military civilian authority extended to all aspects of public administration.

DEVELOPING THE NEW NATO CIMIC CONCEPT

Jumping ahead to the late 1990s, the complaints made by General Eisenhower to Marshall in 1942 resurfaced within NATO's military community. This sparked the development of a fresh NATO CIMIC doctrine for the new challenges of the post-Cold War era. As he was involved in developing this new CIMIC concept, the British Lieutenant-Colonel Mark Rollo-Walker however witnessed an emerging divide within NATO over the purpose and scope of CIMIC.[12] As he observed, there had been some who argued that CIMIC should not be more than a continuation of its Cold War status: technical and logistic in nature, wholly concerned with providing resources to the force and comprising little more than properly trained staff.

9. As cited in: R.V.A. Janssens, What Future for Japan? US Wartime Planning for the Postwar Era, 1942–1945, (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995) p. 149.
10. William R. Swarm, 'Impact of the Proconsular Experience on Civil Affairs Organisation and Doctrine', in: Robert Wolfe (ed.) Americans and Proconsuls: United States Military Government in Germany and Japan, 1944-1952 (Carbondale, Ill.: Southern Illinois University Press, 1984) p. 339.
11. Brocades Zaalberg, 'Countering Insurgent-terrorism', p. 404
12. Lieutenant Colonel Mark Rollo-Walker, SHAPE, Chief CIMIC Section End of Tour Report (23 Augustus 1999).

U.S. General Dwight D. Eisenhower

These "traditionalists" wanted NATO to stay within its Cold War comfort-zone to perform familiar tasks Allied forces were experienced in. On the other hand, there were those who believed that CIMIC's purpose involved no less than providing the means for civil reconstruction and development. They advocated that such tasks should be carried out independently from the particular military mission, and with little regard for the commander's specific needs. Those "enthusiasts" foresaw an upcoming requirement for large numbers of CIMIC troops with civilian skills to conduct civilian tasks. In the end, the traditionalists took the lead in defining the purpose of CIMIC. For both conventional warfare and stability operations, this meant that the purpose of CIMIC was to be the traditional operational use for the field commander, in support of the mission to defeat opposing military forces.[13]

During the stability operations of the later 1990s, military missions' objectives generally came to be seen as creating a secure environment by separating, disarming and demobilizing military adversaries. These activities were formalized in the cleverly formulated NATO Military CIMIC Policy (MC 411) that while avoiding any military involvement in nation-building still allowed for a broader interpretation of CIMIC upon close reading. After the North Atlantic Council had formally approved the MC 411 in July 2001, the operational capacity of the NATO CIMIC model thus came to reflect a much larger ambition. Retired Lieutenant-Colonel Schuurman illustrated this development: *"Personally, I don't believe the so-called dichotomy between 'traditionalists' and 'enthusiasts' within NATO had any real implications for the development of CIMIC.*

13. Brocades Zaalberg, 'Countering Insurgent-terrorism', pp. 406-407.

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Conservative commanders quickly fell flat on their face for their inability to address the new challenges of the 1990s. They had been stuck in the past and therefore basically made themselves irrelevant. Led by US Colonel Philips, NATO's CIMIC Staff meanwhile worked enthusiastically and diligently to improve and modernize the old Cold War CIMIC for NATO's future."[14]

Since creating CIMIC as a staff function in the mid-1990s, NATO has been struggling to define CIMIC's place within more traditional, combat-oriented operations. In the late 1990s, it was described in a rather restricted format as "the resources and arrangements which support the relationship between NATO commanders and the national authorities, civil and military, and civil populations in an area where NATO military forces are or plan to be employed". Those "arrangements" were to include the "cooperation with non-governmental or international agencies, organizations and authorities." By late 2000, though, NATO began to define CIMIC more comprehensively as: "[…] coordination and cooperation, in support of the mission, between the NATO commander and civil populations and local authorities, as well as international, national and non-governmental organizations and agencies."[15]

As stated before, the primary debate has since revolved around the question whether CIMIC is a support function that merely facilitates military operations, or if military activities within the civilian domain may pursue objectives beyond narrowly military ones? This distinction triggered crucial subsequent questions, which arise every time modern armed conflicts develop: should the military engage in nation-building, which would require it to venture into the murky arena of civil administration, humanitarian relief, political and infrastructural reconstruction and public security? CIMIC definitions and then its related objectives in the field have been influenced by this debate in the 1990s, which often left interested readers more confused than enlightened.[16] In addition, and adding to the confusion, civil-military cooperation is also perceived differently by civilian organizations and military stakeholders alike. The next chapter will review these perceptions more thoroughly, to be discussed in the context of the current emerging security challenges to the Alliance.

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14. Input by Retired Lieutenant-Colonel Rob Schuurman, Para. 3.
15. Brocades Zaalberg, 'Countering Insurgent-terrorism', p. 403. (See endnote no. 10)
16. NATO Allied Joined Publication 9 (AJP-9). NATO Military CIMIC Policy (MC 411), a cleverly formulated document that allows for a broader interpretation of CIMIC after close reading, was approved by the North Atlantic Council in July 2001.

INSTABILITY AND FAILING STATES AFTER THE COLD WAR

During the Cold War, NATO focused singularly on the possible conventional combat operations in Central Europe. Accepted military strategy focused on major tank battles in the flat basin of Northern Germany, while the concept of deterrence was guaranteed by Mutually Assured Destruction doctrine. Before turning to CIMIC, CCOE Director Colonel Wolfgang Paulik had "been a part of this scenario, being assigned to an Artillery Regiment in the Fulda Gap. We have been the "Blue Forces", and they were the "Red" ones."[17] The interaction with the civilian domain in this context, was considered to be an issue at the margins of military operations, just like it had been during the operations of World War II. Functions ascribed to civil-military cooperation then mostly concentrated on population and resources control. In practicality this meant clearing civilian "obstacles" such as refugees, while exploiting civilian infrastructures and resources for military purposes.[18]

Essentially, such activities had the ultimate goal of stabilizing the NATO area of operations while countering hostile Soviet influences within non-NATO territories. In a world where the liberal-democratic and totalitarian systems often competed over nonaligned states[19], usually siding with either NATO or the Warsaw Pact, this was necessary to maintain the internal stability of these regions. The Alliance's Military Committee assumed that the Soviet Union would rather initiate tactical operations of a limited nature than engage in full military confrontations, or even nuclear warfare. Insofar as a NATO civil-military interface already existed, it only did have the purpose to support conventional operations to maintain internal stability and to terminate hostilities caused by East-West proxy wars beyond the territory of the Alliance. As during World War II, such "civil" activities were mostly carried out by staff officers on the Army corps level. These officers had all been in the ranks of Colonel, Lieutenant-Colonel or Major and not trained to deal with the broad spectrum of civilian actors. Officers on the tactical levels (ranked Second Lieutenant, Lieutenant or Captain) by contrast were assigned to operate in what was perceived to be a purely military sphere. Throughout the Cold War years, the attention for civilian aspects during military operations overall had been negligible.

17. Colonel Wolfgang Paulik and Captain Marian Corbe, Keynote: 'Critical Infrastructure and Resilience Europe', (The Hague; May 9, 2017) p. 2.
18. Thijs W. Brocades Zaalberg, Soldiers and Civil Power. Supporting or Substituting Civil Authorities in Modern Peace Operations (© Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam 2006) p. 67.
19. Colonel Maxie McFarland, U.S. Army, Retired, 'Military Cultural Education', Military Review Vol. LXXXV (March-April 2005) p. 62.

Many years later, from 2000 – 2004, this fact was illustrated by interviews with dozens of former Dutch soldiers, who had served as officers and enlisted men between the 1960s and early 1990s.

Specifically, they were asked if their training for war in the German plains included the preparation for the possible presence or interference of civilian population during military operations. Unilaterally, their answer was always "No".[20] These soldiers indeed viewed their area of operations as their near-exclusive domain and considered the presence of civilians primarily a hindrance. Moreover, NATO itself displayed little regard for the civilian factor during the Cold War period. In fact, the 1957 'Overall Strategic Concept for the Defense' of the NATO areas only mentions the civil domain as a task of the public administration. *"It is a responsibility of national authorities to develop plans and measures which will ensure the continuity of governmental control following a sudden outbreak of hostilities and will also ensure the maintenance of civilian morale coupled with the ability to prosecute the war to a successful conclusion."*[21]

Whereas many of the long running proxy wars at the periphery in Africa and Central Asia subsided with ended with the Cold War, the collapse of the bipolar world order also meant that already weakened states became more vulnerable to internal strife. In some cases, such states even disintegrated into failed states, torn apart by armed combat between a number of regional power centers and power brokers. As a consequence, civilians often were no longer merely collateral victims, who got caught in the crossfire. In the dissolution of national structure, they were now deliberately targeted on account of their collective group identity. The moral imperative to protect those civilians in need, together with the destabilization of entire regions by armed conflict, gave rise to a new kind of military missions, aimed at restoring peace and security in the host-nation. Ultimately, the post-Cold War era has witnessed a shift from the traditional emphasis on ensuring territorial defense to stability-support and crisis response operations.[22] This historical transition to these multidimensional stability and support missions, with mandates and capabilities to actively restore stability and provide aid and relief efforts to civilians, marks a full departure from the antiquated credo of "The war feeds itself."

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20. Brocades Zaalberg, Soldiers and Civil Power, p. 67. (footnote 57)
21. MC 14/2 (Revised) (Final Decision) – A Report by the Military Committee on Overall Strategic Concept for the Defense of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization Area (23 May 1957) pp. 4-5, 7.
22. Meinrad Studer, 'The ICRC and Civil-Military Relations in Armed Conflict', International Review of the Red Cross Vol. 83 No. 842 (2001) pp. 369-370.

* **Humanity**: the provision of humanitarian assistance where it is needed and in a manner which respects the rights and dignity of the individual.

** **Independence**: the provision of humanitarian assistance in a manner that is autonomous from the political, economic, military or other objectives of actors engaged in the areas where humanitarian action is being undertaken.

*** **Impartiality:** the provision of humanitarian assistance without discrimination among recipients and guided solely by needs, with priority given to the most urgent cases of distress.

**** **Neutrality**: the provision of humanitarian assistance without engaging in hostilities or taking sides in controversies of a political, religious or

Nevertheless, skepticism endured among military leaders over the need to take civil-military cooperation beyond its narrow Cold War perimeters. Numerous discussions have stressed the considerable risks and problems that may occur when military organizations cross into the humanitarian field of activities. From the outset, relevant humanitarian and development actors have raised inherent concerns about compromising their core principles of ***Humanity**, **I**ndependence**, ***Impartiality** and ****Neutrality**',[23] when asked to interact with military forces. They also fear that aid will effectively become subordinate to political and military objectives and logic. Lastly, it has been argued that integrating military, humanitarian and development work will lead to a blurring of distinctions between their activities, which will endanger the safety of aid workers in the field.[24] Critics have even questioned why soldiers would be suited to perform nation-building and reconstruction tasks at all. Moreover, who should subsequently be in charge of coordinating all respective civil-military tasks and responsibilities? For military organizations, the growing need to plan for such comprehensive peace operations also meant that the times of conventional and symmetric military planning of the Cold War era were definitely over. Especially NATO, with its forward defense at the border between the two German states and its flexible response, aiming at deterring a symmetric adversary, had only two options: adapt to the new challenges or become obsolete for the new tasks at hand.[25]

23. Victoria Metcalfe, Simone Haysom and Stuart Gordon, Trends and Challenges in Humanitarian Civil-Military Coordination: A Review of the Literature – Humanitarian Policy Group Working Paper (Overseas Development Institute, 2012) p. 3.
24. Frerks et al., Principles and Pragmatism, p. 7.
25. Noll, Rietjens and Arends, 'NATO a learning organisation?', p. 4.

Following the decision to intervene in the ongoing atrocities in the Balkans in the mid-1990s, the Alliance therefore began to take on more peacekeeping and peace enforcement operations. This development was included in the updated 1999 NATO Strategic Concept, committing the Alliance to defend not just NATO member-states, but also to safeguard peace and stability in and around the NATO region as a whole. Such operations came to be categorized as non-Article 5 Crisis Response Operations.[26] This changed emphasis also meant that certain military activities had to be adjusted from their Cold War status. Until the 1990s, peacekeeping operations, usually undertaken under a UN mandate, had been limited to monitoring ceasefires between two warring parties and manning buffer zones. The new generation of military operations, however, arrived with mandates that included elements of stabilization, humanitarian aid, post-war reconstruction, economic and social rehabilitation, security sector reform and good governance.[27] At the same time, international relief and response organizations such as the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UN-OCHA), development organizations like Cordaid and independent, neutral humanitarian organizations such as the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement – consisting of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) as well as the myriad of other relief organizations – have also massively increased their presence and activities within areas affected by insecurity and conflict.[28]

Logos of International Organizations

26. See: The Alliance's Strategic Concept. Approved by the Heads of State and Government [...] North Atlantic Council in Washington D.C. (24 April 1999), accessed: May 2, 2017, last updated: June 25, 2009, available from: http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_27433.htm
27. Sebastiaan Rietjens, Joseph Soeters and Willem Klumper, 'Measuring the Immeasurable? The Effects-Based Approach in Comprehensive Peace Operations', International Journal of Public Administration Vol. 34 (2011) p. 329.
28. John Borton, Future of the Humanitarian System: Impacts of Internal Changes (John Borton Consulting, 2009) p. 13.

Malayan Insurgency - Malay and New Zealand soldiers on a jungle patrol, c1957

THE CONCEPT OF *"WINNING HEARTS AND MINDS"*

In the modern NATO context, CIMIC as a dedicated function in military operations has the primary objective to support the operational needs of the military, as defined by the political mission mandate. Valuable situational information for military commanders can for example be gathered by liaising with and by occasionally providing support to civilian actors. To this end, CIMIC also aims at "winning the hearts and minds" of the local population to further the mission objectives.[29] Though the core idea had not been entirely new, the phrase "winning hearts and minds" has often been ascribed to Sir Gerald Templer. The General arrived in Malaya in January 1952 to assume both civil and military authority over this still British held territory. This brief merging of civilian and military powers took place exclusively on the highest administrative level during the height of the Malayan insurgency between 1952 and 1954. Upon his arrival, Templer declared that *"… [t]he answer lies not in pouring more troops into the jungle, but in the hearts and minds of the people."*[30]

To counter the insurgency, Templer placed great emphasis on Malayan participation within local government to steadily increase trust and confidence. Quintessential to winning hearts and minds was the populations' belief that the government and security forces were able to protect them against reprisals and intimidation, if they turned against the insurgents at any location in the country. Priority was hence given to protecting the

29. Margriet Drent and Dick Zandee, Breaking Pillars: Towards a Civil-Military Security Approach for the European Union, © Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael. All rights reserved. p. 12.
30. Simon C. Smith, 'General Templer and Counter-Insurgency in Malaya: Hearts and Minds, Intelligence, and Propaganda', Intelligence and National Security, Vol. 16 No. 3 (Autumn 2001) p. 69.
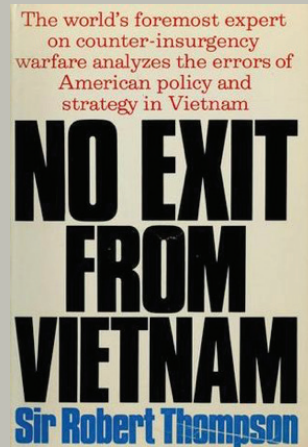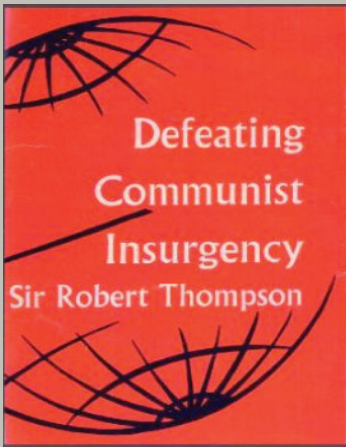
Sir Robert Thompson's books; "Defeating Communist Insurgency" and "No Exit From Vietnam"

population against insurgent influence and actions, which would thus allow for the 'hearts and minds' process to succeed.[31] These efforts involved a strong emphasis on an effective triangular exchange system between civil administration, police and the military. In this way, civil-military cooperation thus became indispensable for facilitating the protection and security of the Malayan people. This process, in turn, allowed British forces to win the Malayan hearts and minds and to effectively crush the insurgency.[32] Contemporary analyses of counterinsurgencies in Iraq and Afghanistan would often cite Templer's explanation that: *"The shooting side of this business is only 25 per cent of the trouble and the other 75 lies in getting the people of this country behind us."*[33]

The concept of "winning hearts and minds" again became popular during the ensuing Vietnam War commencing during the 1960s. In this conflict, many rural Vietnamese civilians were physically relocated and separated from extremist elements during 'hearts-and-minds' campaigns, aimed at denying Viet Cong guerrillas their main human shields and civilian support base. In his landmark books Defeating Communist Insurgency (1966)[34] and No Exit from Vietnam (1969)[35], Sir Robert Thompson drew on his personal experiences from Malaya to Vietnam to distil five principles, that would become central to the British military understanding of counter-insurgency: civilian environment.

31. Paul Mehlsen, 'The US Marines' Combined Action Program in Vietnam: The Formulation of Counterinsurgency Tactics within a Strategic Debate', Low Intensity Conflict & Law Enforcement, Vol. 9 No. 2 (Summer 2000) pp. 73, 78.; Thompson, Defeating Communist Insurgency, p. 57.; Frank Kitson, Low Intensity Operations: Subversion, Insurgency and Peacekeeping, (London: Faber and Faber 1971) pp. 50, 67-71.
32. Brocades Zaalberg, 'Countering Insurgent-terrorism', p. 412.
33. Richard Clutterbuck, The Long War: Counterinsurgency in Malaya and Vietnam (Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, 1966) p. 3.
34. Robert Thompson, Defeating Communist Insurgency, (London: Praeger, 1966).
35. ———, No Exit from Vietnam (David McKay Company, Inc. 1969).

He stated that the government must have:

1. A clear political aim,
2. Work within the law,
3. The development of an overall plan,
4. Defeat political subversion, and
5. Secure base areas.

Armed forces support to local authorities during the proxy conflicts of the Cold War era, came to also include providing services to local populations or key political figures. This was done with the purpose of promoting force acceptance and facilitating "force protection", as well as the gathering of military intelligence. This understanding provided for historical harbinger of the specific principles and activities within the civil-military interface. To different extents, this understanding even applies today to both modern CIMIC and counter-insurgency (COIN) practice when it comes to engage with civilian stakeholders in the field.[36] With a growing range of civil actors, networks and communications tools taking an active role in contemporary conflicts, the core concept of 'winning hearts and minds' has become a constant guideline for the stability operations since the 1990s. Internationally mandated forces now seem to apply 'hearts-and-minds' activities more than ever to support successful operations and promote their acceptance by the local population, underscoring the importance for stabilizing increasingly fragile systems in the post-Cold War era.[37]

STABILITY OPERATIONS AND COUNTER-INSURGENCY CAMPAIGNS

Civil-military cooperation moved closer to the center stage of various NATO stability operations since the 1990s. Similarly, such a trend also occurred during the successful counterinsurgency campaigns of the Cold War era. Both types of operations pursued a comprehensive political objective and thus depended on high levels of civil-military interaction.[38] Comparing them, however, reveals considerable differences between the nature of the political objectives that underpinned the Cold War insurgencies, vis-à-vis the political

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36. Ramsey, 'The Historical Relevance of British Counterinsurgency in Theory and Practice for Modern Civil-Military Interaction', pp. 15-16.
37. Frerks et al., Principles and Pragmatism, p. 31.
38. Ibid., pp. 399, 413.

Prussian General Carl Philipp Gottfried von Clausewitz

motivations that fueled internal wars since the 1990s: the purposes and methods of insurgents rebelling against colonial powers were quite different from the combative political leaders and their followers' in the Balkans during the 1990s. When looking at the most successful principles and methods used to fight an insurgency vis-à-vis those needed to stabilize a region, this comparison nevertheless becomes quite valid.[39] The priority given to political objectives and a political solution entered the British counter-insurgency principles already in the 1970s. Subsequently, it led to the establishment of a coherent military strategy. Indeed, the 2001 British Army Field Manual hence stated: *"It is necessary to appreciate that although, at times, military forces and a policy of attrition of insurgents may have a crucial role to play in restoring and maintaining government control, military force is not an end in itself, but always a means to achieve a wider political purpose."*[40] These followed almost two-hundred years after the Prussian general and military theorist Carl von Clausewitz in his posthumous On War (1832) already stated: *"war is […] a true political instrument, a continuation of political intercourse, carried on with other means."*[41]

Applied to modern age conflicts, the desired political end-state of 'non-Article 5 Crisis Response Operations' implies that the host-nation's authority and legitimacy ultimately depend upon the support and loyalty of its population. Essentially, no government can survive long without the acquiescence of its people, especially when a powerful insurgent movement is actively opposing and undermining its authority. For the same reason, the resource

39. Brocades Zaalberg, Soldiers and Civil Power, pp. 428-429.
40. AC71749, Army Field Manual, Vol. 1 Combined Arms Operations, Part 10, Counter Insurgency Operations (Strategic and Operational Guidelines), (MOD DG D&D 2001) B-2-2.
41. Carl von Clausewitz, On War (1780-1831), Michael Howard and Peter Paret (ed.) (trans.), Princeton University Press 1989, p. 87.

center of an insurgency's strength and the key to its survival and growth, is the covert societal infrastructure, which is deeply embedded in and permeated through the general population.

This fabric constitutes the insurgents' intelligence apparatus, as well as their principal source of military manpower and logistical support.[42] Both during stability operations and COIN campaigns, civil-military cooperation thus constitutes the primary means to reach combined civil-military objectives and contribute to conflict settlement and eventually the return of peace. A closer look reveals that both stability support operations and counterinsurgency campaigns require a combination of police, administrative, economic and military measures. This way, political primacy paired with the use of military force to achieve a political end-state, comprise a key element of military strategy for countering an insurgency. Indeed, the relatively successful periods of British counter-insurgency operations, which included military campaigns in Malaya (1948-1960), Kenya (1952-1960) and Northern Ireland (1970-1972), have all been characterized by a constant political strategic imperative for conflict resolution, which was consistently promoted in each situation. This strategy, moreover, placed the constant dialogue with civil stakeholders at its heart.[43]

Many years later, both the emphasis on the political primacy and targeting the political subversion, rather than solely the combatants, would return within the priorities set out for the NATO mission in Afghanistan. To this end, it became important that "political settlements are necessary not just at the highest levels of leadership but down to the level of the foot soldier. We must separate those who refuse to forsake violence from reconcilable fighters who only partake in the insurgency out of fear or because they have no viable alternative."[44] Again, this understanding corresponds directly to the analysis drawn by Clausewitz between the political objective of military campaigns and the strategy used to pursue it: "The political object – the original motive for the war – will thus determine both the military objective to be reached and the amount of effort it requires."[45] Similarly, military strategies for stability operations need to acknowledge the tensions between the original motive for the war and the envisioned political end-state of the mission.

42. Colonel Dennis M. Drew, Insurgency and Counterinsurgency: American Military Dilemmas and Doctrinal Proposals, Report No. AU-ARI-CP-88-1, Air University Press – Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama (March 1988) pp. 11-12.
43. David French, The British Way in Counter-Insurgency, 1945-1967 (Oxford: OUP, 2011) pp. 94-104.
44. Beth Cole and Emily Hsu, 'Guiding Principles for Stability and Reconstruction: Introducing a Roadmap for Peace', Military Review (January-February 2010) p. 11.
45. Clausewitz, On War (1780-1831), Howard and Paret (ed.) p. 81.

Or as Clausewitz' said: *"[…] despite the great variety and development of modern war [,] its major lines are still laid down by governments." To this end, "no major proposal required for war can be worked out in ignorance of political factors […] if the policy is right – that is, successful – any intentional effect it has on the conduct of the war can only be to the good."*[46] With this rationale, the political primacy of stability and counterinsurgency campaigns requires effective civil-military relations to come to the fore.

Despite such relevant similarities, drawing on the related lessons from counter-insurgency campaigns, however, was deemed to be uncalled for when the definition of NATO CIMIC took shape in the late 1990s. Given that counter-insurgency operations during the Cold War had often ended in strategic defeat, policymakers and military leaders lacked enthusiasm to delve into possible conceptual linkages with the emerging complex stability operations. This perception was supported by an obvious difference between the two forms of operations that there was formally no enemy in the initial stability operations of that time.[47] NATO was eager not to latch on to the model for civil-military cooperation stemming from earlier counter-insurgencies. The US experience during the Vietnam War of the 1960s and 70s had demonstrated the inadequacy of symmetrical warfighting to defeat an opponent, who avoided open battle and instead resorted to guerrilla tactics and terrorist action. After the Vietnam War (1961-1973), the United States and the former colonial powers lost desire to engage in low-intensity conflicts taking place far beyond the Alliance borders. Moreover, the perceived failure

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46. Ibid., p. 608.
47. Brocades Zaalberg, 'Countering Insurgent-terrorism', p. 413.

of the US military to achieve its stated objectives of containing communist aggression by also 'winning the hearts and minds' of the Vietnamese people, severely altered US foreign policy as originally expressed in the doctrinal address by US President Harry S. Truman (1947), who stated: *"one of the primary objectives of the foreign policy of the United States is the creation of conditions in which [we and] other nations will be able to work out a way of life free from coercion."*[48] By contrast, the US-led interventions that followed the Vietnam War, such as the invasion of Grenada in October 1983 ("Urgent Fury"), Panama in December 1989 ("Just Cause") and Iraq in 1990 ("Desert Storm"), reinforced the concept that only quick, decisive, and overwhelming force could lead to successful military operations.[49]

Relying on total air superiority then became the core of the later Rumsfeld doctrine, which reduced the number of ground forces in theater and relied heavily on airstrikes. American forces applied this strategy during the early stages of the second Iraq war and Afghanistan, keeping ground forces to a minimum, solely focusing on combatting the adversary with no regard for the civilian environment. Other Allied forces limited their activities to their barracks and practice grounds to prepare for conventional battle against the Warsaw Pact states. Only the British Army in countering the terrorist Irish Republican Army (IRA), continued its practice to support the civil authorities during internal security operations on a significant scale after 1970, while containing the insurgency in Northern Ireland. Other NATO forces refrained from training for operations close to civilians and from integrating civilian authorities in the planning of military operations, or other public security tasks. And until the mid-1990s, they were hardly, if ever called upon by their political leadership to engage in such activities.[50] Many of the hard-learned lessons of successful earlier counter-insurgency campaigns would nevertheless apply to the emerging stability operations as well. When formulating his "commander's intent", Kosovo Force (KFOR) Commander General Sir Mike Jackson for instance used definitions and terminology similar to the one used in counter-insurgency operations: *"I seek a "hearts and minds" campaign at low level, creating trust and mutual understanding. As relationships build, so will the flow of information allowing KFOR to pre-empt conflict. [...] It is an operation amongst the people, whose perception is the Center of Gravity: that all inhabitants of Kosovo are better off with UNMIK*

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48. Truman Doctrine – President Harry S. Truman's Address Before A Joint Session of Congress (March 12, 1947).
49. Binnendijk and Cronin, Civilian Surge: Key to Complex Operations. A Preliminary Report, pp. 40-41.
50. ——, Soldiers and Civil Power, p. 67.

British troops in Kosovo

(United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo) / KFOR than with-out, that we jointly offer a better future."[51]

IFOR IN THE BALKANS (1995-1996)

The civil-military cooperation lessons from counter-insurgency that had been learned in Vietnam were mostly forgotten or "unlearned" across the West-ern military establishment.[52] Similarly, with the de-colonialization of the last European colonies in Africa in from 1974 - 1977, the main armed forces of the remaining colonial powers world heaved a sigh of relief. Having suffered one set back after the other in the region, they were grateful to finally return to "ordinary" soldiering: preparing for wars against armed organizations simi-lar to themselves, yet on the other side of the Iron Curtain.[53]

However, the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989 and the ensuing demise of the Soviet Union dominated sphere of influence, ushered in a new era, in which armed forces would soon begin to prepare for more "unusual" types of soldiering. Contrary to COIN operations during the Cold War era, the new stability operations of the 1990s were initially founded on the principle of impartiality from either side of the conflict. Formally, this new generation of military missions was aimed at post-conflict stabilization and reconstruc-tion, rather than defeating an enemy through decisive force. While these mandates also shifted mission objectives somewhat towards the traditionally non-military tasks of providing support to development and reconstruction,

51. CAD, 1 (NL) Arty Bn KFOR I, Correspondentie-archief, doos 7 (Diversen), Map: MNB-S, no. 7020, COMKFOR Directive, 20 July 1999.
52. Brocades Zaalberg, 'Countering Insurgent-terrorism', p. 413.
53. Martin van Creveld, 'Through a Glass, Darkly: Some Reflections on the Future of War', Naval War College Review (Autumn 2000).

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NATO soldiers were quickly confronted with elements or factions opposed to the stabilizing goals of the foreign military and civilian presence. In the course of the later 1990s, those actors became better known as "spoilers": "Leaders and parties, who believe that peace emerging from negotiations threatens their power, worldview, and interests, and use violence to undermine attempts to achieve it."[54] NATO's new operations, aimed at building stability or simply to maintain the status quo, were based on the outsourcing of the military component. While the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) usually provided the mandates for peacekeeping and peace-enforcement, the military components themselves were delivered by regional organizations. In this manner the 1990s saw the deployment of NATO-led operations to Bosnia and Kosovo (IFOR, SFOR and KFOR).[55]

NATO forces arrived first in Bosnia with 60,000 troops in December 1995, after the presidents of Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia signed the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina as resulting from the *Dayton Accords. NATO's role as the Implementation Force (IFOR) was to enforce the military aspects of the Framework Agreement and head a Joint Military Commission. With the implementation of IFOR, NATO made its first entry as a security-political actor on the stage of UN peace operations.

* Dayton Accords peace agreement was reached on November 21, 1995 by the presidents of Republics of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. It ended the war in Bosnia and outlined a General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Accords preserved Bosnia as a single state made up of two parts – the Bosniak-Croat federation and the Bosnian Serb Republic – while Sarajevo remained the undivided capital city. The agreement is known as the Dayton Accords because the negotiations took place at the Wright-Patterson Air Force Base outside Dayton, Ohio, USA.

The experiences from the IFOR deployment, particularly in the absence of a coherent NATO CIMIC policy fostered the institutionalization process. Herein, the question by whom and in what context the term Civil-Military Cooperation was used for the first time is less relevant than the fact that this development did not introduce a completely new military function.[56] This is clearly echoed by NATO's Civilian Affairs Committee: "The practice of

54. Stephen John Stedman, 'Negotiation and Mediation in Internal Conflicts', in: Michael E. Brown (ed.) The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1996) pp. 369-371.
55. Frerks et al., Principles and Pragmatism, p. 27.
56. Marian Corbe, CIMIC im Spannungsfeld zwischen politischer Erwartung und operative Umsetzung (Helmut-Schmidt-Universität; Universität der Bundeswehr Hamburg, 17 December 2009) p. 30.

"civil-military co-operation" is not new. Indeed, the United States formed "Civil Affairs" units as early as 1942 […]."[57] Proponents of a dedicated capability for CIMIC reiterated Eisenhower's words and experiences while insisting on "getting rid of questions outside the military scope." Soon this catchphrase would start to have a life of its own, beginning in the US Army and moving on to European military circles. It suited the purposes of those who promoted the creation of a dedicated CIMIC capacity and was therefore levied in proposals and presentations that underlined CIMIC's direct use to military commanders.[58]

SFOR IN THE BALKANS (1996-2004)

On 20 December 1996, IFOR was succeeded by the Stabilization Force (SFOR) in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Comprised of approximately 22,000 soldiers, SFOR in Bosnia became to varying degrees involved in a number of civil government tasks including the supervision of police forces, setting up new administrative structures, arresting war criminals, monitoring elections, rebuilding roads and bridges, clearing mines as well as restoring the infrastructure.[59] The force structure and size, however, changed constantly during the mission. While it began with 60,000 soldiers deployed to Bosnia, SFOR has consistently been downsized with the mission's progress and the Bosnian-Herzegovinian government officials' continued cooperation. In

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57. Willem van Eekelen, Military Support for Civilian Operations in the Context of Peacekeeping Missions, Report. © NATO Parliamentary Assembly, Civilian Affairs Committee, Subcommittee on Civilian Security and co-operation (1998) para. 15.
58. Lieutenant Colonel Mark Rollo-Walker, SHAPE, Chief CIMIC Section End of Tour Report (23 Aug. 1999).; Rappard, 'An Active Dutch CIMIC Policy is Not a Bridge Too Far', p. 77.
59. Studer, 'The ICRC and Civil-Military Relations in Armed Conflict', pp. 373-374.

addition to such reductions in force, SFOR's organizational structure was also subject to change: its multinational brigades turned into multinational task forces. These reduced numbers in available personnel resulted in the inability to continue with extensive presence patrolling. SFOR commanders effectively became bound to do "more with less", which made it impossible to gain sufficient information of the respective area of operations through regular patrols.

Crucially, the media hyperbole about the Bosnia-Herzegovina mission, as well as the pockets of isolation continued to pose challenges for the SFOR coalition forces. This made it essential to circumvent the limitations of a downsized force and to find new ways of gaining the information necessary to execute the mission tasks. These developments thus paved the way for SFOR's key objective to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the mission environment by establishing ***Liaison and Observation Team (LOT) houses**.[60] During the early days of the IFOR/SFOR missions, these so-called "faction houses" were vital in bringing coalition forces eyes and ears on the ground in key locations, as well as to create a permanent SFOR presence in trouble spots. SFOR established such houses for liaison personnel, who worked with the general staffs of the regional military armed forces. They helped to advance civil engineering projects in communities considered to be hostile to the stability forces. Assigned soldiers made friends in local neighborhoods and usually experienced no serious force protection problems for themselves.

* **LOT houses** are groups of soldiers who resided not in military camps, but in civilian accommodations among the local population. Here they represented the dynamic, responsive and locally-based "public face" of SFOR.
LOT houses had the purpose of making SFOR forces more accessible to Bosnian-Herzegovinian citizens and authorities. They deployed throughout the Area of Responsibility (AOR) to facilitate coordination and liaison with the international community. This included nongovernmental organizations, local civil and police authorities and the populace. LOT members lived throughout the AOR, built trust and confidence among international actors and service organizations and obtained valuable information to maintain local security.

60. SFOR Fact Sheet – Liaison and Observation Teams of SFOR (September 2004), accessed: June 19, 2017, available from: http://www.nato.int/sfor/factsheet/lot/t040909a.htm; Major General Virgil L. Packett II, Colonel James F. Smith, Lieutenant Colonel Edwin P. Woods and Major Edward C. Guilford Jr., 'Bosnia and Herzegovina: Coalition Doctrine and LOT Houses', Military Review Vol. LXXXV No. 2 (March-April 2005) p. 70.

As the political situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina kept improving, the faction houses were ultimately dismantled. In turn, it was the ensuing Joint Commission Observer (JCO) houses' primary mission serve as the SFOR commander's eyes and ears on the ground. They were tasked to verify information or intelligence derived from other sources. To this end, JCO teams created a contact matrix in Bosnia including a variety of people through interviews, personal meetings and presence patrols. As good contacts were considered the best form of force protection, the JCOs' support, or civil affairs personnel, invested relevant efforts to cultivate trusted contacts and to develop new ones.

JCO teams typically included 8 to 10 solders as an initial response group, based at 19 different locations in Bosnia. By validating security-related information, the JCO teams managed to contribute substantially to a safe and secure environment. JCO personnel was highly skilled and well-trained for their mission. Moreover, one soldier who spoke the local language was placed in each house to provide support and monitor interpreters' actions and credibility. The LOT concept presented a highly complex endeavor. Task force leaders concurred that LOT personnel should be sufficiently confident, with enough initiative to thrive in an foreign society or in isolated situations. They had to be sensitive to local customs and behavior and should not easily be bullied or intimidated.

Furthermore, they had to be able to generate conversations with local actors and ask questions, as well as provide commanders with assessments on the information they received. Moreover, they had to be able to identify how such information could be exploited to assure local security and stability. In this way, LOT members' primary roles were to obtain information openly, as compared to confidential intelligence gathering and top carry out civil-military cooperation duties. Nevertheless, some JCO houses became subject to hostile action, fortunately without any casualties. Halfway through the year 2000, the JCO houses were phased out because the scarce special operations personnel staffing the JCO teams were needed elsewhere. Until that point, they had been operating completely in the open, while the JCO houses were reinforced and robustly armed.[61]

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61. Major General Packett II, Colonel Smith, Lieutenant Colonel Woods and Major Guilford Jr., 'Bosnia and Herzegovina', pp. 71-74.

SFOR in Bosnia

The LOT house concept counts as a success story within the stabilization of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Indeed, the first groundwork for CIMIC was brought to NATO through the earlier Bosnian experience. When IFOR was first deployed in 1995, the United States still delivered most of the manpower to the so-called CIMIC Task Force: the unit that ensured the interface between IFOR and civilian organizations. By virtue of its standing Civil Affairs Branch, the USA had been the only country at this point that could instantly mobilize experienced personnel for civil-military cooperation tasks. This way, the US Civil Affairs units set the initial framework for what would soon become NATO's dedicated CIMIC capability. As the CIMIC capacity began to take shape, the CIMIC Task Force became truly multinational.

A growing number of NATO members would soon commit themselves to installing trained CIMIC soldiers within their national armed forces. By the autumn of 1998, the Americans only represented less than 20 percent of CIMIC personnel, while many other countries (especially France, Germany and Italy) established their own CIMIC deployments in the field. This "multi-nationalization" of CIMIC was the outcome of the intention reflected in MC 411 to establish a NATO CIMIC policy.[62] Retired Lieutenant-Colonel Schuurman illustrated: "When the first NATO policy and doctrine had been largely developed in 1996, the Americans within NATO were already using the word 'CIMIC'. While CIMIC differed from US Civil Affairs, which primarily supported American troops in the field, the Civil Affairs capability indeed helped us to accomplish a lot within short time."[63]

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62. Eekelen, van, Military Support for Civilian Operations in the Context of Peacekeeping Missions, para. 15.
63. Input by Retired Lieutenant-Colonel Rob Schuurman, Para. 2.

Although the MC 411 policy was not approved until July 2001, its directive in August 1997 nonetheless paved the way for the first attempt to institutionalize CIMIC on NATO's strategic level as well.[64] Crucially, the improved security situation and the growing role of Bosnian-Herzegovinian authorities allowed SFOR to restructure and transition from large military bases to houses that provided local security throughout the country. From 1996 to 1997, the gap between the theory of traditional civil-military cooperation and the actual practice thereof in the mission scenario however started to emerge in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Rather than just supporting the commander in reaching his military objectives, coalition forces began to extend their support also to the civilian components of the international effort. Gradually this support to civil environment became the key to reach a level of progress in Bosnia. Following NATO's decision that its military forces in Bosnia needed a specialized capacity to perform civil-military cooperation, the Alliance subsequently started to deploy a dedicated CIMIC capacity, drawing on seasoned soldiers from across all military branches and capabilities.

CIMIC personnel came to take the lead mostly in civil-military liaison activities on the tactical level. They were strongly tasked with initiating, executing and outsourcing small scale reconstruction projects, which had the primary rationale to enhance "force protection" by enabling the logistic freedom of movement of the stability forces and by "winning the hearts and minds" of the local population through the dual-use character of many infrastructure projects. The main purpose of CIMIC in Bosnia-Herzegovina, however remained the support to the military commander in reaching his military objectives. Meanwhile, the humanitarian operations in former Yugoslavia received significant official funding largely from government contributors interested in facilitating stability and preventing the stream of refugees to increase. This allowed the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the ICRC to deliver massive quantities of aid to the region. Without doubt, these efforts saved many lives and did much to mitigate human suffering.[65] NATO leaders nonetheless made sure to frequently emphasize that CIMIC only implied to provide support to the military operation, even if this could include civilian projects at times. Just like the large-scale reconstruction and refugee re-integration in war-torn Bosnia was not to become a military task, nation-building was also not to become a task for

64. Sascha Hardegger, Cimic-Doktrin im Spannungsfeld zwischen humanitärer Hilfe und militärischer Krisenintervention. Forschungsstelle für Internationale Beziehungen, Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule, Beitrag No. 41 (Zürich 2003) p. 36.
65. Kirsten Young, 'UNHCR and ICRC in the former Yugoslavia: Bosnia-Herzegovina', IRRC Vol. 83 No. 843 (September 2001) p. 784.

General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina Signing

CIMIC.[66] This overall understanding gained prominence due to the fact that it was initially the US military which had taken the lead in transforming the old Cold War civil-military cooperation concept and molded dedicated units for this mission. The US armed forces', however, displayed a strong preference to focus on conventional military matters, while leaving the civil-military inter-face in general to the personnel of the US Civil Affairs branch personnel. Accordingly, this found its way into CIMIC perceptions, doctrine, organiza-tion and teaching. The US armed forces' continued commitment to keep Civil Affairs and military operations apart was strengthened by incoming US President George W. Bush pledge promising *"no more nation building"*.

As a consequence, the hard-learned lessons of the 1990s within the armed forces of conducting civil-military cooperation were deliberately cast aside in the planning for the 2003 invasion of Iraq.[67]

KFOR IN THE BALKANS (1999-present)

Following the demise of the unified state, Serbs and Albanians had been struggling for years for control over Kosovo, the southernmost province of the former Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. In 1989, the Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic decided to revoke Kosovo's autonomy status, imposing direct control from Belgrade. Kosovar Albanians were replaced by Serbs

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66. Thijs W. Brocades-Zaalberg, The Historical Origins of Civil-Military Cooperation, in: Sebastiaan J.H. Rietjens & Myriame T.I.B. Bollen (ed.) Managing Civil-Military Cooperation: A 24/7 Joint Effort for Stability (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008) pp. 5-26.
67. ———, Soldiers and Civil Power, pp. 425-426.

in most official positions, who began to dispossess Kosovar Albanians of their equity in most communally owned enterprises. Albanian resistance to Serbian rule consequently grew stronger and eventually resulted in an armed insurgency, led by the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA). Serbian efforts to quell insurgent activity resulted in significant civilian casualties and atrocities, in addition to a growing stream of refugees and internally displaced persons.[68] By February 1998, the conflict had escalated to clashes between units of the Serbian Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Army, and the KLA.

The international community intervened militarily in March 1999 with a NATO-led bombing campaign over Kosovo and the remains of Yugoslavia.[69] An estimated 800,000 persons became refugees, fleeing to surrounding countries, or were internally displaced. Following 77 days of Allied air strikes, NATO and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on June 9, 1999, signed an agreement that led to the immediate withdrawal the of the Yugoslav army and the Serbian police from Kosovo. Subsequently, the UN Security Council authorized the 50,000-strong NATO-led Kosovo Force (KFOR) to serve as military wing of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK).[70] According to its mandate, KFOR was to provide support to UNMIK, which had been established to oversee the civilian administration of the territory.[71]

For KFOR, the UN mandate created the need to liaise between civil and military actors on both the strategic and operational theatre levels. During NATO ground operations in Kosovo from 1999 to 2000, the gap between traditional NATO civil-military cooperation theory and practical need, however, had already become evident. Both for Kosovo and Bosnia, CIMIC had initially been planned in the same format: merely as a support function towards an exclusive military end. Meanwhile, the civilian UNMIK mission was supposed to serve as Kosovo's interim government and police force.

In practice, though, the Dutch KFOR battalion Orahovac came to exercise de facto military governance in its Area-of- Responsibility (AOR) in Kosovo. Crucially, there were only two dedicated CIMIC officers within the stationed Dutch forces. Neither one of them had received any prior

68. Dobbins et al., America's Role in Nation-Building: From Germany to Iraq, © RAND (2003) p. 111.
69. P. Spiegel and P. Salama, Kosovar Albanian Health Survey September 1999, International Emergencies and Refugee Health Branch, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.
70. Jones et al., Securing Health: Lessons from Nation-Building Missions, © RAND Corporation (2006) p. 149.
71. KFOR derives its mandate from UNSCR 1244 (1999) and the Military-Technical Agreement between NATO, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Serbia. See: 'NATO's Role in Kosovo', accessed: June 11, 2017, available from: https://jfcnaples.nato.int/kfor/about-us/welcome-to-kfor/natos-role-in-kosovo.

Logo Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE) with member flags

specialized CIMIC training. This, however, did not stop the Dutch troops from taking over key civilian responsibilities in public administration, policing, and the provision of basic public services, such as electricity and water supply. While the Dutch were certainly not alone in their attempt to fill the administrative vacuum, not all national contingents within KFOR had been equally forthcoming in assuming such civilian responsibilities.[72] Instead of being simply a support function geared towards facilitating military operations, a very broad based application of CIMIC tasks, way beyond its core conceptual design within NATO, came to the fore, implemented by regular military personnel and staff officers. While the official Dutch KFOR evaluation of the Ministry of Defense did acknowledge that "[i]n practice, KFOR performed for a certain period the duties of a military government", it however failed to assess in any depth what these duties entailed for the Dutch battalion on the ground. Close scrutiny of the Dutch CIMIC, Handbook published in 2002, shows that it only briefly mentions that soldiers under "exceptional circumstances" can assume tasks that belong to civil authorities.[73]

This however seems to be the only tangible effect of the Kosovo experience on the conceptual development of CIMIC.[74] Both the IFOR and SFOR missions in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the KFOR mission in Kosovo provided an "extraordinary laboratory for civil-military relations at a time when [...] the scope and form of military involvement are key subjects of the international discussion on crisis management."[75] Indeed, the concept of CIMIC was first brought to NATO through the Bosnian experience.

72. Larry K. Wentz, (ed.), Lessons from Kosovo: The KFOR Experience, CCRP Publication Series (2002).
73. Ministerie van Defensie, Kosovo Evaluatie (2001); Koninklijke Landmacht, Handleiding CIMIC (2002).
74. Kouchner pre-departure press conference (UNMIK; 17 December 2000).
75. Studer, 'The ICRC and Civil-Military Relations in Armed Conflict', p. 373.

The *Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE) was then commissioned to promote this process, which became necessary as a result of the expanding military role in the ongoing missions.[76] SHAPE thus took on a leading role as the executive body of formalizing the establishment Civil-Military Cooperation within NATO. To this end, it had already installed a CIMIC department at the beginning of the IFOR mission.[77]

By 1997, SHAPE also conducted its first multi-national training of CIMIC tasks. By virtue of these early efforts, the framework set forth by the MC 411 were already transferred from NATO's strategic level to learning experiences to be applied on NATO's lower levels as well.[78]

In this way, the 1990s thus saw the deployment of NATO forces to Bosnia and Kosovo (IFOR, SFOR and KFOR).[79] These first post-Cold War missions thus increa sed NATO's focus on the civil domain during military operations. Meanwhile, the Alliance already ushered in the subsequent generation of stability operations, the prime example being the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) mission in Afghanistan from 2001-2014. With the end of that mission, after it had turned into "Resolute Support" with a 'train-advise-assist' mandate only, new challenges had erupted near the Eastern borders of the NATO Alliance. This requires CIMIC to focus on the new security challenges lying ahead.

* Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE) – or Allied Command Operations (ACO) – is NATO's headquarters for all military plans and operations. It is the successor to two historic strategic commands for NATO – Allied Command Europe (ACE) and Allied Command Atlantic (ACLANT). In 1951, General Dwight D. Eisenhower assumed command over ACE, by which he held the title of Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR). SHAPE – his headquarters – was located in the Parisian suburb of Rocquencourt, France. In 1967, SHAPE however moved to Casteau, Belgium. At the Prague Summit in 2002, NATO members agreed on having only one strategic-level command be in charge of all NATO operations. For both historical and financial/legal reasons, with the title of Allied Command Opera-tions (ACO) the headquarters of ACO retained its traditional title of SHAPE and its commander the traditional designation as SACEUR.

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76. William R. Phillips, 'Civil-Military Cooperation: Vital to the peace implementation in Bosnia', in: NATO Review web edition Vol. 46 No. 1 (1998) p. 25.
77. Peter Rehse, CIMIC: Concepts, Definitions and Practice, Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg, Heft 136 (Hamburg 2004) p. 27 f.
78. Phillips, 'Civil-Military Cooperation: Vital to the peace implementation in Bosnia', p. 27.
79. Frerks et al., Principles and Pragmatism, p. 27.

COMPLEX CRISIS RESPONSE OPERATIONS OF THE EARLY 21ST CENTURY

In the course of the late 1990s, NATO had limited the emerging CIMIC capacity an operational support role rather than integrating it as a central tenet in its military planning for stability operations. There are several explanations behind this limited role: In the immediate post-Cold War era, the Alliance had only just begun to engage in complex stability operations. Its forces still trained and planned primarily for conventional combat and territorial defense. Unsurprisingly, this meant NATO military leaders latched on to what they already knew – the principles of conventional warfare – which they then applied to the growing stability challenges. As a military alliance, NATO moreover was ill equipped to staff civilian style organizations with administrators and policemen to work alongside its military units. Another reason for CIMIC's operational limitation through the 1990s had been the leading role of the US Army in staffing the first CIMIC structures, with its strong aversion to any other role than conventional combat operations.

Here, it should be remembered that also the re-invention of COIN principles only took place in the later phases of the Iraq campaign. In Bosnia, the Americans took initially the political and military lead by creating clear and attainable military objectives and by deploying overwhelming forces to achieve them.[80] This approach was later echoed by Master Gunnery Sergeant John Ubaldi, who deployed to Iraq with the 5th Civil Affairs Group in 2005, after first serving in Afghanistan in 2002. He wrote: "Military planners never embraced the concept of civil-military operations as part of a viable strategy for military operations. After decades, the military had discounted the need to prepare for counterinsurgency. U.S. military doctrine preferred a technological solution with an overwhelming decisive blow."[81] Moving into the civilian sphere was often disparaged as nation-building, or denigrated as "mission creep": the real, or rather perceived expansion of the military role beyond its original military parameters. Against this background, the unified NATO doctrine thus had to avoid explicitly using the term nation-building at all costs: the document avoided any reference to executive administrative powers for the military. Other NATO publications even replaced the "support" for civil organizations by words like "advice" and "assistance".[82]

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80. Brocades Zaalberg, 'Countering Insurgent-terrorism', p. 414.
81. Ubaldi, 'Why Civil Military Operations will be a Combat Multiplier in Counterinsurgency Operations', p. 1.
82. Rappard, 'An Active Dutch CIMIC Policy is Not a Bridge Too Far', pp. 74–77.

9/11: Attacks on the United States/World Trade Center, New York

Terms which would later re-emerge during the post-ISAF phase in Afghanistan.

At the dawn of the twenty-first century, the US attitude however changed markedly with the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001. This introduced a new international security paradigm that identified fragile and failed states even far beyond the borders of the Alliance, as national security threats. Such countries came to be viewed both as a major development challenge, as well as a leading source of trans-national threats to global security. The NATO Strategic Concept had already been updated in April 1999, to commit the Alliance to defending not just its member states, but also peace and stability in and around the whole NATO region. This called for expanded 'non-Article 5 Crisis Response Operations', including host-nation stabilization or *peace support operations by carrying out **peace enforcement**, **peacekeeping**, **conflict prevention**, **peacebuilding** and **humanitarian relief efforts**.[83]

As this renewed arch of stabilizing activities increasingly placed the military at the forefront of the process to stabilize the civil environment, the success of the overall military operations also came to depend significantly on their cooperation with civilian communities. In particular, the notion of "stabilization" or stability operations emerged "precisely because of the "difficulty to categorize activities that fall into a grey zone in between military and civilian responsibilities."[84]

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83. Victoria Wheeler and Adele Harmer, Resetting the Rules of Engagement. Trends and Issues in Military-Humanitarian Relations, © Research report – The Humanitarian Policy Group at the Overseas Development Institute (2006) p. 57.
84. Andrea Barbara Baumann, 'Clash of Organisational Cultures? The Challenge of Integrating Civilian and Military Efforts in Stabilisation Operations', RUSI Journal Vol. 153 No. 6 (December 2008) p. 71.

* **Peace support operations** are multi-functional operations, conducted impartially in support of a UN/OSCE mandate or at the invitation of a sovereign government, involving military forces and diplomatic and humanitarian agencies. They are designed to achieve a long-term political settlement or other conditions specified in the mandate. Peace support operations include peacekeeping and peace enforcement, as well as conflict prevention, peace-making, peacebuilding and humanitarian operations.

** **Peacekeeping** refers to operations generally undertaken under Chapter VI of the UN Charter. They are conducted with the consent of all Parties to a conflict and aim to monitor and facilitate the implementation of a peace agreement.

Peace enforcement refers to operations undertaken under Chapter VII of the UN Charter. They are coercive in nature and are conducted when the consent of all Parties to a conflict has not been achieved or might be uncertain. They are designed to maintain or re-establish peace or enforce the terms specified in the mandate.

Peace building covers actions in support of political, economic, social and military measures and structures that aim to strengthen and solidify political settlements in order to redress the causes of a conflict. This includes mechanisms to identify and support structures which can play a role in consolidating peace, advance a sense of confidence and well-being and supporting economic reconstruction.

Conflict prevention includes activities that range from diplomatic initiatives to preventive deployments of military forces. They are intended to prevent disputes from escalating to armed conflicts or from spreading further. Conflict prevention can also include fact-finding missions, consultations, warnings, inspections and monitoring. NATO makes full use of partnership, co-operation and dialogue and its links to other organizations to contribute to preventing crises and, should they arise, defusing them at an early stage.

For this reason, the "complex crisis response operations" of the early twenty-first century can indeed be defined as those that required comprehensive civil-military planning and cooperation in the field.[85] This shift of mission objectives forced an initially often contentious and difficult collaboration between civil relied and development organizations and military communities.[86]

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85. Binnendijk and Cronin, Civilian Surge: Key to Complex Operations. A Preliminary Report, p. 40.
86. Stephanie Blair and Ann Fitz-Gerald, Draft – Stabilisation and Stability Operations: A Literature Review, Centre for Security Sector Management, Cranfield University (2009) pp. 2-3.

Toppling of Saddam Hussein statue in central Bagdad, April 9, 2003

ENTERING THE IRAQ WAR (2003-2009)

The emergence of this shift of objectives for the military became evident during the campaigns in both Iraq and Afghanistan.[87] The Iraq War, also referred to as the Third Gulf War, began on 20 March, 2003 with the launch of the 'Operation Iraqi Freedom', driven by a US led coalition against President Saddam Hussein and his Ba'ath Party structures. This resulted in the rapid surrender and dissolution of the Iraqi forces, as well as the later capture and execution of Saddam Hussein. Following the so-called Rumsfeld Doctrine, according to then Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, the United States entered the campaign with a limited number of ground forces, insufficient to effectively control the occupied territory and to provide for a safe post-conflict environment. Under a banner of 'Mission Accomplished', President George W. Bush Jr. misleadingly declared the end of major combat operation on May 1st, 2003. However, due to a deliberate lack of comprehensive post-conflict planning and the sidelining of all former government employees and security personnel in the new, now Shia controlled administrative structures, renewed violence against the Multi-National Force–Iraq (MNF–I) or simply the "coalition forces" (USA, UK, Australia, Spain and Poland) erupted, rapidly leading to an asymmetrical war between the insurgents, the US military, and the new Iraqi government forces.[88] Following the beginning of the Iraq War in 2004, retired US Army Major General Robert H. Scales argued that the conflict *"was fought brilliantly at the technological level but*

87. Ibid., p. 3.
88. Youssef Bassil, 'The 2003 Iraq War: Operations, Causes, and Consequences', IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science (JHSS) Vol. 4 No. 5 (Nov. – Dec. 2012) p. 29.

inadequately at the human level."[89] While the US military had been capable of technically conducting kinetic warfare, warfare, they lacked the "intellectual acumen, cultural awareness, and knowledge of the art of war to conduct culture-centric warfare."[90]

Indeed, the lack of cultural understanding among the mainly American forces for their operational environment, effectively impeded the US military effort at the tactical and operational levels. US troops, for example, forced detained Iraqis to bow with their heads to the ground. This position, however, is reserved in Islam except for times of prayer only. Due to a widespread absence of cultural training, or of specified personnel, occupying soldiers managed to offend not only the detainees, but also Iraqis who were observing the situation.[91] In another instances, US soldiers believed they had settled a disagreement in a village by making a condolence payment. When they returned to the village a few days later, they were attacked by the local population: *"The soldiers felt betrayed, but in the villagers' eyes, the agreement had never been valid because the reconciliation ritual had not been conducted."[92]* Such lack of cultural awareness added further animosity between Iraqis and American forces, among the emerging sectarian violence, leading to additional conflict and unnecessary loss of life.[93]

Understanding such cultural aspects, though, would be essential for the military to support the build-up of stable political, social and economic institutions. Yet this had not been part of the US war planning. Lieutenant General David H. Petraeus, who then commanded the 101st US Airborne Division in Iraq, indeed observed that "many of us did a lot of "discovery learning" about such features of Iraq in the early months of our time there. And those who learned the quickest - and who also mastered some "survival Arabic"- were, not surprisingly, the most effective in developing productive relationships with local leaders and citizens and achieved the most progress in helping establish security, local governance, economic activity, and basic services."[94]

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89. Roxana Tiron, 'Army Criticized for Not Learning from Past Wars', National Defense Magazine (September 2004).
90. Robert H. Scales, "Culture-Centric Warfare," Proceedings: U.S. Naval Institute, October 2004; available from: http://www.military.com/NewContent/0,13190,NI_1004_Culture-P1,00.html, accessed: June 20, 2017.
91. Ike Skelton and Jim Cooper, "You're Not From Around Here, Are You?" Joint Force Quarterly, no. 36 (2004) p. 12.
92. Mike Pryor, 'Human Terrain Team Helps Soldiers in Iraq Understand Cultural Landscape', (11 December 2007); available from: https://www.army.mil/article/6531/human-terrain-team-helps-soldiers-in-iraq-understand-cultural-landscape, accessed: June 20, 2017.
93. Lieutenant Colonel Carolyn F. Kleiner, 'The Importance of Cultural Knowledge for Today's Warrior-Diplomats', U.S. Army War College (2008) p. 2.
94. Lieutenant General David H. Petraeus, U.S. Army, 'Learning Counterinsurgency: Observations from Soldiering in Iraq', Military Review (January-February 2006) p. 8.

George W. Bush
43rd President of the United States (2001- 2009)

Later portrayed as the person, who more than anyone else, brought Iraq back from the brink of total disaster,[95] by re-discovering the principles of counter-insurgency, Lieutenant General Petraeus led the coalition's military effort during the troop surge of 2007 and 2008.

Shortly after this arrival, he took a tour of Baghdad neighborhoods he remembered from his past deployments. He later described his impressions to his biographer: *"I just couldn't believe it…here's literally tumbleweed rolling down the street of what I remember as a very prosperous, upper middle-class, former military officers' neighborhood in northwest Baghdad. It was just…Wow!"*[96]

By that time, President Bush had finally authorized an additional 30,000 US forces for the military surge to counter the growing insurgency. Equally as important as this increase in coalition forces, was what Petraeus called the "surge of ideas" – marked by significant changes in the overall strategy and operational planning. The key idea guiding this new strategy was the explicit recognition that the human terrain – the Iraqi population – was the most important target of the now ensuing counter-insurgency campaign. Consequently, the coalition's most important mission was to improve the overall security situation. Lieutenant General Petraeus leadership marked the shift from delegating public security tasks to torn, underfunded and insufficient Iraqi security forces to directly focusing on the security of the affected Iraqi population.

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95. See: 'How Petraeus changed the U.S. military' by Peter Bergen – CNN National Security Analyst, accessed: June 27, 2017, last updated: November 11, 2012, available from: http://edition.cnn.com/2012/11/10/opinion/bergen-petraeus-legacy/.
96. Ibid.

These security improvements would in turn provide Iraq's political leaders with the opportunity to forge agreements that would reduce ethno-sectarian violence. This approach had the ultimate goal of establishing a foundation for further efforts to improve the lives on the Iraqi people and to provide many with a stake in the development of the new state. However, improved security could only be achieved by moving forces into urban neighborhoods and rural population centers. During the first two weeks of his command, Petraeus changed the mission statement of the existing campaign plan to reflect this imperative.[97]

He explained this "population-centric" strategy in a letter he sent to all of the soldiers he commanded: *"[…] We can't commute to the fight in counterinsurgency operations; rather, we have to live with the population we are securing."*[98] Effectively, this new approach constituted a direct reversal of the coalition's forces' consolidation on large bases that had been taking place since the spring of 2004. Ultimately, Petraeus's new approach resulted in the establishment of more than 100 small outposts and joint security stations, three-quarters of them in Baghdad alone. While Lieutenant-General Petraeus' new strategy had essential features in common with the LOT houses in the Balkans, it encompassed much more than just moving off the big bases and focusing on security of the people. In effect, this approach turned into a carefully crafted civil-military engagement campaign, featuring both military and civilian-side elements, which each were expected to complement the effects of the others. In this way, the progress in one aspect of the strategy would allow for possible gains in the other components. Each incremental step forward reinforced and gradually solidified the overall progress in a particular geographic location. In this way, Petraeus' new strategy resembled the activities of the Danish CIMIC platoon, which in 2003 had been sent to Iraq to support overall reconstruction efforts next to its own national military contingent in the field.[99]

As a stand-alone example for this conflict, this CIMIC unit moved away from solely supporting the military mission to supporting the PRT's reconstruction work. The surge of coalition forces clearly enabled more rapid implementation of the new strategy and accompanying operational concepts. Without Petraeus' strategic changes, the 30,000 additional US forces would

97. David. H. Petraeus, 'How We Won in Iraq – And why all the hard-won gains of the surge are in grave danger of being lost today', Foreign Policy Magazine (October 29, 2013).
 98. 'Petraeus Letter to the Troops' by Michael Goldfarb, The Weekly Standard (March 16, 2007).
 99. Overview of the Danish CIMIC Development since 1990. A copy of this document is in the author's possession.

not have been able to achieve the gains in security and in other areas necessary for a substantial reduction of the underlying levels of ethno-sectarian violence. Without this reduction, any progress made would not have been sustained when responsibilities were ultimately were transferred to the Iraqi security forces and government authorities.[100] The later rise of ISIS / Daesh in Iraq and its support from Sunni minority tribes became testimony for the failure of the Iraqi authorities to engage with all civilian groups. During the height of the COIN operations in Iraq, it had been the close engagement also with the Sunni groups, which had turned the tide against the insurrection.

ISAF IN AFGHANISTAN (2001-2014)

On August 11, 2003, NATO assumed command of the ISAF mission in Afghanistan. ISAF was one of the largest coalitions in history and counts as NATO's most challenging mission to date. At its height, the force was more than 130,000 strong, with troops from 51 NATO members and partner nations participating. Mandated by the United Nations, the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) had the primary objective to enable the Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan (GIRoA) to provide effective security and development across the country. To support the Afghan administration of President Hamid Karzai, ISAF assisted and advised the Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) in their conduct of security operations throughout the country. From 2011 onwards, the responsibility for providing security was gradually transitioned to the Afghan forces, which by the summer of 2013 were tasked to take the lead in security operations across the country. By virtue of the political mandates emanating from their national governments, ISAF forces had meanwhile shifted from an active military role to Training, Advising and Assisting (TAA). By the end of 2014, this transition process had been completed. While turning into 'Resolute Support' as a TAA mission only, international forces were reduced to just fulfill this task, with Afghan forces having to assume the full security responsibility across the country.[101]

In the fall of 2004, NATO and ISAF took charge of the regional command in the north of Afghanistan, followed by the west in the spring of 2006.

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100. Petraeus, 'How We Won in Iraq', Foreign Policy Magazine (October 29, 2013).
101. See: ISAF's mission in Afghanistan (2001-2014) (Archived), accessed: June 27, 2017, last updated: September 1, 2015, available from: http://www.nato.int/cps/in/natohq/topics_69366.htm

That fall, ISAF had also moved into the south and assumed command over coalition forces in the entire country.[102] From 2004 to 2009, there had been a nine fold increase in security incidents throughout the country, next to a fortyfold increase in suicide bombing. Conflict spread to most of the 34 provinces, although 71 percent of the security incidents in 2010 took place in only 10 percent of Afghanistan's nearly 400 districts.[103] By 2011, the Afghans and Allied forces however came close to achieving a 'troop-to-population' ratio of twenty counterinsurgents for every 1,000 people, outnumbering the Taliban by more than 10 to 1.[104] At the Lisbon Summit in 2010, it was then decided that "the process of transition to full Afghan security responsibility and leadership in some provinces and districts is on track to begin in early 2011."[105] NATO then also decided that Afghan forces will be assuming full responsibility for security across the entire country by the end of 2014, to which President Karzai agreed as well.[106]

The expansion of the ISAF mission eventually lead to the establishment of initially 13 *Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) under NATO ISAF command in the North, West and South, stretching to three-fourth of the national territory. These ISAF-led PRTs came under the umbrella of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) and were authorized to expand beyond Kabul.[107] Initially introduced by the United States during the 'Operation Enduring Freedom' in 2002[108] to bridge the gap between major combat operations and civilian-led reconstruction and development efforts,[109] the PRTs were established to implement a whole-of-government or comprehensive approach to the mission in Afghanistan. In 2006, NATO had adopted such a comprehensive approach to enhance the scope for success in its non-Article 5 Crisis Response Operations. This reflected a lesson learned in the Balkans and during the early stage of the ISAF mission, namely that the Alliance cannot win peace alone by conducting kinetic operations. Next to military security, sustainable peace also requires development, good governance, rule of law and local ownership. As a military organization, NATO is however unable to provide all the civilian contributions that

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102. Joseph J. Collins, Understanding War in Afghanistan (National Defense University Press, Washington D.C., 2011) p. 64,
103. Collins, Understanding War in Afghanistan, p. 72.
104. Ibid., p. 60.
105. Lisbon Summit Declaration. Issued by the Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Lisbon (2010), Para. 4.
accessed: August 24, 2017, last updated: July 31, 2012, available from: http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_68828.htm
106. Ibid. Para. 4.; Collins, Understanding War in Afghanistan, p. 98.
107. Seminar report: NATO Provincial Reconstruction Teams: ISAF PRT operations in Afghanistan and the implications and consequences for civil-military relations.
29-30 September 2005 (ver. 1.1) – Civil-Military Co-operation Centre of Excellence (January 2006) p. 5.
108. Jens Ringsmore and Peter Dahl Thruelsen, 'NATO's counterinsurgency campaign in Afghanistan: Are classical doctrines suitable for Alliances?', Unisci Discussion Papers No. 22 (January 2010) p.68.
109. Peter Viggo Jakobsen, 'PRTs in Afghanistan: Successful but not Sufficient', Danish Institute for International Studies, DIIS Report No. 6 (2005) p. 11.

* **Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs)** are small civil-military teams (50-300 personnel) that operated throughout Afghanistan at the provincial level at the operational and tactical levels to expand the legitimacy of the central government to the regions, enhance security and facilitate reconstruction processes. Under circumstances, PRTs also carried out activities in the areas of limited relief operations (so-called hearts and minds and quick impact projects). Stakeholders are radically opposed in their views on the concept of PRTs.

sustainable peace requires. Thus, the Alliance shall always depend on other civilian actors for the crisis response operations it gets involved in.[110]

For this reason, NATO Secretary-General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer declared in 2007 that the comprehensive approach is supposed to foster "cooperation and coordination between international organizations, individual states, agencies and NGOs, the private sector and the host government, and effective implementation requires the cooperation and contribution of all major actors."[111] When NATO took over the command of ISAF in early August 2003, the Alliance found itself in charge of a growing number of PRTs. By July 2009, there were 26 PRTs on the ground under ISAF's authority across Afghanistan.[112] These were operated by Germany, Canada, Spain, the Netherlands, Hungary, Italy and the United Kingdom.[113] PRTs consisted of a military component, responsible for security-related tasks. Civilian development advisors, usually employed by the coalition government, were responsible for the development projects. Meanwhile, political advisors managed the engagement with local authorities and provided political analysis. PRTs also included police and judicial advisors, as well as correctional service officers responsible for 'Rule-of-Law' assistance.[114] In this way, PRTs were progressively adopted by other ISAF force contributing countries in Afghanistan, where they conducted civil-military reconstruction activities in non-securitized environments.

In Afghanistan, the PRTs contributed to the comprehensive approach by expanding the legitimacy of the central government in Kabul to the regions, facilitating the reconstruction process, and enhancing security by support-

110. Peter Viggo Jakobsen, 'Right Strategy, Wrong Place: Why NATO's Comprehensive Approach will fail in Afghanistan', UNISCI Discussion Papers No. 22 (January 2010) p. 79.
111. 'Speech by NATO Secretary General at the Microsoft-BBC-NATO', North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Defence Leaders Forum, Noordwijk aan zee, Netherlands (23 April 2007).
112. David S. Sloan, 'NATO in Afghanistan', Unisci Discussion Papers No. 22 (January 2010) pp. 34-55.
113. Gros et al., Les nouveaux concepts militaires dans les nouveaux conflits, Rapport intermédiaire, Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique (US Crest, 2010).
114. De Coning & Friis, 'Coherence and Coordination: The Limits of the Comprehensive Approach', p. 250.

ing the reform process of the Afghan security sector.[115] The military component of the PRT regarded its priorities as contributing to local security, force protection, and engaging in CIMIC activities. The primary role of CIMIC teams herein, was to liaise with local populations and administrative stakeholders.[116] While the expectations set into the PRTs were high, three-quarters of the reconstruction and development projects nevertheless took place outside of the PRT/CIMIC framework.[117] There was, moreover, no commonly agreed PRT model, or structure. Each nation developed its own model, with significantly differing levels of whole-of-government integration.

The British PRT in Helmand province, for instance, was headed by a senior civilian. Others were led by the military, with hardly any civilian experts at all. Coordination between the PRTs and the ISAF HQ in Kabul had overall been too limited. As a result, there have been significant regional differences in terms of scope, resources and approaches.[118] Moreover, a closer look at the distribution of tasks and responsibilities within the Dutch PRT in the Baghlan province, for example, demonstrates that the majority of key civil–military liaison activities were undertaken by authorities other than the assigned CIMIC personnel. The PRT commander dealt directly and primarily with the provincial governor. He did so in close cooperation with his political advisor, a diplomat from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The PRTs CIMIC teams – consisting of approximately 12 people – meanwhile made their way into the province on one to four-day patrols. There they liaised with civil administrators and police on the district level. The PRT's political advisor led the interaction with IOs, NGOs, as well as the various Governmental Organizations (GOs) active in the region. This division resulted in the CIMIC staff with taking a leading role largely in liaising with the emerging administrative departments in the provincial capital. Much more than that, the CIMIC staffers were preoccupied with the execution of CIMIC projects, intended to support mission objectives and only then local population and government.[119]

In 2005, the Taliban insurgents began a nationwide offensive to spread their influence. With a varying number of combat troops available, ISAF, together with national security forces, set out counter the Taliban insurgency.

115. Jakobsen, 'Right Strategy, Wrong Place', p. 85.
116. Abbaszadeh et al., Provincial Reconstruction Teams: Lessons and Recommendations, The Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton University (January 2008) p. 29.
117. Ibid., p. 10.
118. Oskari Eronen, PRT Models in Afghanistan – Approaches to Civil-Military Integration (Helsinki: CMC Crisis Management Centre, 2008); Touko Piiparinen, 'A Clash of Mindsets? An Insider's Account of Provincial Reconstruction Teams', International Peacekeeping Vol. 14 No. 1 (2007) pp. 143-157.
119. Brocades Zaalberg, 'Countering Insurgent-terrorism', p. 401.

Preceding the execution of the Rumsfeld Doctrine in Iraq, the toppling of the Taliban government in 2002 had been conducted with just enough ground forces to ensure conventional success in the field. Deliberately absent of a post-conflict re-construction, or even nation building strategy, and aggravated by a drastic reduction in forces to pave way for the intended invasion of Iraq, the Taliban leadership withdrew to its regional strongholds to launch an increasing insurgency against GIRoA and the limited remaining international forces.

While ISAF initially focused to secure the region around the Afghan capital Kabul, the nascent Taliban insurgency, which regained strength in 2005 / 06 moved the Allied forces to establish their military presence throughout the country. To sustain this territorial coverage, the number of deployed forces from a number of contributing nations increased significantly from about 10,000 to prior to the expansion to about 55,000 in 2009. As part of the still ongoing US 'Operation Enduring Freedom' and the US 'Surge', bringing an additional 30,000 US troops temporarily into the theatre, the number of international military forces well exceeded 100,000 temporarily. With expanded presence on the ground and across the entire country, the demand for specialists in CIMIC multiplied.

Together with the increase of force, the NATO partners also agreed to significantly enable, train, and finance the development of the national security forces: the Afghan National Army (ANA) and the Afghan National Police (ANP). Developing the new Afghan security forces was also meant to ensure that Afghanistan would not again become a safe haven for terrorists and to enhance a key government responsibility, namely to provide for internal security and stability. Whereas insurgent terrorism has been a part of the insurgencies challenging foreign or colonial occupation, it has also become an integral part of the armed uprisings against the Shia-led government in Iraq since 2003.

Both **insurgent terrorism** and ***transnational terrorism** have in fact become intricately linked during recent insurgencies in Iraq and Afghanistan.

** Insurgent terrorism occurs within the borders of states where insurgents have challenged the legitimacy of the political system, authorities or policies.

*** Transnational terrorism is carried out by non-state actors which are not limited to sovereign states and transcend national borders. It therewith not only poses a threat to the Alliance, but also creates long-term consequences for global peace and stability. Those consequences are increasingly the result of two main developments: instability in a number of weak states; and the prolific use by terrorist organisations of the Internet and social media to inspire fighters and supporters as well as to maintain a global terrorist network.

As with the MNF–I in Iraq, the ISAF mission in Afghanistan also depended on civil-military cooperation to stabilize the country.[120] In both Iraq and Afghanistan, the COIN campaigns presented a combination of offensive, defensive as well as stabilizing measures. Many of such activities, including combat, emergency relief, stabilization and reconstruction, had previously been assumed to take place in sequence. During these COIN operations, they however were increasingly being carried out as parallel processes. Engaging with the civil environment, in this context, has contributed to operational planning, information-gathering, and identifying military objectives.[121]

From fighting the German occupation of Western Europe during the 1940s, to the conclusion of the ISAF mission in 2014, civil-military cooperation has come a long way from merely providing logistical and technical support to become a regular military function across the Alliance. Particularly the past two decades have witnessed its rapid transformation into a dedicated capability that manages the civil-military interface during more comprehensive missions to ever more complex growing environments. Whereas CIMIC had traditionally supported military activities, the new CIMIC concept depends on conventional soldiering to facilitate CIMIC personnel in carrying out their tasks. The experiences from Bosnia, Kosovo, Iraq and Afghanistan required NATO members, and the J-9 function as well to adapt to the changing realities of the post-Cold War and post 9/11 era. Those within NATO who wanted to hold on to CIMIC as it had been conducted during the Cold War quickly fell quiet upon being confronted by the new demands for a civil-military interface during non-Article 5 Crisis Response Operations.

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120. Brocades Zaalberg, 'Countering Insurgent-terrorism', pp. 402-403.
121. Brzoska & Georg-Ehrhart, 'Civil-Military Cooperation in Post-Conflict Rehabilitation and Reconstruction', p. 9.

With the Alliance moving from the Balkans into the (much) less permissive environments of Iraq and Afghanistan, the need for national contingents to protect their own forces in the field and develop an understanding of the civil environment for instance became more pressing as well. Nevertheless, valuable lessons from the earlier history of civil-military cooperation and counter-insurgency had to be strenuously re-discovered with the decline of the bi-polar world order after 1989. In order not to lose this individual and institutional memory again, the CIMIC lessons learned from the stability operations of the 1990s and early 2000s need to be carefully harvested to be effectively into the current security environment.[122]

As the Wales and Warsaw Summits of 2014 and 2016 had re-iterated and re-emphasized role of NATO's Collective Defense for countering the developing hybrid threat scenario, the civil-military interface between the forces active with in the Alliance and the civilian domain, needs to be upgraded again to enhance military and related societal resilience. Stepping up from past flaws, inadequacies but also successes during earlier missions will thus help NATO meet its greatest responsibility of the twenty-first century: "Protecting and defending our territory and populations against attack, as set out in Article 5 of the Washington Treaty."[123]

This first chapter sets out to explore of the historical origins leading to the development of NATO CIMIC. It starts with World War II and moves on to the Cold War, before entering the 1990s and the story of the early twenty-first century. The story will end with a brief thought on this historical development for the future course of NATO in light of the Warsaw Summit (2016). This narrative aims to help readers better understand CIMIC's meaning, treatment, and operational context throughout decades of military and political history. There, it lays the necessary groundwork for chapter two, which will delve deeper into the challenges for NATO CIMIC.

122. Marian Corbe and Eugenio Cusumano, 'Conclusion', in: Marian Corbe & Eugenio Cusumano (ed.), A Civil-Military Response to Hybrid Threats (Verlag: Springer-Verlag GmbH) pp. 1-7, there: p. 1. {Book in print; publication scheduled for August 2017}
123. Warsaw Summit Communiqué. Issued by the Heads of State and Government [...] in Warsaw 8-9 July 2016, issued: July 9, 2016, accessed: July 26, 2017, last updated: March 29, 2017. available from: http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_133169.htm

Chapter II:

CIMIC in Crisis Response: Evolving tasks and perceptions

As the historical origins of NATO CIMIC have been explored, it is time to delve deeper into its renewed conduct during 'non-Article 5 Crisis Response Operations', as well as the remaining challenges therein. This will clearly distinguish between the development of NATO CIMIC during out-of-area stability missions, international disaster relief operations, and domestic crisis management operations.

Thereto, this chapter will first reflect on the challenges to CIMIC during NATO stability missions in support of host-nation governments. Second, it shall discuss the supporting role of NATO's military assets and national armed forces during international and domestic natural disaster relief and humanitarian aid efforts. To identify the underlying structural shortcomings in the application of CIMIC during 'non-Article 5 Crisis Response Operations', this chapter draws prominently on numerous first-hand accounts, insights and perspectives from CIMIC personnel and civilian practitioners. This way, this chapter provides unfiltered, yet highly experienced voices from the field, by people who can best attest to the practiced scope and purpose of CIMIC. The last part will then briefly reflect on a few unresolved issues between non-military and military organizations, with special regard for the application of the Comprehensive Approach in the stabilization of fragile states.

CIMIC IN STABILITY OPERATIONS: What else beyond projects?

Too many times, the intra-military perception and use of Civil-Military Cooperation has reduced the CIMIC function within out-of-area stability operations to dig wells, or to build shelters in small, local population projects. Initially, this limited view of the civil-military interface has caused humanitarian organizations, policymakers and the general public to perceive CIMIC as little more than executing ***Quick Impact Projects** or "civic actions"[1] for humanitarian purposes. These, however did little justice to the potential of the core CIMIC functions and their overall capability to enable the mission, support stabilization, and also to undertake mission related reconstruction efforts. This restricted understanding was partly due to the rapidly unfolding paradigms for NATO operations after the Cold War. Yet, while the senior political level at NATO and the national governments, as well as the military strategic level quickly had to catch up with the new paradigm of interaction with their civilian counterparts on the host nation side, this comprehension of coordination was not implemented throughout the ranks and operational levels of the deployed forces. Instead of acting as a liaison function for all levels of engagement, in practically, CIMIC activities were often limited to the lower tactical echelons in the various operational theatres. The lack of an overall training and awareness on the contemporary role of Civil-Military Cooperation for the mission at hand through many senior ranks, resulted in a widespread and lasting under-use of the new J-9 capacities and its personnel.

* **Quick Impact Projects** or QIPs are small-scale, low-cost projects that are planned and implemented within a short timeframe. Different actors beyond the military also fund or implement QIPs with varying objectives. Within NATO, Quick Impact Projects were carried out by the Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) during the ISAF mission in Afghanistan. These projects and programs were many and varied; they included constructing schools, providing access to potable water, sanitation, medical assistance, building/repair of roads, building/repair of schools, assistance to local government, advice and assistance to the agricultural community, veterinary services and security sector reform. QIPs had the rationale of "winning the hearts and minds" of the Afghan population.

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1. Brocades Zaalberg, 'Countering Insurgent-terrorism', pp. 402, 412.

"When I in 2003 was installed as the new Liaison Officer for the UNHCR in Bosnia, I still had no idea what CIMIC was. Neither my boss or my colleagues could provide me with information about it."

Captain Rob Ebbers, 1. CMI Command
Royal Netherlands Armed Forces

By the mid-1990s, NATO's responsibility for implementing the military aspects of the Dayton Accords, marked the Alliance's first involvement in 'out-of-area non-Article 5 crisis management operations'. This was followed by further 'non-Article 5 operations', such as the missions in Kosovo and Afghanistan. [2]In response to these new challenges, NATO's strategic level began to adopt an increasingly comprehensive focus on crisis response operations. The 1991 Alliance's Strategic Concept for "the management of crises affecting the security of its members", already included a provision for crisis management measures. This was reiterated in the 1999 Strategic Concept, which stated that NATO stands ready to contribute to effective conflict prevention and to engage actively in crisis management. Therein, it specified that these crisis management operations would include 'non-Article 5 operations'.[3] A decade after the turn of the century, the 2010 Strategic Concept again broadened NATO's approach to crisis management. The document envisaged the Alliance's involvement at all stages of a crisis: *"NATO will therefore engage, where possible and when necessary, to prevent crises, manage crises, stabilize post-conflict situations and support reconstruction."*[4] The new Strategic Concept also recognized that in order to be effective across the crisis management spectrum, a greater number of actors were bound to participate and coordinate their efforts.

2. See: NATO Crisis Management, accessed: June 30, 2017, last updated: January 29, 2015, available from: http://www.nato.int/cps/bu/natohq/topics_49192.htm#
3. See: The Alliance's New Strategic Concept. Agreed by the Heads of State and Government participating in the Meeting of the North Atlantic Council (November 7-8, 1991), accessed: June 30, 2017, last updated: August 26, 2010, available from: http://www.nato.int/cps/sl/natohq/official_texts_23847.htm; The Alliance's Strategic Concept (Washington D.C., 24 April 1999).
4. Active Engagement, Modern Defense – Strategic Concept for the Defense and Security of the Members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Adopted at the NATO Summit in Lisbon (November 19-20, 2010) p. 19.

"During all my missions, I experienced difficulties in explaining to my commander what CIMIC exactly does for him. At times they still wouldn't understand it even at the end of the mission. My commanding officer, my Afghan counterpart and also the general: All of them were clueless about what CIMIC was, meant or represented."

Lieutenant-Colonel Martin Kurt Kuechen
German Armed Forces

Alliance members were tasked to develop an appropriate, but modest, civilian crisis management capability to interface more effectively with civilian partners. This capability was given a broad range of activities, including the task to *"plan, employ and coordinate civilian activities, until conditions allow for the transfer of those responsibilities and tasks to other actors."*[5] As such, the document adopted a comprehensive, all-encompassing approach to crisis management by the Allied forces deployed to these missions. This went hand-in-hand with a greater emphasis on training and developing local forces, enhancing civil-military planning and interaction, and greater interoperability between NATO and partner forces.[6] With its three core functions, including the support to the civil environment, NATO CIMIC indeed received a prominent place within the nation-wide stabilization and reconstruction efforts. Following ISAF's deployment to South Afghanistan, the Dutch government for instance underlined that "*it is of crucial importance that the military in south Afghanistan do not limit themselves only to the improvement of security and stability. They will also be involved in the establishment of the requirements for governance and economic reconstruction.*"[7] In accordance with the ISAF mandate, the Dutch aimed to achieve this goal by enhancing the local population's support for the Afghan government authorities. Enhancing the authority of the local and national government authorities would strengthen the government's control over the country and deny support for the Taliban and other insurgent groups.

5. Ibid., p. 21.
6. NATO Crisis Management, available from: http://www.nato.int/cps/bu/natohq/topics_49192.htm#
7. Minister B.R. Bot, Minister H.G.J. Kamp & Minister Ms. A.M.A. van Ardenne-Van der Hoeven, Kamerbrief 22 December 2005, Kamerstuk 27 925.

"Everything then became focused on the number of projects we conducted, the amount of money we spent, the number of refugees returned back home. Our success was measured by this kind of facts and figures. The more people they could ask to return back home because of more safer and liveable conditions was indicative of mission success."

Captain Ralf Baur, 1 CMI Command
German Armed Forces

Although offensive actions were still conducted by Afghan and PRT forces to access all regions, the most important functions of the mission included the expansion of legitimacy of the central government by stimulating good governance, as well as implementing CIMIC projects and reconstruction activi¬ties by the Dutch and others. While the Taliban insurgents had to be repressed by kinetic military force, the broader strategy was aimed at making them 'irrelevant' by gaining the support of the population. To this end, the Dutch directed both short-term small-scale projects, such as water pumps, in addition to larger and more long-term programs such as capacity building for the government. To convince the Afghan people that neither the Taliban, nor other insurgents were an alternative to a properly functioning government, such initiatives had to be based on the wishes and needs of the affected population. Ensuing development efforts were therefore aimed at long-term economic development and the establishment of good governance throughout the country.[8]

In turn, the growing emphasis on stabilization and reconstruction during 'non-Article 5 Crisis Response Operations' soon demanded a much greater role for CIMIC than ever before. While senior military personnel on the strategic level quickly came to terms with this new reality, the tactical and operational levels were however much more hesitant to consider the civil environment, and their enabling interface, within the Area-of-Operations. Captain Rob Ebbers, CIMIC officer at a CIMIC Platoon of the Royal Dutch Armed Forces, first encountered the reality of the CIMIC activation in 2003, when

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8. Jaïr van der Lijn, 3D: 'The Next Generation'. Lessons learned from Uruzgan for future operations,

he was appointed as the CIMIC Liaison Officer for the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Bosnia. He would later admit: *"At this point, I still had no idea what CIMIC was, nor did my boss. My colleagues at the Royal Dutch Air Force also could not provide me with any information about it."* [9]

Captain Frank Höpner of the German Armed Forces served as Liaison Officer to the Stationed Team in Bosnia-Herzegovina in 2006, before he was deployed to the PRT in the province Fayzabad, Afghanistan, in 2011. During both missions he had been tasked with conducting theatre civil assessments. Looking back on these missions, however, he acknowledged how little CIMIC had really been incorporated into the daily activities the respective missions: *"The biggest problem for me was that I did not really know what tasks I would be doing during my deployments, I had to figure that out myself when I got there, so I could not quite prepare for it in advance. In the end, I had to ask myself the question how I could support the force commander in the best possible way. This is exactly what the CIMIC team is for; to provide a useful overview through theatre civil assessments. It was not the case that I was given a direct order by a superior to perform that particular task. In my opinion, I was my own boss and decided for myself what I wanted to do in the field."*[10]

Meanwhile, Captain Höpner's Army comrade Lieutenant-Colonel Martin Kurt Kuechen had been deployed to serve as a Liaison Officer in Mazar-i-Sharif at ISAF's Regional Command (RC) North in 2009. After a deployment to Kosovo in 2011, he returned to Mazar-i-Sharif as a Civil Situation (CIVSIT) Officer in 2013, before serving there again in 2016 a s a CIMIC Advisor for ISAF's ensuing Resolute Support mission: *"In all missions, I faced problems explaining to my commander or commanding officer what CIMIC was doing. Sometimes it took only a month to make them understand the value of CIMIC, but at times, they still would not understand it –– not even at the end of the mission. Maybe I just was not able to explain this all too well to myself. This lack of knowledge was something I experienced during all my missions. This includes the last one in 2013, where I had to advise my Afghan counterpart, my commanding officer, and also the general.*

9. Author's interview with Captain Rob Ebbers – Senior CIMIC Staff Officer of the 1 CMI Command / CIMIC Platoon of the Royal Dutch Armed Forces – Apeldoorn, the Netherlands (May 30, 2017) p. 1.
10. Author's interview with Captain Frank Höpner OF-2 – Operations Division, Civil-Military Cooperation Competence Centre of the German Armed Forces – Nienburg, Germany (May 17, 2017) p. 1.

All of them were clueless about what CIMIC was, meant or represented."[11]

How then, could the perception of CIMIC have become so distorted with the image of soldiers just carrying out projects in the field? German Army Captain Ralf Baur, who went initially from Google searching "CIMIC", to seeing civil-military cooperation in practice during the KFOR mission, explained it this way: *"NATO missions in the Balkans were mainly driven by foreign policy, which at this time focused on creating the right conditions in Bosnia and Kosovo, so that the influx of refugees to NATO countries would come to an end. It was very clear that CIMIC at this time was highly project-driven, meant to re-establish the provision of public services, proper education and infrastructures. The end-state of this was that the people of Kosovo could take care of themselves. Given this close affiliation of CIMIC with projects, it came to be treated as being equal to carrying out such projects."[12]*

Adjutant Jac Breur – who filled lower through higher staff level positions as a Medical Service Officer in Iraq, Bosnia and Afghanistan from 1992 to 2007, before joining the 1 CMI Command in 2009, offered a more detailed perspective on this particular development: *"Misperceptions of these projects did prevail during those days, which was mostly due to the predominant focus on *kinetic activities that did not yet rightfully recognize the added value of CIMIC to the operations."[13]* He went on: *"Until 2009, CIMIC in Afghanistan was just viewed as an enabler of the infantry. Patrols were being conducted and tasked to apply comprehensive approach measures, which meant that CIMIC was also needed. This however translated in effect to building water pumps, or little bridges, so that the "CIMIC report box" could be ticked off the list and soldiers could carry on diminishing the Taliban threat. If the military destroyed civilian lands' and did not treat the people with respect, then building a water pump really was not going to win any hearts or minds. Such actions would also not contribute to support to the force. To a certain extent, such attitudes and mindsets still prevail within the armed forces, which to this day still focus mostly on kinetic aspects."[14]*

11. Author's interview with Lieutenant-Colonel Martin Kurt Kuechen OF-4 – Operations Division, Civil-Military Cooperation Competence Centre of the German Armed Forces – Nienburg, Germany (May 17, 2017) pp. 1-2.
12. Author's interview with Captain Ralf Baur – Liaison and Exchange Officer of the 1 CMI Command / CIMIC Platoon of the Royal Dutch Armed Forces – Apeldoorn, the Netherlands (May 23, 2017) p. 1.
13. Author's interview with Adjutant Jac Breur – Senior CIMIC OO CIMIC Platoon of the 1 CMI Command / CIMIC Platoon of the Royal Dutch Armed Forces – Apeldoorn, the Netherlands (May 23, 2017) p. 4.
14. Ibid., p. 2.

Despite this often one-sided focus on projects during stability operations, these project-based activities need to be seen in the much larger context of the overall core CIMIC functions to facilitate support to both the force and the civil environment. Civil-military liaison in the latter sense constitutes the capability to increase the acceptance for the missions by the local populations, in addition to support the local authorities return to the Rule-of-Law and political and economic stability.

* **Kinetic** refers to all aspects of military conduct, resources, personnel and organization that are designed and meant specifically and exclusively for action(s) that include the use of lethal force during military operations It refers to the application of military force against opposing forces or objects with (primarily) lethal effects in the physical domain.

Non-kinetic by contrast refers to other military and non-military capabilities that serve to generate additional (kinetic) effects in the non-physical and physical domain. These include elements like information, perception, cohesion, understanding and will. Non-kinetic aspects are those that do not belong to the scope of conventional military activities with the purpose of defeating or destroying an enemy.

CIMIC IN STABILITY OPERATIONS: In Support of the force

With the advent of stability operations, CIMIC gradually evolved into a full grown military capacity. Nevertheless, it remained a rather limited actual scope within NATO. For one, the respective CIMIC practices of national armed forces developed almost independently from each other, leading to different and sometimes conflicting experiences regarding the application of CIMIC. Secondly, because operational planning at large continued to focus mostly on kinetic elements, with newly gained insights from the civil-military interface hardly incorporated into the respective planning processes. After all, the influence on NATO's organizational learning process is still largely depending on an individual's level in the military hierarchy, to shape the lessons learned process and future planning. As a three star general, Lieutenant General Petraeus' influence on shaping the universal application COIN doctrine in Iraq was certainly much larger than the potential effects of J-9 personnel on such processes, who so far rarely exceed the rank of colonel.

"No Colonel wants to be told where wells are being dug when he asks for an assessment of the civil environment. Such information just isn't useful for the operation."

Lieutenant-Colonel Ralph Waschki
German Armed Forces

As such, only a small percentage of the NATO troops and personnel were really exposed to CIMIC activities and learnings.[15]

It is this this fog of unclear relevance of its inherent opportunities, which has long surrounded CIMIC's nature and purpose. This limited institution-alization of CIMIC experiences and learnings across the military functions, has allowed related misperceptions to gain a foothold. For most experts from both military and civilian organizations, the named small-scale, low-bud-get projects have been the only recognizable contribution of CIMIC to the respective missions. Most of the project focus was rendered to areas where local insurgency levels were the highest. There, more hearts and minds were to be won, before the area could be stabilized.[16] However, even such projects have not been an end to themselves, but always a means to provide support to the military force by enhancing the societal acceptance.

Many individual CIMIC projects in Afghanistan have likely been effective in resolving a local need and thereby accomplishing local acceptance of the international force. Yet, especially for the nine Northern provinces of Afghan-istan, which had been placed under the authority of the Regional Command in Camp Marmal near Mazar-i-Sharif, international military forces were most popular for providing security against the Taliban.[17] Adjutant Breur, who first came across CIMIC in Kabul while serving as the Regime Sergeant-Major of the contingent in 2003, specifically remembered how *"at the beginning of ISAF, the security situation in Afghanistan had deteriorated to such an extent*

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15. Noll, Rietjens and Arends, 'NATO a learning organisation?', pp. 18-19.
16. Lijn, van der, 3D: 'The Next Generation'., p. 59. © Netherlands Institute of International Relations. All rights reserved. p. 32.
17. Frerks et al., Principles and Pragmatism, p. 71.

that the IOs and NGOs would not go to the area. The military [ISAF] then established a Provincial Reconstruction Team in order to fill this gap."[18]

The activities undertaken in the North ranged from improving the acceptance of the mission by the local population, to practical measures that facilitated military operations. One example has been provided by Lieutenant-Colonel Ralph Waschki, who served as a CIMIC Operator, CIMIC Trainer and Liaison Officer from 2010 to 2015 with ISAF, ***EUTM Somalia**[19] and ****UNMEER[20]** missions: *"Of course, when the German Armed Forces carry out CIMIC activities, there must be value for the Armed Force as well. We do not do projects just for the population, because that is not part of military activities: that is something for the NGOs [to do]. However, some of the villages were brought before us because they fell within the areas we depended on with their [transportation] infrastructure. If the floods destroyed these local roads, then it would affect our freedom of movement [for our forces] as well."[21]*

Such provincial reconstruction measures nevertheless did not belong to the core CIMIC tasks. Despite being the most visible contribution to the civil environment, Adjutant Breur in particular explained how the PRTs had initially been brought into Afghanistan, to quickly fill in for much needed, yet absent civilian capacities in the field: *"At the beginning of ISAF, the security situation in Afghanistan had deteriorated to such an extent that the IOs and NGOs wouldn't go to the area. The military then established a Provincial Reconstruction Team in order to fill this gap. [However,] we were there to support the force, the local government and to conduct liaison tasks.*

* EUTM Somalia or the European Union Training Mission in Somalia is a military training mission that contributes to strengthening the Transitional Federal Government and the institutions of Somalia. Its activities mainly focus on supporting the Somali military authorities in the design, development and delivery of general and specialist training. Due to the security situation in Somalia, the mission's training activities initially took place in Uganda. EUTM Somalia contributes to the EU's comprehensive approach towards a peaceful Somalia by building up and strengthening the security sector through training and strategic advice to Somali authorities within the security institutions.

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18. Author's interview with Adjutant Jac Breur, Apeldoorn, the Netherlands (May 23, 2017) p. 3.
19. See: European Union Training Mission – Somalia (Common Security and Defense Policy), © European Union External Action Service (EEAS), accessed: July 2017, updated: April 2016, available from: https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/eeas/files/factsheet_eutm_somalia_en.pdf
20. See: UN Mission for Ebola Emergency Response (UNMEER), © 2017 United Nations, accessed: July 3, 2017, available from: http://ebolaresponse.un.org/un-mission-ebola-emergency-response-unmeer.
21. Author's interview with Lieutenant-Colonel Ralph Waschki OF-4 – Chief -1. CIMIC Support Unit, Civil-Military Cooperation Competence Centre of the German Armed Forces – Nienburg, Germany (May 16, 2017) p. 2.

[It was only] because civil means were lacking to reconstruct the provinces that those tasks were initially delegated to the CIMIC unit instead."[22]

For such a CIMIC unit, tasked with providing reliable theatre civil assessments for the field commander, it had however been essential to receive information from the civilian environment. By factoring in local issues and developments, which the force might have otherwise failed to observe, this CIMIC unit was able to validate its overall assessment of the local context.

Captain Ebbers illustrated this process this way: *"When the battalion commander of a PRT in Afghanistan is given an order, the inclusion of a CIMIC officer into the Planning Department of that battalion, can ensure that the CIMIC contribution is effectively integrated into the order. All CIMIC aspects will then have been considered and added to the operation before it even gets initiated. Within a military organization, [these aspects] have to be attached to, or integrated into in an order, which is then … put in practice during the operation."*[23]

By virtue of the CIMIC contribution, the other military forces can thus better anticipate, or engage with these local challenges, which might have otherwise had a negative impact on operations in the area. At the minimum, these efforts can help to prevent unwanted events, or situations arising in the field.

Captain Höpner, remembered how a seemingly critical situation occurred in 2006 during his mission to Afghanistan, where he was stationed in the PRT of Fayzabad: *"It was around 10 pm, so of course it was dark outside. Our high-stage infrared observation camera recognized red dots in the mountains that were about 5-6 kilometers away from us. This means that*

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22. Author's interview with Adjutant Jac Breur, Apeldoorn, the Netherlands (May 23, 2017) p. 3.
23. Ibid., p. 5.

there were persons at close range from our whereabouts. We feared they might launch a rocket attack against our PRT, which was not uncommon. Our commander ordered us to take our defense positions to prepare for possible missile strikes. We had however completely misinterpreted the situation, as we heard the next morning that those red dots were no insurgents, but simply village members who were looking for a little girl who had gone missing in the mountains. This village was my CIMIC contact, so I knew the village elder whom I called that very night to ask him what was going on. The elder then told me that some civilians had gone out to the mountains to look for a missing girl, while we had already braced ourselves for possibly upcoming missile strikes by enemy insurgents. It would be a good idea, if the force commander used his the available CIMIC and our knowledge of the civil environment ahead of time to avoid an un-called for situation like that one in the future."[24]

Support to the military force is essentially a process of give and take, in which the military is mostly concerned with obtaining security relevant information from the civil environment. In return, the stabilizing force can offer to assist local leaders by carrying out community-based projects. Such an approach is bound to maintain good relationships with local authorities and stakeholders. Nonetheless, even here, the road to hell is paved with good intentions.

Adjutant Breur experienced this first-hand upon arriving in Afghanistan: *"Once I came to my Area-of-Operation, I had to stop numerous projects that were already ongoing. Some of them were just really missing the point and did not contribute at all to winning any hearts or minds at all."*[25]

A variety of reasons underpinned the Adjutant's decision to cancel these projects: First, activities that compromise the established traditions, customs or practices of the local population might actually deteriorate local security by turning the population against the military force. Furthermore, while the practice of international actors "delivering something" can have immediate positive effects, it might also contribute to corrupt, transactional relationships in the long term. For instance, a government official in the Afghan province of Uruzgan declared in 2009 that taking bribes *"is now normal and accepted in society, and is getting worse day-by-day.*

24. Author's interview with Captain Frank Höpner, Nienburg, Germany (May 17, 2017) p. 5.
25. Author's interview with Adjutant Jac Breur, Apeldoorn, the Netherlands (May 23, 2017) p. 4.

"When I came to my Area of Operations, I had to stop numerous projects that were already in progress. They were just really missing the point and certainly did not contribute to gaining any local support for the force."

Adjutant Jac Breur, Royal Dutch Armed Forces

It started four to five years ago with small gifts that created obligations and the need for reciprocity."[26]

This harmful dynamic may then be reinforced by short-term horizons of international relief staffers and their uncritical acceptance of an assumption about Afghan corruption (culture of bakhsheesh), which suggests that foreign officials must pay to accomplish anything with government officials.[27] At the same time, this might constitute a limiting factor to the extent to which CIMIC can gain local support in particular circumstances.

Colonel Ralph O. Baker of the US Army, who went to Iraq as part of the 2d Brigade Combat Team of the 1st Armored Division in 2003, once noted: *"We have all heard about "winning hearts and minds." I do not like this phrase, and I liked it less and less as experience taught me its impracticality. The reality is that it will be a long, long time before we can truly win the hearts and minds of Arabs in the Middle East. Most of the people have been taught from birth to distrust and hate us. Consequently, I did not like my soldiers using the phrase because it gave them the idea that to be successful, they had to win the Iraqis' hearts and minds, which translated into attempts at developing legitimate friendships with the Iraqis."*[28]

Crucially, even if the US forces did manage to create local acceptance by establishing strong personal relationships with a small part of the population, then it most likely still would not have sufficed to convince remaining

26. Interview with senior provincial representative of a line ministry, Tarin Kot, Uruzgan Province, July 5, 2009.
27. Paul Fishstein and Andrew Wilder, Winning Hearts and Minds? Examining the Relationship between Aid and Security in Afghanistan, © Feinstein International Center. All Rights Reserved. pp. 55-56.
28. Colonel Ralph O. Baker, U.S. Army, 'The Decisive Weapon: A Brigade Combat Team Commander's Perspective on Information Operations', Military Review (May-June 2006) p. 20.

"During every phase of the planning process, the CIMIC Officer in the Plans cell should deliver input to this end. In turn, the CIMIC Officer in the Environment cell should deliver input based on the most recent state of the civil environment. Ultimately, the Plans Officer will summarize these insights within an attachment to the eventual order. In this way, everyone who's involved in the operation will know what he or she needs to do in terms of CIMIC activities."

Captain Rob Ebbers, Royal Dutch Armed Forces

Iraqi citizens to tolerate or work with them. For this reason, the catchphrase "winning hearts and minds" was interpreted as "earning the trust and confidence" of the Iraqis. Subsequently, the brigade's efforts were instead prioritized towards earning the "grudging respect" of the target population within the Area-of-Operations it occupied during its 12 months: *"This was a more realistic goal. If we could demonstrate to the population that we were truthful and that we followed through on everything we said we would, then we could earn the respect of a population and culture that was predisposed to distrust us."*

Despite of the various experiences made, CIMIC's core-function of civil-military liaison nonetheless continued to present one of the most effective ways to gain such civilan support. It constitutes the key to understanding CIMIC's support to the force and, as it appears, to grasp CIMIC's role in providing support to the civil environment.

CIMIC IN STABILITY OPERATIONS: In Support of the civil environment

To render a military force capable of delivering a meaningful contribution to civilian stabilization and reconstruction efforts, its related activities need to be underpinned by a thorough understanding of the civil environment. ISAF forces in Afghanistan learned this lesson the hard way, to which Captain Baur testified: *"I went to Kunduz, where CIMIC ideas were still coming from the*

"During SFOR in Bosnia, CIMIC was still in its early start-up phase and slowly began to develop. We sought to establish contacts with local authorities, carried out little projects to create a bit of civil support for the local SFOR forces. In Iraq, we already were operating for the very first time as a CIMIC Support Unit. Here, we were carrying out CIMIC Liaison and Projects under a clear structure that included a Commander, his Second-in-Command, Planning and Operations and a number of Field Teams."

Captain Rob Ebbers
Royal Netherlands Armed Forces

Balkans. They tried to somehow continue in Afghanistan what had already been going well in the Balkans. But we found out that it just did not work the same there in terms of cultural aspects. With the lack of a functioning state structural, you need to be able to determine the real (local) authorities and their structures."[29]

Effectively, these early lessons from Afghanistan resulted in a pointed shift within CIMIC from managing projects to rather providing assessments and analyses of the civil situation. This not only helped the armed forces to better interact with people in this very different cultural context, but also to let them cope better with the specific challenges of the mission area at the Hindukush. According to Captain Baur: *"Later in Afghanistan, we found out that while you can do projects, you should also develop a better understanding of the environment. This leads you to the fact that your analysis needs to integrate all the different aspects that altogether comprise the environment, including the dynamics of the population residing there. This needs to be looked at much more carefully as you increasingly move away from non-West European circumstances. This is why there came a clear shift from doing projects to providing assessments and analyses of the civil situation: to create a better understanding for the armed forces and help them to cope better with all the challenges that may appear in a mission area."[30]*

To this end, the military increasingly sought to cooperate with a growing number of civil actors in the area. Adjutant Breur relayed: *"During my mission to Afghanistan in 2007, I remember we had an All-Source Information Cell*

29. Author's interview with Captain Ralf Baur, Apeldoorn, the Netherlands (May 23, 2017) pp. 1, 3.
30. Ibid., pp. 1-2.

consisting of six university educated soldiers ranging from lieutenant to captain. They were however basing their views of the field predominantly on literature research, which was rather desynchronized from the actual developments on the ground. We then had to plan many actions and missions based on their input, which was not really conducive to the local context. This pointed out the need for assessments in conjunction with civil organizations that were actually present and active within the environment."[31]

During the Balkan missions, NATO forces had contributed to this approach by supporting local government authorities in developing good governance and the capacities required to provide basic services to the population. In Afghanistan, the PRTs were eventually involved in similar activities. Jac Breur remembered: *"Everyone wanted to work together with our PRT, not in the least, because we possessed considerable amounts of money for doing projects. We then started to support the Community Development Councils (CDCs), which had been founded by civilian organizations to cover the entire region and to map out the political infrastructures of every village, tribe, clan, and so on. Similarly, they recorded the number of families that made up each one these units. Afterwards, the groups' leaders received USD 50 dollar per year for each individual family under their authority. This money was to be used for providing community services, such as constructing a new water pump. The only condition tied to these funds was that they ought to be used for community based projects. I myself may have carried out as many as 130 projects during those days, ranging from 500 to 6,000 dollars.*

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31. Author's interview with Adjutant Jac Breur, Apeldoorn, the Netherlands (May 23, 2017) p. 8.

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"The trick was to keep asking and coming back to the authorities. In turn, I indicated that we wanted to find a solution between the villages and the Department, so that they together could resolve the problem. If I hadn't been there or done that, the Department would've never gotten the idea to get in contact with us because they didn't have an interest in the military. It costed a little fuel and effort, but in the end I saw with my own eyes how I had helped the Afghans to help themselves to resolve a practical problem."

Captain Frank Höpner
German Armed Forces

This way, I built up a good relationship with the local authorities, which also allowed me to not only discuss with them how they would spent the money, but also how they were planning to monitor the progress of these investments towards the intended purpose."[32]

This way, the various ISAF CIMIC entities across Afghanistan gradually supported local leaders to fulfil the needs of their own people. Relevant efforts extended to also develop a financial management system to carry out locally owned projects for the population. Adjutant Breur relayed: *"If [the local leader] experienced any obstacles in using that money for community based projects, we would jointly consider how this could be resolved. A big problem, was the lack of electricity, which made the area very unsafe at night. Youth unemployment levels were also severe, which drove them straight into the Taliban's arms or into the illegal narcotics trade. I ensured that all our projects focused on the lowest administrative level, by letting the local leader assume the role of the project manager. Contractors were then appointed from within their own community, which is only normal. You do not need to teach Afghans how to build their own houses, they have been doing that already for the past five hundred years. Those also do not have to meet my Western standards, as long as the result works for them. One of our main requirements was that the leader would hire local workers as well. This way, these projects were truly community based: the Afghans carried them out by themselves, with all the funds being allocated and spent right there."*[33]

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32. Ibid., p. 3.
33. Ibid., pp. 3-4.

"At the beginning of the mission in Afghanistan, the expectations of CIMIC were very much based on the previous experiences from the Balkans. We had to manage such expectations, to make sure our colleagues knew that CIMIC was much more than just doing projects. Instead, we would provide CIVSIT assessments to enhance under-standing, talking to people to obtain information, while contributing to information management. It took us a while to manage this kind of shift."

Captain Ralf Baur
German Armed Forces

Crucially, while the PRTs provided considerable opportunities for specialized reconstruction projects, which could then be enabled with CIMIC support, it remained the task of the Afghan officials themselves to identify proper solutions for an identified need and to manage it accordingly.

For ISAF CIMIC personnel to succeed here, proper cultural awareness became essential, as continuing cultural barriers held a strong potential to obstruct effective civil-military cooperation and to hinder the reconstruction process as a whole. Captain Frank Höpner remembered: *"This tends to be problematic. I have been in lots of discussions with village elders, who said that all Afghans often display a submissive mindset, symbolized by the invocation 'Inshallah' [God willing]. Whereas Europeans seek to manage and resolve problems upon encountering them, Afghans however perceive diffi-culties as the will of God, so they cannot do anything about it. Instead they asked us for help to do everything, which of course was not our job there. Also during my next missions, I saw no solution for myself to deal with this attitude. If they could only say 'Inshallah, Inshallah', then I could not really assess how we as the military could best help them. Perhaps this was a cultural aspect of the Afghan lifestyle we had not been prepared enough for."*

At the same time, the CIMIC officer's experience in Afghanistan also demonstrated that the proper use of civil-military liaison helps to surpass such cultural barriers among local authorities, resulting to in effective support to the civilian environment. In what he later referred to as *"the best project he has done"* in the Afghan municipality of Itarchi-ye Pa'in, Captain Höpner experienced a situation when *"all the older men came to our Head*

Civil Office in Fayzabad and complained that there was not enough water anymore for everyone. Meanwhile, I had contacts with staff members of the local government of Fayzabad, who were responsible for water management and technical support. I then talked to one of their engineers and explained the situation to him. I first asked him whether he already knew about this, which he did. I then asked him what he had done about it so far; nothing because they did not have the money for it and so on."[34]

This setback, however, got the German CIMIC officer going: *"I registered [my contact] as being responsible within the local government authority for the provision of water to the villages of Fayzabad [province]. This convinced him to get in touch with more engineers, as well as the village elders of each village within the municipality. We then held three meetings together for 2.5 months, with the result that the municipality was going to arrange for new, functioning wells to replace the ones that were broken. This process was to be managed and supervised under the authority of the Municipal Water Department. In turn, the Water Department was also required to hire a drilling contractor for all the necessary construction works. This contractor then went to the villages with his personnel and built new wells for the people there."*

For the him, this initiative resulted in his greatest success, as he had managed to motivate the Afghans to help themselves, without engaging military assets directly into the implementation process. *"The trick was to keep asking and keep coming back to the authorities, inquiring what they had actually done about to the broken wells; to continuously press why they had not done anything about it and why they did not have any money to do something about it. In turn, I indicated that we wanted to find a solution between the villages and the Water Department, so that they could resolve the problem together. If I had not been there or done that, the department would have never gotten the idea to get in contact with us for this matter, because they did not have an interest in the military. It just took a little fuel and effort, but in the end, I saw with my own eyes how I had helped the Afghans to help themselves to resolve a practical problem."*[35] In this way, CIMIC staffers carried out activities in support of the civil environment that have markedly contributed to previous NATO stability missions. As NATO forces moved from the Balkans into non-Western environments, CIMIC personnel needed

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34. Ibid., p. 4.
35. Ibid., p. 4. (including previous quotation)

to develop a specific cultural understanding to facilitate successful projects. Therefore, they increasingly focused on conducting civil assessments, which in turn provided support to the force as well.

CIVIL-MILITARY LIAISON: Bridging both sides

Throughout the years, the appropriateness of deploying military assets to international humanitarian assistance efforts has been commented on from both military and civilian perspectives. This has helped identifying a number of potentially contentious issues that may hinder civil-military cooperation. First, civil-military relations suffered whenever assistance rendered by the military is seen to supplant, rather than supplement civilian humanitarian assistance. Specifically, the military's movement into the humanitarian sphere raised issues about the intrinsic differences between military and humanitarian core aims and principles.[36] While civil organizations generally recognize the vital role that military forces can play during complex crisis response efforts, there remain concerns that involving military personnel and assets poses a potential threat to the core principles of "Humanity", "Independence", "Impartiality" and "Neutrality", which underpin their activities in the field. Becoming too closely affiliated with the military may threaten the security and operations of civilian humanitarian agencies.[37] In practice, this concern has often impaired the establishment of effective working relationships between humanitarians and the military force in the field.[38]

From the military side, however, civil-military liaison can help to create opportunities by coordinating and deconflicting activities and situations that involve civilian organizations. While the reconstruction tasks of Adjutant Breur's PRT in Afghanistan at the beginning of ISAF had formally been geared for implementation by NGOs, the CIMIC unit's civil-military liaison officers nevertheless managed to turn them into acceptance opportunities for the NATO forces instead.[39] The same applies to interactions with civilian populations in theatres, where CIMIC liaison activities have demonstrated a tangible positive effect on the security environment.

36. Seminar report: NATO Provincial Reconstruction Teams. 29-30 September 2005 (ver. 1.1) pp. 6-7.
37. Ajay Madiwale, Peter Holdsworth and Kudrat Virk, Civil-Military Relations in the 2010 Pakistan Floods – A discussion paper for the 2011 NGO-Military Contact Group (NMCG) Conference on civil-military relations in natural disasters. (Commissioned by the British Red Cross, September 2011) p. 2.
38. Petra van Oijen, Civil-Military Interaction in 'Double' Affected Areas: Complex Emergencies and Natural Disasters, Ministry of Defense – Netherlands Defense Academy (April 2009) pp. 35-36.
39. Author's interview with Adjutant Jac Breur, Apeldoorn, the Netherlands (May 23, 2017) p. 3.

"If I would have to rank the different capacities of NATO CIMIC, then I would place Liaison first. This namely works as an enabler to supporting the force and the civil environment. If you're unable to talk to people or establish relationships with people and organizations you need to work with, then facilitating these essential core-functions will become very difficult."

Captain Ralf Baur
German Armed Forces

From his deployment to Iraq, for example, Captain Rob Ebbers remembered: *"I noticed the growing permissiveness of the local population in their changing disposition towards us. During our early rotations to Iraq, people were still throwing stones at the Dutch soldiers or made offensive hand gestures to them. When such hostile expressions eventually ceased to take place, it meant that you have created permissiveness, or even support for your force.*

Not only have you then created a safer and more secure environment for your national forces, but the people will also begin to acknowledge the necessity and purpose of your presence there. This is crucial because if you, as a military force, do not succeed in creating force acceptance in the field, you have already lost the war before the fighting has even started."[40]

His experience in Iraq demonstrated that creating such permissiveness supported the Dutch force on both tactical and operational levels during the mission: *"Whereas the Dutch forces were initially unable to operate within the quarter of Al-Sadr [in Bagdad], we were ultimately able to safely move around there. This happened because we established contacts with the local leaders and included them into our activities, carrying out projects that benefited the people. Ultimately, this not only led to increased levels of security for the Dutch forces, but also to unsolicited information from the people about local irregularities."*[41]

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40. Author's interview with Captain Rob Ebbers, Apeldoorn, the Netherlands (May 30, 2017) p. 4.
41. Ibid., p. 3.

"No matter where they are, the military should not be a black box. If you liaison with people and exchange certain information, you may be able to establish a good relationship with the civilians. This could have a positive effect your operation without compromising it."

Lieutenant-Colonel Ralph Waschki
German Armed Forces

From the military side, Captain Ebbers of the 1 CMI Command of the Netherlands Armed Forces furthermore explained how *"arguing that military and humanitarian organizations should not be working together, because it supposedly compromises the latter's neutrality reflects old-school thinking. Meanwhile, both humanitarian and military organizations should have evolved to such an extent that they have come to understand and accept that the need for coordination is inevitable when operating in the same area together. We, as the military, shall always respect their principles by refraining from cooperating with them. Nevertheless, coordination to reach a complementary effort has pretty much become inevitable. It has also improved, because we used to simply co-exist rather than coordinate our activities."[42]*

To further illustrate this point, the captain drew from his own UN mission experience to note: *"When I was in South Sudan, both humanitarian staff workers and field workers had been involved in the planning process. This included many people who had absolutely no affinity with the military organization. This is not a problem at all. In fact, there were a few humanitarian organizations with which I absolutely did not have any affinity either. Such things are however trivial and should not be making a difference in the field. We are in this together, to provide assistance to the local population and help them out. This means that we should put our prejudices aside, which are often based on stereotypes where the military are 'boys with toys' and members of the IO/NGO community 'tree-huggers.'*

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42. Author's interview with Captain Rob Ebbers, Apeldoorn, the Netherlands (May 30, 2017) p. 2.

*"If humanitarian organizations don't want to work directly, cooper-
ate or even be seen together with the military, it does not mean that
they dislike the military, or the other way around. We need to remain
sensitive to the fact that they adhere to certain principles, structures
and mandates that may differ from ours. This means that you have to
sense potential borders."*

Captain Ralf Baur
German Armed Forces

*At the end of the day we're all professionals, in service of the higher goal to
help the affected population."[43]*

Despite the real or perceived risks of civil-military cooperation during
humanitarian operations, Captain Ebbers nevertheless observed how
the refusal of humanitarians to coordinate with military organizations was
increasingly softening: *"[Their] awareness is growing that we can accom-
plish more when we act together, rather than getting in each other's way. As
this will not help the affected populations in need of our help, we therefore
have little choice but to coordinate our efforts."[44]*

As a core-function of NATO CIMIC, civil-military liaison officers have an
indispensable role for both military and civilian organizations to comple-
ment their actions, while preventing or mitigating possible inconveniences or
harmful situations that might otherwise have occurred. It is for good reason
that the EUTM Somalia's CIMIC Basic Training course essentially focused
on the effectiveness of the liaison role to missions' success.

As CIMIC trainer, Lieutenant-Colonel Waschki stressed: *"This is the most
easy part of CIMIC to begin with and from my point of view it is also the most
effective function in the beginning: no matter where they are, the military
should not be a black box. If civilians do not know what the military is doing
in their surroundings, then they might become afraid of the military force.
However, if you do liaison, e.g. talking to people and exchanging certain
information, then you may be able to establish a good relationship with the*

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43. Ibid., pp. 2-3.
44. Ibid., p. 3.

"Who on Earth still respects that so-called neutrality' of aid agencies? I can tell some al-Qaeda or ISIS guy a hundred times that I am neutral, he won't believe me because I'm still representing something else. Extremists perceive aid agencies as enemies throughout, simply because they are making people happy and they don't need happy people. The world has changed: all NGO and UN agency staff members will be treated as enemies by default."

Mr. Kilian Kleinschmidt, former UN official at UNHCR, UN-OCHA, UNDP and the Departments of Peacekeeping Operations and Political Affairs

civilians without compromising the operation."[45]

From the civilian side, there moreover are clear signs of rapprochement towards the military. Kilian Kleinschmidt, a former UN official who gained a very broad experience within the United Nations system by working with the UNHCR, UN-OCHA, UNDP and the United Nations' Departments of Peacekeeping Operations and Political Affairs from 1991 through 2014, stated: *"I would say that there is an equal need in the humanitarian community to invest. Only in the bigger operations and organizations, you would currently have civil-military liaison officers who actually understand of the logic of the military."*

When he headed the humanitarian operations in Mogadishu in 2012, Kleinschmidt experienced the need for such liaison first-hand: *"I could not have worked without having good military liaison officers on my team. There we had liaison officers from our side interacting with civ-mil people from the military side. So when I was meeting the force commander at the airport in Mogadishu, there was of course a preparation so that we were speaking more or less along the same lines."[46]*

Nevertheless, Kleinschmidt's positive words about civil-military liaison nevertheless entail a few critical remarks, underlining the need for civil and military actors to understand and respect each other better. In his view, both sides still struggle with this new mindset, which can lead to contentious situations in the field: *"There often was quite a big eagerness on the part of the*

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45. Author's interview with Lieutenant-Colonel Ralph Waschki, Nienburg, Germany (May 16, 2017) p. 2.
46. Author's interview with Mr. Kilian Kleinschmidt – former UN official and founder of the Innovation and Planning Agency (June 7, 2017) p. 6. (including previous quotation)

military to assist and support humanitarian operations. I would say at times it even was too much: at any cost wanting to prove that the military is actually supportive of humanitarian action, even when it's not needed. While there at times is a need for the military to provide surge capacity and logistic assets, humanitarian agencies nevertheless have established a pretty operational response system as well. There is thus a need to have a recognition, indeed, a full recognition of each other's capacities. The force command [of course] expects that CIMIC will have results through cooperation, but if there is no need to engage in such cooperation, this needs to be recognized as well."[47]

At such situations, it would be advisable to have CIMIC Liaison Officers detached to civilian organizations, so that both the civil and military sides' actions may be bridged through coordination where needed, or deconflicted where necessary.

AT HOME:
National armed forces in domestic disaster relief efforts

Military assets, usually in terms of large numbers of personnel, or heavy duty salvage and construction equipment and vehicles, have always played a role in the support to the civilian authority and populations in times of extreme and urging need. Next to out-of-area deployments to stabilize host-nations and their governments, NATO crisis management operations also include the domestic protection of populations within the borders of the Alliance. As early as the 1950s, NATO began to develop civil protection measures in the event of a nuclear attack. NATO member countries soon realized that these capabilities could also be used against the effects of natural disasters induced by floods, earthquakes, humanitarian crises, or technological break-downs. NATO implemented its first disaster assistance scheme in the aftermath of a devastating flooding in Northern Europe in 1953. In 1958, this plan was further developed when NATO established detailed procedures for the coordination of assistance between NATO member countries in case of disasters.

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47. Ibid., p. 3.

These procedures would remain in place during the coming years to provide NATO with a basis for activities in the field of civil emergency planning. In 1995, they were comprehensively reviewed to make them applicable to both ***NATO** partner and member countries.[48]

Three years later, in 1998, the Alliance followed up by establishing the Euro-Atlantic Disaster Response Co-ordination Centre (EADRCC). This new institution was designed to coordinate humanitarian aid from NATO members and partners to disaster-stricken areas within their sovereign borders. This went hand in hand with the establishment of a Euro-Atlantic Disaster Response Unit, to serve as a non-standing, multinational mix of national civil and military elements volunteered by NATO member and partners for deployments to disaster-stricken areas. In this way, civil emergency planning has gradually evolved into a key facet of NATO's involvement in crisis management. Ever since the 1950s, the Alliance has supported aid deliveries and relief efforts during natural and humanitarian disasters in many different countries. The EADRCC has, for example, coordinated assistance in flood-devastated countries such as Albania (2009-2010), Bosnia Herzegovina, Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, Ukraine (2001) and Pakistan (2010). The Centre has furthermore supported the UNHCR in Kosovo during the refugee crisis (1998-1999) and assisted in coordinating aid deliveries to earthquake-stricken Turkey (1999).

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48. NATO Member Countries, accessed: August 18, 2017, last updated: February 6, 2017. available from: http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/nato_countries.htm

"It's a perception that some of our commanders always have. When they speak of coordination, they mean that they should be coordinating the civilian side themselves: the military telling UN-OCHA to go do this, and UNHCR to go do that etc. Of course, it doesn't work like that in practice. Real coordination means that you look at the different operations and activities and identify areas of common interest where you can help each other. This allows civilians and the military to work together towards one goal shared by both sides."

Lieutenant-Colonel Martin Kurt Kuechen
German Armed Forces

In turn, the EADRCC also helped to fight fires in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (2000) next to supporting Ukraine and Moldova (2000) after extreme weather conditions had destroyed its power transmission capabilities. To prepare for such operations, the EADRCC brings together civil and military first response teams on an annual basis. This allows them to practice the interoperability of their activities during subsequent management field exercises.[49]

Abroad: NATO military assets in international disaster relief

The increasing involvement of national military assets in domestic in crisis relief activities also introduced the Alliance to the family of international humanitarian organizations. The World Health Organization (WHO) and the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) became NATO's initial partners during humanitarian disaster relief efforts. An even deeper and more significant involvement developed in 1992 on the initiative of the United Nations Department of Humanitarian Affairs (UN-DHA). Based on the General Assembly's resolution (45/221 of 21st December 1990), the UN-DHA had initiated a project concerning the use of Military and Civil Defense Assets (MCDA) in disaster relief. NATO was requested by the DHA to support the ongoing development of the MCDA project. In fact, these international actors came to the understanding that the end of the Cold War opened the door to also utilize national military and civil defense assets in international disaster situations. In December 1992,

49. See: NATO Crisis Management, accessed: July 7, 2017, last updated: January 29, 2015. available from: http://www.nato.int/cps/bu/natohq/topics_49192.htm#

"I don't think the aid agencies have entirely adapted to the changing world. On the senior management level, they of course did. In the field, you nevertheless still encounter people who will say: "My God, that's the military, don't even look at them!" Needless, there is something to be done around that."

Mr. Kilian Kleinschmidt,
former UN official

the North Atlantic Council agreed that NATO should also stand ready to deploy its assets and procedures during disasters beyond Allied boundaries. Requests for doing so, however, would first have to be made by the relevant international organizations.[50] This process reflects the common practice and procedure for many domestic disaster situations.

NATO military assets primarily deal with the major IOs and NGOs during international disaster relief efforts. The first category includes large international organizations, particularly those belonging to the United Nations family of entities. The UN incorporates a number of organizations which play critical roles during humanitarian assistance efforts: UNHCR, WHO, the World Food Program (WFP) and the Office of the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UN-OCHA). The NGOs in turn range from large international organizations such as the IFRC, Cordaid, 'Doctors Without Borders', or the faith-based relief agencies to many much smaller entities. Many of them are geared towards specific areas of humanitarian relief, such as delivering food or water, providing emergency medical care, or setting up camps. Due to their often continuous involvement in lasting crisis situations and relevant staff tenure, both IOs and NGOs usually possess very specific knowledge on a country, or regions of concern.[51] In complex crisis situations, where political instability and turmoil is merged with humanitarian aid needs, military and international relief organizations are often active in the same area and at the same time.

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50. Brochure: NATO's Role in Disaster Assistance, © NATO 2001 – Second Edition – (First Edition Published May 2000) pp. 12, 14.
51. Dobbins et al., The Beginner's Guide to Nation-Building, p. 132.

"The civilian side is very keen on CIMIC, which can be observed on the UN level. UN Agencies have all implemented CIMIC assets because they recognized a growing need during missions to interact with the military. We have some assets which they lack, so that we could help them to perform tasks they cannot do themselves. While ICRC and Doctors Without Borders do not want to cooperate with the military at all, the UN family is more practical when it comes to this. Generally, the main civil organizations are not the problem whenever a cooperation needs to be established."

Lieutenant-Colonel Martin Kurt Kuechen
German Armed Forces

During more than 75 percent of global crisis situations, civilian and military actors are both present in the same area.[52] Therefore, Kleinschmidt remains extremely critical of the humanitarians' frequently too rigid adherence to the principle of neutrality. Even in a purely domestic disaster relief situation, with no combattants around and with NATO military as a subsidiary contributor, civil-military cooperation may still be affected by political reservations. Kleinschmidt experienced this himself when he served as the UN's Deputy Special Envoy for Assistance in Pakistan during the flood of 2010. He noted: *"We were trying to coordinate systems, and there were 10 million people in need of humanitarian aid in Pakistan because of the monsoon rains. NATO then offered to divert some of the plane capacity from Afghanistan and do some runs from the central emergency stocks in Dubai. However, the UN-OCHA personnel in charge of the humanitarian coordination then collectively decided to refuse NATO's offering. They did not want to use NATO assets or capabilities, because NATO at the time was a fighting force in Afghanistan. The UNHCR however did accept to have a couple of flights from its central emergency stock in Dubai. In this way, the UNHCR became the only agency that actually did cooperate with NATO, for which it was blasted by the other agencies. They said it was an incredible breach of neutrality principles and so on, and so forth."*[53]

52. P.B. Spiegel, P. Le, M.T. Ververs, & P. Salama, Occurrence and Overlap of Natural Disasters, Complex Emergencies and Epidemics during the Past Decade (1995-2004), in: Conflict and Health Vol. 1 No. 2 (2007), published: March 1, 2007, accessed: August 18, 2017. http://www.conflictandhealth.com/content/1/1/2
53. Author's interview with Mr. Kilian Kleinschmidt (June 7, 2017) pp. 3, 8.

However, the paradox of this attitude soon became evident during the operation. According to Kleinschmidt: *"It was ridiculous because, at the same time, nobody could deliver anything without Pakistani Army helicopters and planes, at least not for months. Of course, they were [eventually] strengthened by NATO assets! I can tell you it was impossible to avoid flying with the military, because it took the UN months to bring in white civilian helicopters. So everybody, all the NGOs, all the agencies which had been screaming before that it was impossible to use NATO assets, were now happily flying to their locations with either NATO or Pakistani military assets. Crucially, the Pakistani armed forces are involved very actively in the ongoing conflict with the Taliban as well. The logic of this course of decisions and actions thus escaped us very much. Yet somehow, there had been such a big fuss about it."[54]*

Increased coordination and de-confliction of activities is the key to prevent similar situations from occurring during future domestic crises. CIMIC staffers possess the experience and know-how, needed to identify gaps in the capacity of civilian organizations, which NATO could fill by providing military assets, or logistical support. To better resolve such potential difficulties arising from NATOs' political mandate, strategic pre-crisis alignment, and joined pre-deployment training together with personnel from the relevant IOs and NGOs, would already be a step in the right direction.

MIND THE GAPS: Unresolved issues between civil and military organizations

Many of the problems encountered in civil-military cooperation during NATO's out-of-area stability operations can be traced back to a number of institutional differences between the various military, civilian and relief organizations involved. To resolve these, the core functions of CIMIC can be instrumental in achieving a "unity of effort" of civilian and military driven measures. By mediating between their diverse capabilities, CIMIC Liaison officers can assist to achieve common purpose in the support and relief to the civilian environment.

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54. Ibid., p. 9.

This "unity of effort" constitutes a crucial principle for activities in frag-mented, indigenous societies, which are dominated by local power-hold-ers.[55] However, trying to attain such unity jointly with civilian IOs and NGOs, brings certain issues to the fore.

Lieutenant-Colonel Martin Kurt Kuechen described this as follows: *"UN Agencies have [meanwhile] all implemented CIMIC assets because they have recognized a growing need during missions to interact with the mili-tary. We have some assets which they lack, so we can help them perform tasks they cannot do themselves. While they really like to coordinate with us, they do not appreciate being coordinated by us."*[56] Particularly in the earlier phases of the stability missions, the military understanding of overall author-ity in an assigned operational area, created conflicts with other international actors. The military, according to Adjutant Breur, *"always behaved like they are in charge [wherever they go] and can give orders to everyone. In military terms, we are still speaking about our 'Areas-of-Responsibility.' This means that the military wants to coordinate and manage everything in the area they are responsible for, which often involves humanitarian organizations as well."*[57]

This approach is rooted in the military preference for the "unity of command" during operations. This means that the military commander is granted the authority to direct and coordinate the actions of all forces in a specific area towards a common objective. From a military perspective, this is seen as the most effective way to achieve a unity of effort. IOs, and NGOs, nevertheless, remain civilian by nature and mandate. As a consequence, they do not fall under the military command structures and fiercely insist on their independence. When engaging with a complex crisis environment, including joint, inter-agency, inter-governmental, and multi-national actors, a 'unity-of-effort' has proven to deliver the best overall results. This presents military and civilian stakeholders with the challenge to jointly synchronize and align the activities of governmental and non-governmental organiza-tions with the military mandate and operations. To forge this 'unity-of-effort', the military leadership is thus required to operate through a 'whole-of-gov-ernment approach. In the usual absence of an overall command structure, directing all organizations present in an area, commanders are bound to rely

55. Martijn Kitzen, 'Close Encounters of the Tribal Kind: the Implementation of Co-option as a Tool for De-escalation of Conflict – The Case of the Netherlands in Afghanistan's Uruzgan Province', The Journal of Strategic Studies Vol. 35 No. 5 (2012) pp. 713, 732.
56. Author's interview with Lieutenant-Colonel Martin Kurt Kuechen, Nienburg, Germany (May 17, 2017) p. 4.
57. Author's interview with Adjutant Jac Breur, Apeldoorn, the Netherlands (May 23, 2017) p. 7.

instead on the "soft skills" of cooperation, negotiation and consensus-building. Initially, this may far less comfortable than running the familiar chain of command. The absence of a 'unity-of-command', combined with an insufficiently developed 'whole-of-government-approach', easily leads to inefficiencies, opportunity costs, and a less-than-holistic approach to stability operations and post-conflict missions.[58]

From the humanitarian relief side, Kilian Kleinschmidt added to this matter: *"We [the military and humanitarians] do have different ways of operating, which is very much linked to [different] command and control structures. This is very confusing for a military-minded person: understanding that there are eventually hundreds of different actors which do not follow one command. Thus, even an appointed coordinator in a humanitarian se tting will not be able to actually fully control the various organizations. In the end, they will do what they feel they ought to be doing."[59]*

Lieutenant-Colonel Martin Kurt Kuechen remembered a particular incident in this context: *"This happened in the North [of Afghanistan] after there had been a flooding. Our ⋆J-9[60] went to the UNAMA Office and told the lady in charge that NATO forces were now going to take over the humanitarian relief efforts and manage the entire operation. He then was told to leave the Office af ter the lady reminded him that the military was not supposed to lead any of such efforts, but should only assist the civilian actors in doing so."* Upon being asked how a CIMIC operator could have demonstrated such poor judgment, he stopped to think for a moment, before answering: *"Sometimes military commanders would think that the civilian side is not well-trained enough to handle such situations, or their approach is simply 'not military enough' for them. This makes them want to take over the situation because they feel like they're the most qualified, with appropriate training to handle crises or emergencies in the field. This happens when you are thinking more in kinetic ways, rather than looking at it from a civil perspective."[61]*

58. Michael Brzoska & Hans Georg-Ehrhart, 'Civil-Military Cooperation in Post-Conflict Rehabilitation and
59. Author's interview with Mr. Kilian Kleinschmidt (June 7, 2017) p. 3.
60. Joint Doctrine Publicatie 5: Commandovoering, © Ministerie van Defensie (2012) pp. 77-78.
61. Author's interview with Lieutenant-Colonel Martin Kurt Kuechen, Nienburg, Germany (May 17, 2017) p. 5.

"For NATO, it is by far easier to get military staff than budget for civilian staff to supplement the military mission. As a result, we had a disproportionate number of military advisers working with the civilian side of the ministry in Kosovo. In addition we would have military advisors who would attend parliament meetings, security oversight committee meetings, etc. with the host nation, which they attended in a suit. Given the already wide and varying level of experience of military staff to deal with such issues, it was often questionable how effective it for them to attend such meetings."

Kyle King, Civil Emergency Advisor to NATO operations and recipient of the NATO Meritorious Service Medal for his work as Civilian Staff in 2014

From the civilian's perspective, the chances of cooperating effectively with military forces are also severely hampered by NATO's high rotation rate of personnel in operations. Kyle King, who served for over 25 years within the emergency services and crisis management during NATO operations in Bosnia (SFOR), Afghanistan and Kosovo (KFOR) experienced this first-hand while deployed as a civilian. Mr. King actually became the very first Civil Emergency Advisor directly hired by NATO to advice on the development and integration of civil protection capabilities. Regarding the rotations of military personnel, he said: *"The largest hindrance to NATO effectiveness, specifically with regards to the greatest of civ/mil interaction in stabilization operations, is simply the high rotation of staff. In our mission in Kosovo we had to contend with up to a 200% rotation in staff on a yearly basis. That provided a 'three steps forward – two steps backwards' mentality as every rotation would bring a loss of continuity of operations, shifting objectives and advise, and lack of knowledge management."*[62]

These structural deficiencies have placed a great burden on the shoulders of both civilian organizations and military forces. *"As NATO must contend with continuity of operations, civilian organizations must fight the fatigue of dealing with military organizations and remain engaged over time to always sell to the military the value of civilian engagement. Civilian organizations must always be selling', advocating, and always look for ways to collaborate with every rotation of military staff. Opportunities to collaborate change with every rotation and every new commander in the field."*[63]

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62. Author's interview with Mr. Kyle King – Civil Emergency Advisor to NATO operations and recipient of the NATO Meritorious Service Medal (June 8, 2017) p. 5.
63. Ibid., p. 6.

With the early missions of the twenty-first century, the problems resulting from such a lack of unity had become obvious. A number of reports, published at the turn of the century, and even before the onset of the ISAF stability mission, concluded that the failures of generic peace-keeping had to be at least partially attributed to the poor coordination and collaboration between the actors involved. It became particularly evident that the lack of a shared strategic vision between initiatives and actors, had resulted in a waste of resources, poor effectiveness and a lack of sustainability. This resulted in the concept of a comprehensive, whole-of-government approach to stabilization.[64]

This concept, however, remained challenged by gaps on various levels. For instance, the identified "civilian gap" refers to an imbalance between the civilian and military capacities during stability operations. This gap described that stabilizing military operations had not been "properly supported by adequate capabilities and capacities and tended to remain too focused on institutional shape, structure, decision making, and reporting procedures."[65]

This view is also supported by insights from civilian practitioners. Kyle King stated: *"There is often a difference between saying we are going to do a "comprehensive approach" – designing a comprehensive approach, liaising with and working with the various different interlockers within the civilian community (IOs NGOs etc.) – and then actually executing it in the field. There seems to be a problem with getting down to that level of tactical implementation."*[66]

64. Cecilia Hull, 'Focus and Convergence through a Comprehensive Approach: but which among the many?',Swedish Defense Research Agency, FOI – Department of Peace Support Operations (2011) pp. 3-4.
65. Blair and Fitz-Gerald, Draft – Stabilisation and Stability Operations: A Literature Review, p. 17.
66. Author's supplementary interview with Mr. Kyle King – Civil Emergency Advisor to NATO operations and recipient of the NATO Meritorious Service Medal (June 8, 2017) p. 2.

From the military side, Adjutant Breur concurred with King: *"The general problem is that whereas everyone within NATO values the Comprehensive Approach, the knowledge about it remains confined to the Director of Operations, the Director of Planning military, and the commanders. On the lower levels, we all start in different functions within the armed forces before we move on to CIMIC, but there is an insufficient preservation of such knowledge and skills on the operational field level. Sometimes lower ranked NATO soldiers would just get assigned a CIMIC role, not because they have been trained and for it, or did have proper experience, but simply because it is a vacant position that needs filling."*[67]

Next to these capacity problems, the "cultural gap", caused by the differing cultures in civilian agencies and those in military forces, also continued to serve as "*a primary challenge for integrating civilian and military efforts into a whole-of-government approach.*"[68] This cultural issue had also been experienced by Lieutenant-Colonel Martin Kurt Kuechen himself: *"When you have a supporting role like me, as a combat engineer, you come second-place to the Mechanized Infantry, which does not have an immediate use for you, as they need to fight the enemy first.*

As a CIMIC operator, you even come in third-place, as your work is perceived to be even less relevant to combat operations."[69]

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67. Author's interview with Adjutant Jac Breur, Apeldoorn, the Netherlands (May 23, 2017) p. 8.
68. US Army FM 3-07: Stability Operations – Headquarters Department of the Army (October 2008) 1-19.
69. Author's interview with Lieutenant-Colonel Martin Kurt Kuechen, Nienburg, Germany (May 17, 2017) p. 6.

Civilian organizations likewise need to understand that the military culture significantly differs from theirs. Kyle King stated that the *"methodology, mentality, and reverence for rank are driving cultural factors."*

He explained how the military *"was designed and is driven to conduct combat operations and therefore built the organizational culture and mindset to achieve success in that field."[70]*

Already existing disparities can thus become further exacerbated by a "generational gap" across government departments. While today's military commanders may be equally comfortable with the notion that "*there can be no development without security, and no security without development"[71]*, the same cannot be said for development and diplomatic departments, whose senior management may still be deeply-rooted in the Cold War paradigm of conflicts without regard to the inter-relation between both.[72]

In the end, the generational gap within military forces will eventually resolve itself. This is because conservative commanders, according to Captain Ebbers, *"shall always prioritize conventional, combat-oriented capacities over non-kinetic parts of the military. Regardless, in twenty years from now all those conservative commanders will have retired. All current majors who have been trained and built up experience during ISAF Afghanistan – who better understand and are more capable of understanding the interface with the civil environment – will then have ranks from Colonel to General."[73]* This, however, does not remove the need to address this gap in the present as well.

ABANDON THE RIGID FOCUS ON COMBAT-ORIENTED ASPECTS

Clausewitz once wrote: *"We can now see that the assertion that a major military development, or the plan for one, should be a matter for purely military opinion is unacceptable and can be damaging. Nor indeed is it sensible to summon soldiers, as many governments do when they are planning a war, and ask them for purely military advice. But it makes even less sense for theoreticians to assert that all available military resources should be put at*

70. Author's interview with Mr. Kyle King, (June 8, 2017) p. 6.
71. Leni Wild and Samir Elhawary, Working Paper 347 – 'The UK's approach to linking development and security: assessing policy and practice', Results of ODI research presented in preliminary form for discussion and critical comment (Overseas Development Institute 2012) p. 1.
72. Blair and Fitz-Gerald, Draft – Stabilisation and Stability Operations: A Literature Review, p. 15.
73. Author's interview with Captain Rob Ebbers, Apeldoorn, the Netherlands (May 30, 2017) p. 2.

"As a soldier, you might for instance be trained as a Battalion Commander, Mechanized Infantry or Tank Battalion. Within such kinetic environments you wouldn't usually deploy non-kinetic assets. This has to be changed within our tactics. While we are on a good way to establish this on the higher levels, the lower levels keep on lagging behind. Perhaps newer generations of tactical soldiers will have a changed mindset, so that they'll also consider non-kinetic aspects as well."

Lieutenant-Colonel Martin Kurt Kuechen
German Armed Forces

the disposal of the commander so that on their basis he can draw up purely military plans for a war or a campaign."[74]

Even during the Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815), in a historical epoch where inter-state warfare focused on solely military objectives in defeating the enemy, Clausewitz already understood that *"the political object, the original motive for the war, will thus determine both the military objective to be reached and the amount of effort it requires."[75]* In modern day NATO operations, military objectives have largely changed from just defeating an opponent towards providing stability and perspective by supporting local populations and their authorities. Crucially, the fact that senior commanders still tend to concentrate largely on kinetic aspects of the available military spectrum, has not been conducive to achieve an overall intended objective for conflict resolution.

Lieutenant-Colonel Martin Kurt Kuechen explained *"when you are trained as a battalion commander, you firstly focus on the well-being of your own troops. Only as a second, or maybe even third step, will you consider non-kinetic issues, which admittedly may not be the most important to you. Meanwhile, you have to deal with lots of other different things as well, which are more directly, or immediately important to your mission, like: eliminating the enemy, rather than taking care of the population."[76]*

Within this initial framework, CIMIC was often simply seen as an enabling capacity, facilitating the military's more kinetic activities. These were

74. Clausewitz, On War (1780-1831), Howard and Paret (ed.) p. 607.
75. Ibid., p. 81.
76. Author's interview with Lieutenant-Colonel Martin Kurt Kuechen, Nienburg, Germany (May 17, 2017) p. 6.

intended to provide operational support for the commander to create a safe and secure environment.

Adjutant Jac Breur experienced this himself during a mission to Afghanistan. *"In Afghanistan, the Task Force Uruzgan started in 2005, but the campaign plan was not written until the end of 2007. Before 2007, the operations of the Task Force had always been aimed at creating a safe and secure environment, which focused on kinetic levels and military patrols. In the end, it became evident that such a rigid approach proved ineffective to create a stable environment. This paved the way for a campaign plan to be developed in line with the 3D Approach (security, development and good governance). Within this operational concept, the PRT then became the leading authority, whereas the infantry now got assigned as an enabling capacity."* Similarly, Dutch Adjutant Jac Breur witnessed how the respective priorities of non-kinetic and combat-orientated activities would soon be reversed: *"Until 2007, this had still been the other way around, meaning that CIMIC enabled kinetic activities by doing projects, so that infantry soldiers could focus on diminishing the Taliban threat. By 2007, the focus of CIMIC activities instead became increasingly placed on good governance. This meant interacting with the governor and local leaders and discussing measures as how to create a safe and secure environment by supporting them. In turn, the kinetic infantry became tasked with enabling us to move around safely and facilitate our activities. To this end, the infantrymen were providing security and facilitating the support where we needed it."*[77]

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77. Author's interview with Adjutant Jac Breur, Apeldoorn, the Netherlands (May 23, 2017) pp. 1-2.

ISAF CIMIC J9 personnel at Independed Election Commission (IEC) Balkh Province Afghanistan, Presidential Elections 2014, Mazar-i-Sharif

By reaching out to local authorities, CIMIC became more effective in supporting the overall mission and by including the civic factor into the more traditional military perspective. This led to a more inclusive, bottom-up approach to stabilize the civilian environment, while also building accep-tance for the military force.

This "human layer" may still have been hard to accept by both the fighting infantry and their command structure, as those had been trained to track, fight and neutralize insurgents, rather than focusing on civilians. This is echoed by Lieutenant-Colonel Waschki, who as a CIMIC advisor and operator, experienced this friction himself in missions: *"Typical military thinking does focus on the safe and secure environment. This means that if you are standing outside in Afghanistan with 120 airborne soldiers with their knives between their teeth, so to speak, then they really do not care about civilian matters. At such a point you do however need to make it clear that the military is required to establish contact with the civilian populace."* More precisely*: "If you conduct an operation which destroys all the villages on the way, including houses and fields, then this will turn the hearts and minds of the population against you. As they know that we support their government, then they can blame the government for not doing anything while foreign soldiers are causing the destruction of their homes and livelihoods. This could drive them straight into the arms of the Taliban, which may provide a more trustworthy, and hence legitimate alternative for them."*

In this way, the kinetic elements of the military actually are well advised to include the knowledge from CIMIC's theatre civil assessments into their operations: *"This is the right kind of thinking that needs to be clarified to the military at the outset."*[78]

While NATO and its aligned national forces will remain to constitute a defensive organization with the tools to sustain any in any armed conflict, the ISAF mission has significantly contributed to a reversal of Cold War paradigms regarding the approach towards the civilian population. More traditional military activities can and will be enhanced by gaining a basic understanding of, and acceptance from the civil environment in which they take place. By involving the local population and authorities in the overall purpose of the planned activities from the beginning, the military force can avoid antagonizing the local populace and maintain their support, without having to disclose operational details.

Lieutenant-Colonel Waschki illustrated this process accordingly: *"For instance, you cannot tell civilians where you will go tomorrow to fight Al-Shabab, but you can raise their awareness of military activities in the environment and how this will affect them. 'Okay, it is going to be a hard time for you, your family and your village, but the reason we have to do this is because Al-Shabab are terrorists and we want them to withdraw. For now, this will mean that the next three months are going to be hard for you, but then your situation should improve, as we will hand our responsibilities over to your government.'"*[79]

Although, this approach requires that soldiers on the lower tactical levels up to the senior strategic levels, are tasked to develop an elementary awareness of how their activities may affect the civil environment in which they operate. In this way, the operational support to the military force, the liaison with governmental and civic actors, and the support to the local populations, can have a decisive complementary effect. Within the challenge of more complex growing mission areas beyond South-Eastern Europe, CIMIC's focus gradually shifted from largely facilitating projects to provide comprehensive civil assessments, liaison network and support to the civil environment.

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78. Author's interview with Lieutenant-Colonel Ralph Waschki, Nienburg, Germany (May 16, 2017) pp. 5-6.
79. Ibid., p. 2.

As international forces shifted from the Balkans into Iraq and Afghanistan, the challenges posed by these cultural environments induced a need to develop better cultural awareness and understanding for effectively engaging with local authorities and populations.

Here, civil-military liaison served as the core-function, tying its capabilities to support both the military and the civilian environment at the same time.

In this overall context, CIMIC liaison personnel began to engage more in aligning and de-conflicting military activities with civilian organizations in the respective AOR. The growing need for a specialized civil-military interface during the ISAF mission contributed to counter the persistent misperceptions of CIMIC within military organizations. Non-Article 5 stability operations presented NATO with highly challenging cultures, where hands-on learning had become the norm for local operations. In a changing world after 1989, NATO also built a track record in setting the framework to provide military assets for natural disaster relief and humanitarian aid efforts. As both civilians and NATO aligned military structures increasingly understand the need for mutual cooperation, alignment, de-confliction, and consultation, it will remain an enduring challenge to further narrow the still existing institutional and structural gaps. Given that the majority of future conflicts are likely to take place within densely populated regions, the civil-military interface is steadily becoming too important for mission success, to be placed exclusively on the shoulders of a fairly small number of specialized CIMIC staffers.

With the occupation of the Crimean, a not-so frozen proxy aggression in Eastern Ukraine, and a plethora of hybrid aggressions against the societal fabric of NATO member states, the potential for early 21st century conflict has returned at the geographic and material borders of the Alliance. This warrants not just the ongoing conventional military response, materializing in NATOs 'Enhanced Forward Presence', yet as well as a further adaption and development of civil-military cooperation towards these various levels of challenge. In densely populated and highly developed Europe, the need for an adjusted application of the three core CIMIC functions might well become the litmus test for NATO's ability to fully protect its societies from aggression even in the early stages.

This includes the Phase 0, as well as the measures outlined in the Articles 3 and 4 of the NATO Treaty, dealing with adaptation, assurance and consulting measures to counter initial stages of an emerging conflict.

In this, NATO's identified strategic directions North and South as the new face of collective defense, as well as the embedded threats of hybrid aggressions, require military personnel and structures on all levels to unclench their fists and start shaking civil hands instead;[80] this time very close to their home soil.

For such a CIMIC unit, tasked with providing reliable theatre civil assessments for the field commander, it had however been essential to receive information from the civilian environment. By factoring in local issues and developments which the force might have otherwise failed to observe, this CIMIC unit was able to validate its overall assessment of the local context. Captain Ebbers illustrated this process as such: "When the battalion commander of a PRT in Afghanistan is given an order, the inclusion of a CIMIC officer into the Planning Department of that battalion, can ensure that the CIMIC contribution is effectively integrated into the order. All CIMIC aspects will then have been considered and added to the operation before it even gets initiated. Within a military organization, [these aspects] have to be attached to, or integrated into in an order, which is then … put in practice during the operation." By virtue of the CIMIC contribution, the other military forces can thus better anticipate, or engage with these local challenges, which might have otherwise a negative impact on operations in the area. At the minimum, these efforts can help to prevent unwanted events, or situations arising in the field.

Captain Höpner, remembered how a seemingly critical situation occurred in 2006 during his mission to Afghanistan, where he was stationed in the PRT of Fayzabad: *"It was around 10 pm, so of course it was dark outside. Our high-stage infrared observation camera recognized red dots in the mountains that were about 5-6 kilometers away from us. This means that there were persons at close range from our whereabouts. We feared they might launch a rocket attack against our PRT, which was not uncommon. Our commander ordered us to take our defense positions to prepare for possible missile strikes.*

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80. Based on the quote "You cannot shake hands with a clenched fist" by Indira Gandhi, who served as the third and fifth Prime Minister of India from respectively 1966-1977 and 1980-1984, before she was assassinated.

We had however completely misinterpreted the situation, as we heard the next morning that those red dots were no insurgents, but simply village members who were looking for a little girl who had gone missing in the mountains. This village was my CIMIC contact, so I knew the village elder whom I called that very night to ask him what was going on. The elder then told me that some civilians had gone out to the mountains to look for a missing girl, while we had already braced ourselves for possibly upcoming missile strikes by enemy insurgents. It would be a good idea, if the force commander used his the available CIMIC and our knowledge of the civil environment ahead of time to avoid an un-called for situation like that one in the future."

Support to the military force is essentially a process of give and take, in which the military is mostly concerned with obtaining security relevant information from the civil environment. In return, the stabilizing force can offer to assist local leaders by carrying out community-based projects. Such an approach is bound to maintain good relationships with local authorities and stakeholders. Nonetheless, even here, the road to hell is paved with good intentions. Adjutant Breur experienced this first-hand upon arriving in Afghanistan: "Once I came to my Area-of-Operation, I had to stop numerous projects that were already ongoing. Some of them were just really missing the point and did not contribute at all to winning any hearts or minds at all." A variety of reasons underpinned the Adjutant's decision to cancel these projects: First, activities that compromise the established traditions, customs or practices of the local population might actually deteriorate local security by turning the population against the military force. Furthermore, while the practice of international actors "delivering something" can have immediate positive effects, it might also contribute to corrupt, transactional relationships in the long term. For instance, a government official in the Afghan province of Uruzgan declared in 2009 that taking bribes *"is now normal and accepted in society, and is getting worse day-by-day. It started four to five years ago with small gifts that created obligations and the need for reciprocity."* This harmful dynamic may then be reinforced by international officials' short-term horizons and their uncritical acceptance of an assumption about Afghan corruption (culture of bakhsheesh), which suggests that foreign officials must pay to accomplish anything with government officials. At the same time, there remains a limit to the extent to which CIMIC can gain local support for a specific force in a particular civil environment.

Colonel Ralph O. Baker of the US Army – who went to Iraq as part of the 2nd Brigade Combat Team of the 1st Armored Division in 2003 – for instance wrote: "We have all heard about "winning hearts and minds." *I do not like this phrase, and I liked it less and less as experience taught me its impracticality. The reality is that it will be a long, long time before we can truly win the hearts and minds of Arabs in the Middle East. Most of the people have been taught from birth to distrust and hate us. Conse-quently, I did not like my Soldiers using the phrase because it gave them the idea that to be successful, they had to win the Iraqis' hearts and minds, which translated into attempts at developing legitimate friendships with the Iraqis."*

Crucially, even if the US force did manage to create local acceptance by establishing strong personal relationships with a small part of the population, then it most likely still would not have sufficed to convince remaining Iraqi citizens to tolerate or work with them. For this reason, the catchphrase "winning hearts and minds" became explained as "earning the trust and confidence" of the Iraqis. Subsequently, the Brigade's efforts were instead prioritized towards earning the "grudging respect" of the target population within the Area of Operations it occupied during its 12 months: "This was a more realistic goal. If we could demonstrate to the population that we were truthful and that we followed through on everything we said we would, then we could earn the respect of a population and culture that was predisposed to distrust us." In the end, CIMIC's core-function of civil-military liaison none-theless continues to present one of the most effective ways to gain such support in the field. It constitutes the key to understanding CIMIC's support to the force and, as it appears, to grasp CIMIC's role in providing support to the civil environment.

Chapter III:

From the Baltics to the South and beyond

"If you look at literature just 20 years ago, you could not find any threats to security but military [ones]. Today in the security focus are more societal issues such as climate change, environmental issues, and emergencies. It seems that emergencies, here in the Balkans and in the world, have become more frequent, versatile and with more serious consequences for people, material goods and environment. Emergencies do not care about people, religions or races; do not recognize administrative, state, human or any other borders and limitations. They spread from one state to another, from one region to another, over continents and oceans. Regardless of [their] causes, emergencies are usually fatal, particularly if a community is disorganized and unprepared for them."[1]

– Col PhD Katarina Strabac, Ministry of Defense, Republic of Serbia

The response to the Balkan Wars of the 1990s posed new challenges to military planning on the tactical, operational and strategic level. These challenges laid bare the lack of interaction between the civil and military actors who were operating in the theatre of operations at the same time. A key lesson NATO learnt from those conflicts was the need to develop a Comprehensive Approach to conflict resolution, which placed an effective application of civil-military cooperation at its heart. Developed and refined through the ensuing fifteen years, CIMIC became an integral part of stabilization operations. During these, it contributed to the Comprehensive Approach by establishing a key bridge between the military and a growing number of civilian organizations, both international and domestic.

1. "Building Resilience and Mitigating Risks and Vulnerability in the Balkans" – Address by Col PhD Katarina Strabac, Director of Directorate for European Integration and Project Management, in: Implications of Climate Change and Disasters on Military Activities: Advanced Research Workshop Proceeding 2016, Crisis Management and Disaster Response Centre of Excellence (Sofia, Bulgaria) p. 9.

The latest summits in Wales (2014) and Warsaw in (2016) have moreover given political guidance to ***NATO's strategic commands** to find renewed answers for the Alliance in Collective Defense, in light of an increasing hybrid and territorial threat scenario. Although the possibility of large tank battles in the Northern plains of Germany is likely to remain a ghost of the past, Cold War perceptions can no longer serve as a blueprint for ensuring Collective Defense in these much more complex conflicts, which often do not show a clear beginning, or easily identifiable offensive action. The Alliance is thus challenged to seize on the opportunity to define the scope and implementation of the interaction between the military and civic domains ahead of time, to render NATO countries and their societies more resilient to hybrid threats.

As NATO's dedicated capability for the civilian-military interface, CIMIC, albeit once instituted for a different strategic context, still remains indispensable for aligning civil and military capacities to sustain the defensive effort of functioning, democratic states and societies in times of crisis.[2] Inaugurated as a response to the non-traditional conflicts in the Balkans, and coming of age in the course of the fiercely belligerent Afghanistan mission, CIMIC now faces the opportunity to shape the role and effects of civil-military cooperation within Collective Defense. This chapter will take a CIMIC perspective on NATO's Enhanced Forward Presence, its Strategic Directions North and South, as well as on the countering of hybrid aggressions well ahead of a full scale conflict scenario. Under the same premise, it will also weigh in on NATO's developing and future tasks, with a focus on the civil-military interface of migration, *"urbanization"*, and *"littoralization".*

* **NATO Strategic Commands** at the head of NATO's military command structure consist of the Allied Command Operations (ACO) – traditionally referred to as SHAPE – and the Allied Command Transformation (ACT). ACO must ensure the ability to operate at three overlapping levels: strategic, operational and tactical, with the overarching aim of maintaining the integrity of Alliance territory, safeguarding freedom of the seas and economic lifelines, and to preserve or restore the security of NATO member countries. The ACT, as its name indicates, leads the transformation of NATO's military structure, forces, capabilities and doctrine.

2. Wolfgang Paulik, 'Preface', in: Marian Corbe & Eugenio Cusumano (ed.), A Civil-Military Response to Hybrid Threats (Verlag: Springer-Verlag GmbH). {Book in print; publication scheduled for August 2017}; Cécile Wendling, The Comprehensive Approach to Civil-Military Crisis Management: A Critical Analysis and Perspective (IRSEM, 2010) p. 48.

General Denis Mercier
NATO Supreme Allied Commander Transformation

LOOKING CLOSER EAST AND SOUTH

Throughout the early years of the twenty-first century, the Alliance has been confronted with increasingly complex, and continuously changing security environments. There hsve thus been plenty of opportunities to capitalize on the many lessons learned from Afghanistan, the ongoing Ukrainian crisis (2013-2017), the training mission in Northern Iraq, or the stability operation in Mali. At the same time, the Alliance also experienced a need to refocus 'domestically' on deterrence and territorial defense, as well as the fight against international terrorism. According to General Denis Mercier, NATO's Supreme Allied Commander Transformation, there is *"an arc of insecurity stretching along NATO's borders and periphery, defining the two strategic directions East and South."*[3]

Examples of emerging threats in both directions are numerous. Beyond NATO's Eastern flank, Ukraine has for years been facing an internal resurrection and occupation, fueled by Russian interests. The Kremlin has continued its destabilizing policy towards the country since before the Wales Summit, and maintains both a hybrid and conventional posture against the Allied nations to the East.[4] The energy dependency on Russian natural gas, a persistent media propaganda barrage and criminal cyber activities, such as the *Estonian incident[5] of 2007, have already levied a variety of hybrid threats to the security of Allied members across Eastern Europe.

3. Denis Mercier, 'Foreword', in: Marian Corbe & Eugenio Cusumano (ed.), A Civil-Military Response to Hybrid Threats (Verlag: Springer-Verlag GmbH). {Book in print; publication scheduled for August 2017}
4. CIMIC considerations in support of Collective Defense, Civil-Military Cooperation Centre of Excellence (CCOE) The Hague (Custodian: Marian Corbe, CPT DEU A) p. 4.
5. The History of Cyber-attacks – A Timeline, NATO Review Magazine, available from: http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2013/Cyber/timeline/EN/index.htm

Beyond the Southern flank, the ongoing Syrian civil war has led to growing instability just across the Turkish border. The variety of regular and irregular groups fighting on all sides in Syria, the most well-known of course being al-Qaida and "Daesh", the self-proclaimed Islamic State, are posing vital threats to the societal fabric of millions, driving both refugee streams and migration. Meanwhile, humanitarian organizations are trying to cope with the humanitarian crisis of mass movements of refugees and internally displaced people. At the same time, the threat posed by Jihadi terrorism 'Daesh' and, stretches beyond its remaining territory in Syria and Iraq. Terrorist attacks in Europe, Iraq, Libya, Mali and other Middle Eastern countries demonstrate its ongoing attempts at also striking against NATO members' functioning democratic societies.[6]

In July 2016, the Warsaw Summit marked a defining moment for NATO in responding to this growing arch of insecurity. On the senior political level, the Alliance's commitment to addressing the threats at its doorstep had been gaining momentum since the previous NATO Summit in 2014. "Wales" represented an important first step towards ensuring that the Alliance remained ready to respond swiftly and firmly to the new security challenges. The Wales Summit Declaration stated: *"Today we have approved the NATO Readiness Action Plan (RAP). It provides a coherent and comprehensive package of necessary measures to respond to the changes in the security environment on NATO's borders and further afield that are of concern to Allies. It responds to the challenges posed by Russia and their strategic implications. It also responds to the risks and threats emanating from our southern neighborhood, the Middle East and North Africa."*[7]

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6. Mercier, 'Foreword', in: A Civil-Military Response to Hybrid Threats {Book in print; publication scheduled for August 2017}
7. Wales Summit Declaration. Issued by the Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Wales, accessed: July 29, 2017, last updated: September 26, 2016. available from: http://www.nato.int/cps/ic/natohq/official_texts_112964.htm

Estonian Soldier wears the NATO Force Integration Unit patch

The Warsaw Summit then substantiated the RAP by announcing the 'Enhanced Forward Presence' in several of NATO's Eastern member-states. This meant that a multi-national force, consisting of four battalion-sized battlegroups were to be based in the Baltic states Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and in Poland. Their effective cooperation with the national armed forces depended on the host-nations' capacity for a comprehensive defensive and societl integration.[8] While the size of these multi-national forces was too small to counter an all-out conventional attack, they emphasized the commitment of the partners to stand up to any conventional aggression with Allied forces already in the beginning stages, thus demonstrating deterrence in accordance with Articles 3 and 4 of the Washington Treaty.[9]

As part of the Alliance's adaptation to security challenges from the East, six NATO Force Integration Units (NFIUs) have been established in the Baltics, Poland, Bulgaria, and Romania. These units act as pre-deployment logistics headquarters, and are tasked to assist with the deployment of forces more quickly across the Alliance when needed.[10] To this end, "t*he primary purpose of the NFIUs is to facilitate the rapid deployment of the *Very High Readiness Joint Task Force (VJTF)[11] and additional high readiness and assurance elements in order to enhance Alliance responsiveness."*[12]

8. Warsaw Summit Communiqué (2016), Para. 40. accessed: July 29, 2017, last updated: March 29, 2017. Para.
9. The North Atlantic Treaty, Washington D.C. (April 4, 1949) p. 1.
10. NATO Force Integration Units. Fact sheet. (September 2015), accessed: July 29, 2017. available from: http://www.nato.int/nato_static_fl2014/assets/pdf/pd-f_2015_09/20150901_150901-factsheet-nfiu_en.pdf
11. NATO Response Force / Very High Readiness Joint Task Force – NATO Response Force (NRF), Effective as of January 2016, © 2017 SHAPE – Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe | All Rights Reserved.
12. Information brochure, NFIU Lithuania.

The NFIUs increase NATO's current footprint across these nations and will take on a supporting role in facilitating the rapid deployment of forces within the Eastern territories of the Alliance.

In turn, these units support coherent defense planning and are destined to serve as a vital link between NATO and national forces. One CIMIC staff officer is assigned to every NFIU, who is supposed to constitute the interface between host-nation authorities and a deployed potential Joint Force. In this capacity, the NFIU CIMIC staff officer serves as the interface to the national CIMIC staff within the Ministry of Defense, or whichever respective level the host-nation assigns for cooperation with civilian organizations. Tasked with mapping the civil environment, the CIMIC Officer is then responsible for providing advice on the civil environment for planning considerations throughout all phases of operations. This includes developing a 'Country Book', containing key civil information and insights for the operational benefit of the Joint Force and other relevant NATO HQs.[13]

Together, the NFIUs and the four multinational battalions constitute a military response mechanism by which NATO has enhanced its forward presence. They underscore a strong political statement of NATO's commitment to its core task of Collective Defense, as well as the importance to provide ****assurance measures**[14] to the Alliance members on the Eastern border. On the Southern border, these measures include intensified maritime controls in the Mediterranean, together with the standing NATO Maritime Groups, as well as the standing NATO Mine Counter-Measures Groups.

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13. CIMIC considerations in support of Collective Defense, p. 11.
14. NATO's Readiness Action Plan – Fact sheet. NATO (May 2015).

On the political-strategic level, the Alliance's Enhanced Forward Presence thus constitutes a tripwire, which can trigger a further collective response when a member-nation's integrity is compromised. On the tactical and operational levels, however, these response mechanisms are yet to be defined.

For CIMIC, this leads to a number of questions regarding the pre- and in-crisis coordination between military and civilian stakeholders as this provided and prepared for by each NFIU. What should be the scope of activities for CIMIC in facilitating cooperation among national authorities, civilian populations and other local actors of a sovereign host nation on the one side, and the elements of NATO's Enhanced Forward Presence on the other side? Furthermore, what should be the role of CIMIC in the coordination between host-nation authorities and elements of the NATO Command Structure and NATO Force Structure?[15]

While the three NFIU entities in the Baltics have adopted similar structures, their ways of operating remained different. This is due to the differing national characteristics which have shaped the focal point of their operations. Accordingly, the NFIUs serve as practical examples for nation-specific differences and caveats regarding the scope of military presence in the public domain.[16] Multi-national deployments abound with national caveats. Especially within the Alliance, few activities are as culturally and politically sensitive as the regular interaction between civilians and the military, which brings national specifics to the fore.

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15. CIMIC considerations in support of Collective Defense, p. 12.
16. Ibid., p. 23.

Due to the fairly small-sized Baltic national forces, the arrival of the multi-national battalions has significantly increased the number of forces in the partner states. With the earlier down-sizing of the ISAF mission, the Baltic forces had significantly reduced their CIMIC personnel, able to engage with the domestic population. The multi-national battalions also arrived without respective CIMIC personnel so that the significant enhancement of military force had not been balanced by qualified national personnel to deliver the three core functions, identified earlier for due mission success. As in earlier circumstances, the Baltic deployments had also been planned without consideration for the proper utilization of CIMIC.

On the side of the NFIU's, the CIMIC situation is likewise similarly critical. A one-man deep CIMIC structure, which is also affected by traditional NATO rotational and personnel issues, cannot be sufficient to provide analysis, reporting, liaison and support to both the forces and the population within societies and regions encompassing millions of people. Contrary to the business world, where companies have long adopted *Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) to demonstrate their commitment to the societies they are active in, NATO has so far failed to adopt this understanding for its deployed forces within its own borders, leaving such responsibilities to the respective interpretation of and application by the hosting nations. So far, there is no universal understanding regarding a thorough embedding of NATO's Forward Enhanced Presence elements into the overall resilience and defensive efforts of the host-nation societies. The same is true for the much larger deployment forces in case of a major crisis. To fully facilitate the embedding of the multi-national battalions, and eventually of VJTF units, the NFIUs would have to embrace CIMIC capabilities on a much more comprehensive scale to better reach out to all available civic defense elements. In turn, this would have to involve also a thorough "hearts and minds" campaign for gaining local support from all local groups, including the national minorities.

* **Corporate Social Responsibility** refers to a company's sense of responsibility towards the community and environment (both ecological and social) in which it operates. Companies express this citizenship through their waste and pollution reduction processes, by contributing educational and social programs, and by earning adequate returns on the employed resources.

Historically, it is not far-fetched to imagine a subversion and destabiliza-tion campaign by a local separatist movement against NATO's "occupying forces", including their barracks, vehicles, and personnel. On the media propaganda level, such dis-information attacks have already taken place. Instigated, or provoked conflicts involving the troop-contributing nations are destined to blow over into major media coverage and political controversy in the face of domestic audiences which are less than enthusiastic about the deployments to begin with.

By engaging proactively with local stakeholders, CIMIC staff members can facilitate improved acceptance of the force's presence across all local groups. Way ahead of any full scale conflict, this will help to improve local and national resilience. As about seventy-five percent of a host-nation's support to NATO forces is provided by local commercial infrastructure and services, the Alliance must thus rely on the ready availability of civilian resources and infrastructure to render these assurance and adaptation measures credible. For this reason, both the national forces, but also the NFIUs, and together with them the strategic planners, are challenged to create a civil stakehold-ers network made up of reservist Functional Specialists, public administra-tors, local authorities and opinion makers. This network needs then is to be integrated with the CIMIC staff unit to foster the military force's approach to the civil environment.[17]

Regarding the resilience of member-states, the Alliance still adheres to the principal assumption that NATO countries, upon being confronted by

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17. CIMIC considerations in support of Collective Defense, pp. 7, 23.

military aggression and destructive action on their territory, will retain the emotional stamina and ability to sustain their civil infrastructure. As this assumption has never been truly tested, learned lessons and experiences from earlier stability operation might provide some guidance as to the necessary build-up of pre-conflict resilience measures.

Specifically in smaller territorial regions, which will be strongly affected by military deployments, there is a need to improve the tactical understanding and practical implications of the RAP among the populations in the countries hosting a NFIU. To further this comprehension, the NFIUs and their, to be enhanced CIMIC capacity, should be included into the deployment exercises for the Very High Readiness Joint Task Force and the *NATO Response Force. This wouldl provide incoming units with first insights into nation-specific parameters and key local knowledge. Instruction on relevant national and cultural characteristics need to take place within the units earmarked for VJTF use well ahead of time and need. Ideally, such introduction would be conducted by senior NFIU staff, ensuring proper instruction on national specifics, which may affect the conduct of operations and the alignment with host nation activities. It is noteworthy that Estonia and Latvia lack sufficient CIMIC staff within their national armed forces, trained to provide the interface function for their national envrionments. The respective NFIUs are currently thus restricted in utilizing CIMIC capability for gaining a comprehensive understanding of their civilian envrironment. situational awareness. New rotations of Allied forces to these countries will thus have to rely on their personal abilities to shake hands with civil actors in the field. To this end, it is essential that relevant insights and experience-based conduct are shared with them during their pre-deployment phase.

"Terrorism, espionage, cyber-attacks, fake news, alternative facts, disinformation, propaganda and many others. The common factor among these threats is that they are not necessarily of a military nature and not primarily aimed at military targets. They constitute a threat against our soft under belly: the integrity of our societies, our social resilience."

Colonel Wolfgang Paulik
Director of the NATO Civil-Military Cooperation Centre of Excellence (CCOE)

HYBRID WARFARE: Confronting a dark reflection

Through the longer term adaptation measures of the RAP, Alliance members at the 2016 Warsaw Summit agreed on a strategy for NATO's role in countering the threats of hybrid warfare.[18] Those include various modes of aggression and de-stabilizations, including conventional capabilities, irregular tactics and formations, terrorist acts, including indiscriminate violence and coercion, and criminal disorder. Hybrid warfare presents a combination of irregular and conventional capabilities, both militarily and not, which in itself are quite challenging, but historically certainly not a unique phenomenon.[19]

For this reason, NATO Secretary-General Stoltenberg declared at the opening of the NATO Transformation Seminar in March 2015: *"Hybrid is the dark reflection of our comprehensive approach. We use a combination of military and non-military means to stabilize countries. Others use it to destabilize them. Of course, hybrid warfare is nothing new. It is as old as the Trojan horse. What is different is that the scale is bigger; the speed and intensity is higher; and that it takes place right at our borders."*[20]

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18. Warsaw Summit Communiqué (2016), Para. 40. accessed: July 29, 2017, last updated: August 2, 2017. Para. 37. available from: http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_133169.htm
19. James N. Mattis and Frank Hoffman, 'Future Warfare: The Rise of Hybrid Warfare', U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings (November 2005) pp. 30-32; F.G. Hoffman, 'How the Marines Are Preparing for Hybrid Wars', Armed Forces Journal International (April 2006).; F.G. Hoffman, 'Preparing for Hybrid Wars', Marine Corps Gazette (March 2007).; Frank Hoffman, Conflict in the 21st Century: The Rise of Hybrid Warfare (Arlington, VA: Potomac Institute for Policy Studies, December 2007).
20. Jens Stoltenberg, Keynote speech by NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg at the opening of the NATO Transformation Seminar (March 25, 2015) accessed: August 2, 2017, available from: http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/opinions_118435.htm

Hybrid threats today are indeed as diverse and numerous, as they are already taking place right at the borders of the Alliance: the forced referendum on the Crimean peninsula (2014), large Russian military exercises at the borders of the Baltic States (2013-2014), the ongoing violation of NATO's sovereign air space, the cyber-attacks of the Estonian incident in 2007, and the ongoing destabilization efforts against the Ukraine, testify to the sophisticated and fragmented use of covert military, propaganda, separatist, and cyber activities. Looking at Ukraine today, it can be conclude that these activities have effectively managed to destabilize the affected regions of a functioning state and society. In doing so, this aggression did not cross the red-line of an armed attack, though, as defined in Article 51 of the Charta of the United Nations. In a similar pattern, NATO member state are today much more likely to be confronted with a variation of hybrid threats, which do not immediately reach the threshold established by Article 5 of the Atlantic Treaty.[21]

However, the traditional options for response to such challenges are limited within the international legal framework. As hybrid attacks and especially cyber attacks, are frequently carried out by covert groups, or non-state actors, both the possibilities for an admisitrative, or even military response, often suffer from the lack of clear attribution to a specific institutional aggressor. In short, hybrid warfare employs a combination of political, civilian, and military instruments to threaten a society. By contrast, the Comprehensive Approach ideally strikes at the same touchpoints to stabilize targeted countries and societies from a contructive, versus a destructive perspective. To this end, it aims to strengthen the resilience of NATO members and partners by deploying civilian and military countering capabilities.[22] As the Warsaw Summit placed renewed emphasis on NATO's Collective Defense posture, member states have been challenged to refreshed their commitment to the resilience of their societies. This is outlined in Article 3 of the Washington Treaty: *"In order [to] more effectively achieve the objectives of this Treaty, the Parties, separately and jointly, by means of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid, will maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack."[23]*

21. Paulik, 'Preface', in: Marian Corbe & Eugenio Cusumano (ed.), A Civil-Military Response to Hybrid Threats. {Book in print; publication scheduled for August 2017}
22. Colonel Paulik and Captain Corbe, Keynote: 'Critical Infrastructure and Resilience Europe', pp. 2-4.
23. The North Atlantic Treaty, Washington D.C. (April 4, 1949) p. 1.

AN 8TH BASELINE REQUIREMENT FOR NATIONAL RESILIENCE

The Warsaw Summit emphasized 'civil preparedness', defined as the continuation of basic government functions during emergencies or disasters in peacetime, or in periods of crisis, as a central pillar of enhancing NATO's societal resilience. This follows the principle that *"each NATO member country needs to have the resilience to withstand shocks like natural disasters, failure of critical infrastructure and military attacks."*

In 2016, NATO members agreed on seven ***Baseline Requirements for National Resilience[24]**, which intended to measure national preparedness. This concept of resilience is increasingly seen as the corollary to deterrence and reassurance measures as part of NATO's comprehensive approach for the security of its members.[25]

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24. NATO – Resilience and Article 3, accessed: August 3, 2017, last updated: June 22, 2016. available from: http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_132722.htm
25. Resilience: a core element of collective defence, NATO Review Magazine, accessed: August 3, 2017, available from: http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2016/Also-in-2016/nato-defence-cyber-resilience/EN/index.htm

However, the joint Community-of-Interest Conference of the NATO Centers of Excellence for CIMIC and Strategic Communications (STRATCOM), which took place in early 2017, in Riga, Latvia underscored: *"As there is no consolidated definition on resiliency throughout the NATO alliance, it needs opportunities […] to allow experienced intellectuals and practitioners from various organizations within the NATO command structure, Alliance member states and supporting entities to work together."*[26]

CCOE Director Wolfgang Paulik then specified: "*The currently used seven lines of societal resilience are actually mostly about technical capacities, while under-estimating the factor of a mental, or psychological resilience, which can only result from comprehensive contingency planning and preparation including a large number of actors and stakeholders.*"[27]

This assessment hence leads to the question as how individual member will nations prepare itself for the wide variety of hybrid threats, given that NATO's seven baseline requirements do not provide any guidance on how to deal with nation specific mental, or mass psychological vulnerabilities?[28] The mentioned assumption that highly developed, interdependent Western societies would be more resilient during conflict situations, compared to societies with lesser technologically advanced structures, needs to be debunked as an "urban myth". Actually the opposite is rather true: societies, which as a whole have never learned to cope with instability and existential threats to their very existence, have also not developed the personal, or the societal tools, nor the stamina, to deal with it. This makes them less resilient and therefore less prepared for times of real crisis.[29] Captain Baur framed this problem when stating: "*It is basically the awareness [of hybrid threats] which got lost over the recent years, because we thought we were just being surrounded by friends.*"[30]

The joint 2017 COE Conference in Riga concluded that stakeholders in resilience should agree on "*common ideals, which will allow CIMIC and STRATCOM professionals to conceptualize new ways of enhancing resilience measures, which mitigate potential negative effects coming from hybrid threats.*"[31] As such an approach incorporates a combination of numerous

26. Community of Interest Conference Riga: Four key recommendations from the joined CCOE / STRATCOM Conference (2017) p. 1. A copy of this document is in the author's possession.
27. CCOE Director's Perspective on CIMIC and CCOE, p. 5.
28. Corbe and Cusumano, 'Conclusion', in: Marian Corbe & Eugenio Cusumano (ed.), A Civil-Military Response to Hybrid Threats. pp. 1-7, there: p. 4. {Book in print; publication scheduled for August 2017}
29. CCOE Director's Perspective on CIMIC and CCOE (2017) p. 5. A copy of this document is in the author's possession.
30. Author's interview with Captain Ralf Baur, Apeldoorn, the Netherlands (May 23, 2017) p. 5.
31. Riga: Four key recommendations from the joined CCOE / STRATCOM Conference (2017) p. 2.

"When I was appointed in 2011, CIMIC Officers (G9) had still been present on all different levels, ranging from the staff of the Army and our support Brigade to our Land Training Centre.
Most of those people were laid off due to national government budget cuts in the course of 2012-2013. I think it's very strange that people don't seem to understand that the civil environment is important within a mission area. For now, we'll just have to keep soldiering on with merely the 10 people we got to claim our place in theatre."

Lieutenant-Commander Ilse Verdries
1. CMI Command, Royal Netherlands Navy

civilian and military capabilities, NATO is challenged to empower its dedicated CIMIC capability to define comprehensive, tailored, and context-specific approaches to counter hybrid warfare to render support to societal resilience. For this purpose, it is essential for NATO, and its deployed forces, to also fully grasp the socio-cultural aspects of the deployment area within the military planning process, even if this might be within the Alliance.

While nominally adhering to the same NATO doctrines, individual member nations still define CIMIC in their own, distinctive ways. Specific budget and personnel cuts largely since the ISAF drawdown, have increasingly marginalized Civil-Military Cooperation capabilities across the Alliance.

This has led several member nations to depart from the notion of CIMIC as a unique function, instead consolidating it at times with other capabilities, such as the intelligence domain.[32]

Lieutenant-Commander Ilse Verdries, senior staff worker at the Dutch 1. CMI Command, experienced herself the grave impact of such personnel reductions on the effectiveness of the CIMIC Platoon: *"Our knowledge center consists of three people, including one CIMIC Officer, who is currently deployed to a mission. This is disastrous, because it undermines the centers' capability to register and manage information from the civil environment, which was gained during mission assessments. Understaffing this center is therefore detrimental to our Lessons Learned capability.*

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32. Paulik, 'Preface', in: Marian Corbe & Eugenio Cusumano (ed.), A Civil-Military Response to Hybrid Threats. {Book in print; publication scheduled for August 2017}; Corbe and Cusumano, 'Conclusion', in: Marian Corbe & Eugenio Cusumano (ed.), A Civil-Military Response to Hybrid Threats. pp. 1-7, there: p. 1. {Book in print; publication scheduled for August 2017}

Also, we barely have the capacity to engage in such specified tasks ourselves, which we would have to do in addition to our regular activities."[33]

This may lead to decreased attention for the socio-cultural aspects in military operations, which is destined to reduce NATO's ability to strengthen the resilience of its member-states. Moreover, as both CIMIC and the 'whole-of-government' approach were initially defined for out-of-area stability operations, there is an apparent risk that the renewed emphasis on Collective Defense will brush aside the understanding for the value of CIMIC for countering hybrid warfare and strengthening any society. Already, the staff planning for the RAP, the NFIUs and the VJTF, have largely excluded CIMIC in the process. After all, there is just one staff officer at each NFIU. This development has also been echoed by Lieutenant-Commander Verdries, who filled a staff position as planner and coordinator of all 1. CMI Command's training exercises: "*Training exercises nowadays tend to primarily take Afghanistan as their point of departure. However, instead of looking too much at this particular chapter within our past performance, we should also be looking increasingly towards our future performance in the field.*" For this reason, Lieutenant-Commander Verdries calls for better pre-theatre and deployment planning across the strategic level: "*As a CIMIC platoon, we can deliver our input on the tactical and operational levels, but we ultimately look at the directions given to us on the strategic level. Looking towards the future, I find that our training depends on possible scenarios that have not been fully developed yet. The sooner NATO's strategic commands map this out, the earlier we can begin to follow-up with training and education.*"[34]

LOOKING AHEAD AND BEYOND: Migration, Urbanization, and Littoralization

"Urbanization", defined as the increase of urban residents amongst the total population[35], has been identified as one of the key upcoming global trends by NATO's Allied Command Transformation (ACT), to which the Centers of Excellence report. NATO's Framework for Future Alliance Operations (FFAO), outlining the broad strategic requirements necessary to ensure that NATO remains prepared and capable of executing its core tasks,
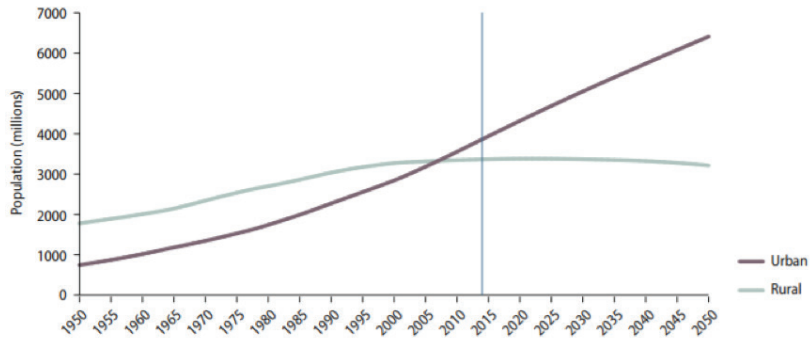
33. Author's interview with Lieutenant-Commander Ilse Verdries – Senior CIMIC Staff Officer of the 1 CMI Command / Commander of the CIMIC Platoon of the Royal Netherlands Armed Forces – Apeldoorn, the Netherlands (May 30, 2017) p. 2.
34. Author's interview with Lieutenant-Commander Ilse Verdries, Apeldoorn, the Netherlands (May 30, 2017) p. 2.
35. WG CDR Gordon Pendleton, 'New Concepts: Joint Urban Operations and The NATO Urbanisation Project', The Three Swords Magazine Vol. 29 (2015) p. 52.

Urban and rural population of the world, 1950 - 2050

identified three impending instability situations for the future: megacity turmoil, large scale disaster, and the disruptive impacts of migration.[36] These are all directly connected to the global process of rapid urbanization, especially in developing countries. This goes hand in hand with the increasing "littoralization" of these urban centers, referring to the fact that those largely cluster along coastlines.[37] Globally, there are currently more people residing in urban areas than in rural ones. In 2014, fifty-four percent of the global population had already been living in urban areas, compared to only thirty percent in 1950. Based on recent estimations, no less than sixty-six percent of the world's population is currently expected to be living in cities by 2050.

Urbanization, moreover, is not just a phenomenon of the industrialized and highly digitalized world regions. The fastest-growing urban agglomerations are medium-sized cities located in the *Global South, next to Asian and African cities, with less than one million inhabitants. "Mega-cities", metropolitan agglomerations that concentrate more than 10 million inhabitants, are emerging around the world. In 2011, more than 25 cities exceeded the number of 10 million inhabitants. By 2030, this number is projected to grow to 41 megacities worldwide.[38] While Tokyo is expected to remain the world's largest city with 37 million inhabitants, Delhi follows suit with a population that is projected to rise to 36 million people in the next two decades.[39]

36. See: NATO Urbanisation Project, accessed: August 7, 2017, available from: http://www.act.nato.int/urbanisation
37. Pendleton, 'New Concepts', p. 54.
38. Mega Cities, Mega City paper, EURAMET – European Association of National Metrology Institutes (January 2013) pp. 1-2.
39. World Urbanization Prospects: The 2014 Revision (Highlights), Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat – © United Nations, 2014. All rights reserved. pp. 1, 7-8.; CCOE Director's Perspective on CIMIC and CCOE, p. 6.
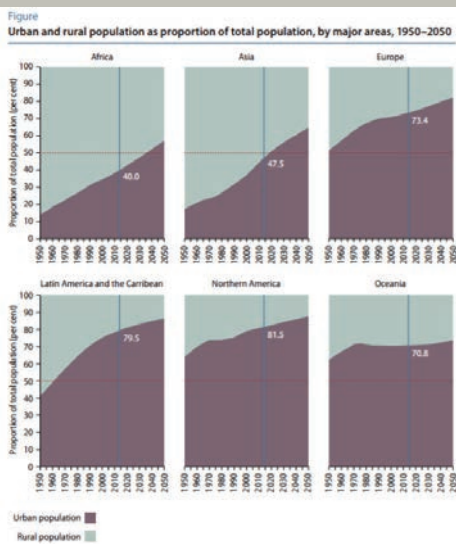
Armed conflicts frequently drive urbanization as displaced populations may not be able, or willing, to return to rural areas due to safety concerns, such as landmines and residual violence, or for economic reasons.

The pervasive neglect of rural areas during early reconstruction efforts in post-conflict environments, exacerbates the attractions that draws particularly the youth from rural areas into the cities. Population shifts precipitated by conflict are, as such, not easily reversed once active fighting has ceased.[40] In this way, the growing number of megacities in developing countries generates numerous internal and external security implications. Despite the agglomeration of potential unrest in highly congested areas, they also do provide safe havens to clandestine groups seeking to strike against Western and NATO member targets.

Together, these megacities represent a population of approximately 300 million residents, they generate 18% of global GDP, and 10% of global carbon emissions.[41] Their ties to national business, or trans-national economic interests, will only grow stronger over time. Moreover, most of these cities tend to be located in the coastal zones of oceans. This renders them particularly vulnerable to the effects of rising sea levels, as one result of global warming, adding further logistic, relief and supply dimensions during times of crisis or conflict. As witnessed in 2010, countries like Haiti, with its location on the trajectory of hurricanes and tropical storms, or those in coastal areas with the most seismic activity on the planet, are particularly vulnerable to natural hazards.

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40. Peter Buckland, Reshaping the Future: Education and Postconflict Reconstruction, © 2005, The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/The World Bank. All rights reserved. pp. 15, 58, 70.
41. Mega Cities, Mega City paper, EURAMET, p. 2.

Figure

Urban and rural population as proportion of total population, by major areas, 1950–2050

Urban and rural population
as proportion of total population,
by major areas, 1950 - 2050

Unplanned urbanization togehter with the weakness of government institutions in many developig countries, greatly increase the risk that such hazards will eventually result in environmental and humanitarian disasters, with the added potential of siginifcant political conflict and instability.[42]

As seen in Kosovo, or Afghanistan, past CIMIC activities have mostly taken place in more rural or only suburban regions. Large cities were often deliberately excluded from military ground operations during conflicts of the twentieth century. Military forces wanted to avoid costly door-to-door fighting in addition to having to deal with large and potentially unruly groups of civilians, as well as the need to tend to those people once seized. Post-Cold War experiences in Sarajevo, Mogadishu ("Black Hawk Down"), Kinshasa, in post-Saddam Hussein Iraq, and recently against Daesh in Raqqa and Mosul, have nevertheless demonstrated that urban warfare is increasingly becoming part of new operational realities. Looking ahead, NATO forces between now and 2035 are therefore more likely to also be operating in urban, often littoral environments in the developing world.

Within these growing and densely populated civil environment, CIMIC will thus have to provide fitting response to the new challenges posed by rapid urbanization and littoralization. However, NATO's military understanding of the dynamics and structures that characterize and underpin large urban areas still remains too narrow. The sheer number of people who can be expected to either flee, or migrate to urban centers within the next decades, requires NATO forces, eventually charged with contributing to conflict

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42. Wiharta et al., The Effectiveness of Foreign Military Assets in Natural Disaster Response, © Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (2008) p. 70.

resolution – with CIMIC as liaison and support function – to develop adequate responses and solutions. Given the magnitude of the potential challenge, this must happen before a crisis erupting in one of the megacities will render post-factual action, and policy development, meaningless.[43]

In another migration related area, NATO currently faces the prospect of national governments, particularly some EU countries, considering the use of their armed forces as a resource enhancement in the handling of migration and refugee flows. When these national governments call for their defense forces to support public administration and civil order authority, NATO must ensure that CIMIC, and respective principles for the protection of civilians are being applied accordingly. While the EU will and must be the first responder to this challenge, the CCOE as the human-centric think-tank of NATO, must be in a position to develop military competencies for this purpose. In this way, it shall become the CCOE's task and challenge to provide added value and advice in this area as well.[44]

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43. Pendleton, 'New Concepts', p. 54.; CCOE Director's Perspective on CIMIC and CCOE, pp. 6-7.
44. Ibid., p. 3.

Cultural Property Protection Makes Sense
A Way to Improve Your Mission

Civil-Military Cooperation
Centre of Excellence

Chapter IV:

CIMIC and the CCOE into the future

The celebration of the CCOE's 10th anniversary offers a momentous opportunity to reflect on the journey this institution has taken so far to support NATO's dedicated capacity for CIMIC. There have been successes during the first decade, and the looming challenges of the early twenty-first century will compel NATO to continue improving its capabilities for CIMIC and civil-military interaction. In addressing current and future challenges, staff experts of the CCOE have for example stipulated and stimulated NATO CIMIC's conceptual development by publishing the Makes Sense Series[1] on key aspects of civil-military interaction and CIMIC. These range from subjects as diverse as Gender, Cultural Property Protection and Ecosystems Assessment to the Rule of Law.

The CCOE has institutionalized its efforts to link CIMIC with academic research and learning, by developing a distinct and fully accredited Master of Arts degree in Civil-Military Interaction together with the Helmut-Schmidt University in Hamburg, Germany.[2] Regardless of such milestones, however, the previous chapters also alluded to persistent institutional and conceptual challenges to NATO CIMIC. As the experts for developing population centric solutions in the early 21st century, the CIMIC COE is in the process to explore the added benefits it offers for the future to uphold its mandate as NATOs think-thank, doctrine, training and education center for CIMIC.

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1. A complete overview of all current issues in the Makes Sense series can be found on: http://www.cimic-coe.org/products/conceptual-design/downloads/ccoe-publications/makes-sense-series/, accessed: April 19, 2017.
2. Civil-Military Cooperation Centre of Excellence (CCOE) Bullets, accessed: March 30, 2017, available from: http://www.cimic-coe.org/products/conceptual-design/downloads/ccoe-publications/ccoe-leaflets/.; Civil-Military Cooperation Centre of Excellence (CCOE) Course Landscape, accessed: May 3, 2017, http://www.cimic-coe.org/products/training-education/course-landscape/.

The CIMIC COE in Enschede, The Netherlands with the old logo

FROM CIMIC GROUP NORTH TO
NATO CIMIC CENTRE OF EXCELLENCE

Experiences in the Balkans during the mid-1990s challenged NATO to respond to the security and stability realities of this newly challenging environment. Unlike the mostly military exercise operations during the Cold War era, these conflicts were characterized by taking place right in the middle of the affected civilian population. The widespread breakdown of civility and basic sustainability eventually led to a massive presence of international relief personnel in the military area of operations, which exponentially increased the number of actors the military had to engage with.[3]

Retired Lieutenant-Colonel Schuurman remembered: *"In late 1996, I was deployed to serve as Chief of CIMIC Operations within the new SFOR Head-quarters (HQ). At the Balkans, we started "learning by doing" when it came to coordinating with civil organizations. At this point, there were still massive cultural differences between us. While the military disparaged the available members of the IO/NGO community ("do-gooders, tree huggers"), this kind of attitude was readily reciprocated by the civilians."[4]*

To facilitate mission accomplishment under these new circumstances, it had become inevitable for the military to interface with the civil environment in a structured and regulated way. In 1997, NATO recognized this need and decided to establish its own dedicated CIMIC capability.[5] To this end,

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3. NATO Civil Military Cooperation – CIMIC Group South, CCOE internal document. A copy of this document is in the author's possession.
4. Input by Retired Lieutenant-Colonel Rob Schuurman, Para. 2.
5. NATO Civil Military Cooperation – CIMIC Group South, CCOE internal document.

a first informal meeting took place in one of the "coffee-rooms" of SHAPE HQ in April 1999. This had been an initiative of the Netherland contingent, in which Dutch Naval Commander Pim Bedet conducted the conversation. Overall, the meeting had been productive: *"In principle, all other nations from the Northern region reacted in a positive way when the Netherlands representatives requested them … to participate in such a CIMIC Group."* However, they *"all hurried to state that theirs' was just a personal opinion, as the nations from the Northern region did not have an approved CIMIC policy – yet."* [6] Together with SHAPE, all participating nations attended the formal inaugural meeting in The Hague, in November 1999. Former IFOR CIMIC Chief, Dutch Major-General Noordhuizen, used the opportunity to stress the importance of CIMIC in Crisis Response Operations, not only for the nations, but also for NATO and other IOs. In turn, representatives of NATO countries provided presentations on their national CIMIC developments: *"In this first meeting, we had exciting and emotional discussions about the name of the CIMIC Group. Everybody agreed it should reflect "North" but not everybody agreed if it should be "European CIMIC Group North", "Euro CIMIC Group North", "NATO CIMIC Group North" or "Multinational CIMIC Group North". Finally, we decided to keep it simple and just use "CIMIC Group North."*[7]

Several NATO countries, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Germany, The Netherlands, Norway and Poland eventually founded the operational CIMIC Group North HQ (CGN HQ) in 2001. The CIMIC Group North was intended to function as a theatre-wide multinational, operational CIMIC unit to be deployed primarily in international operations, outside of NATO's exter-nal borders. Initially located in Budel, the Netherlands, the CGN HQ soon was reinforced by further supporting nations: Hungary, Latvia, and Slovenia joined. Along the same lines, all these nations continued to develop their own CIMIC capabilities, strengthening the Group North and providing resources to become better equipped for the tasks at hand. Together with the CIMIC Group South in Motta di Livenza, Italy, these units were conceived to act as tactical force suppliers for NATO's overall CIMIC capability. CIMIC Group North set out to develop a dedicated CIMIC capability with trained person-nel. Its inaugural document clarified:

"CIMIC training and education is necessary at all levels of the military command structure. Most of the available courses are national-orientated

6. Historical Overview – Working Group CIMIC Group North (November 1999 – December 2001), CIMIC Group North. The Informal Overview (Preface).
7. Ibid., p. 1.

The CIMIC COE in The Hague, The Netherlands with the new logo

and not always accessible for military and civilians from other countries."[8]

In order to fill this gap, the Group committed itself to creating a *"training and education capacity aimed at the tactical and operational level of CIMIC operations for personnel of the CIMIC Group North, other military personnel, and civilians with an interest in Civil-Military Cooperation."[9]* Upon being formally activated in 2003, the CIMIC Group North began to prepare CIMIC reserve officers to provide **"***functional expertise, advice and assistance in identifying and assessing' the areas of civil administration, civil infrastructure, economy and commerce, humanitarian aid and assistance and cultural affairs."[10]*

This training was then complemented by the deployment of CGN HQ staff members to many missions, including ISAF.[11] In 2003, the world witnessed the outbreak of the second Iraq War, or the third one, if the Iraq – Iran conflict is figured in. Subsequently, NATO decided to transfer the CGN HQ's operational capabilities as a tactical force supplier to the more strategically located CIMIC Group South. Later, on 28 April 2009, the "CIMIC Group South" was renamed as the "Multinational CIMIC Group." To date, it still represents the only operational CIMIC Headquarters within NATO and can be deployed in support of units up to army corps level.[12]

While personnel from CIMIC Group South deployed to participate in the Italian Operation "Antica Babilonia" ("Ancient Babylon") in Iraq, further oper-

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8. Policy paper Training & Education CIMIC Group North (dd. 250401) p. 7. (including previous quotation)
9. Ibid., p. 7.
10. Rappard, 'An Active Dutch CIMIC Policy is Not a Bridge Too Far', pp. 74-77.
11. Civil-Military Cooperation Centre of Excellence (CCOE) History, accessed: March 30, 2017, available from: http://www.cimic-coe.org/about-cimic/history/.
12. Multinational CIMIC Group: History, accessed: August 11, 2017. available from: http://www.cimicgroup.org/about_mncg/history/

* **Conflict resolution** is about how parties can move from zero-sum destructive patterns of conflict to positive-sum outcomes. The aim is to develop processes of conflict resolution that appear to be acceptable to parties in dispute, and effective in resolving conflict. Conflict resolution emphasizes third-party intervention or mediation between the parties to foster new thinking and new relationships to arrive at a political settlement of the conflict.

** **Conflict transformation** is a process of engaging with and transforming the relationships, interests, discourses and, if necessary, the very constitution of society that supports the continuation of violent conflict. It is a comprehensive approach that addresses a range of dimensions, from micro- to macro-, local to global, short-term to long-term and grassroots to elite actors. Conflict transformation aims to develop capacity and support structural change, rather than facilitating outcomes or delivering settlements. It therewith seeks to engage with conflict at the pre-violence and post-violence phases, as well as with the causes and consequences of violent conflict. This usually extends to beyond the site of fighting.

ational use of CIMIC Group North in a similar role became unpractical. This paved the transformation of CGN HQ's role as an active unit into the one of a think tank and training hub. Initially established in 2006 by the Kingdom of the Netherlands and the Federal Republic of Germany as the framework nations, the new CIMIC Centre of Excellence yielded the functions as a force provider for those of a competence and capability development center. This offered a unique opportunity to build on the essential experience the CGN HQ had been gaining since 2002 by conducting CIMIC courses and serving as an essential contributor of CIMIC doctrine, identifying and applying lessons learned from missions.

In order to leverage its expertise and advice to the benefit of the Alliance, particularly in out-of-area stabilization operations, in supporting disaster and humanitarian relief, for ***conflict resolution**[13], or the broader process of ****conflict transformation**[14], the CCOE provides opportunities to enhance education and training, improve interoperability and capabilities, assists in doctrine development and tests and validates concepts through experimentation.[15] In 2014, the organization moved from Enschede in the Netherlands to its final location in the Dutch administrative capital of The Hague.

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13. Hugh Miall, Conflict Transformation: A Multi-Dimensional Task © Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management (2004) pp. 3-4.
14. Further reading: John Paul Lederach, The Little Book of Conflict Transformation (Good Books, 2003).
15. Civil-Military Cooperation Centre of Excellence (CCOE) NATO Definition of a Centre of Excellence (COE), accessed: March 30, 2017, available from: http://www.cimic-coe.org/about-cimic/sponsoring-nations/.

There, the CCOE has achieved closer access to key international, civic and public stakeholders located and operating from the region. This geographic re-positioning, tied in with an enforced reach-out to the civilian environment, culminates with a decade of service, leading to reflect on the journey this institution has taken as an intellectual and training contributor to the much larger scope of crisis resolution. In turning the focus more on the overall scope and day-today tasks, the remaining pages will shed some closer light on the main branches of the CIMIC Centre of Excellence.

KEY BRANCHES AT THE CCOE

There exists a relevant body of historic concepts and key principles, which can be distilled from past military missions, together with a broad range of case studies. The experience of over 20 years of stability operations also teaches, obviously, that the implementation of political mandates becomes much more complicated in a complex, active warfare environment. For instance, as there had been no combat operations in the Balkans during the 1990s, CIMIC personnel was able to conduct the full range of related activities onsite, without having to deal with a significant security threat for the international forces. This changed dramatically in the course of the ISAF mission, however. CIMIC tactical teams often had to be accompanied by force protection units in areas where Taliban, or other insurgents were active. These ever changing conditions of mission environments and challenges were then shared as lessons learned from past operations to relevant civilian and military stakeholders. Rather than just passing these insights verbally to the next contingent of deployed soldiers or civilian personnel, it is the real challenge to ensure that the relevant lessons and experiences are univer-sally standardized for future missions in general. At the same time, it must be guaranteed that ***best practices**' remain adaptive to context-specific circumstances. To this end, they must be integrated into military planning, as well as in all phases of training and exercises. To meet these emerging challenges, military organizations prepare their armed forces by turning this practical knowledge into military doctrines, policies and standard operating procedures, covering tactical, operational and strategic eventualities.[16,17]

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16. J.E. Noll, S.J.H. Rietjens and W.M. Arends, 'NATO a learning organisation? Civil Military Cooperation from Bosnia-Herzegovina to Afghanistan', Paper to be presented at the ECPR Joint Sessions of Workshops Lisbon April 2009. Workshop 24: Theorising NATO (2009) p. 2.
17. Rietjens et al., 'Enhancing the Footprint: Stakeholders in Afghan Reconstruction', Parameters (Spring 2009) p. 10.

In this process, the ****Lessons Learned (LL) & Analysis** branch at the CCOE is tasked with the collection of experience-based information from missions, as well as processing and distributing these insights adequately to render them purposeful throughout the Alliance. In turn, the Concepts, Interoperability and Capabilities (CIC) branch enhances this process by producing studies and analyses. It likewise advises on NATO CIMIC policy and contributes to its further development by delivering specific expertise in particular topic areas, such as Cultural Property Protection, Children and Armed Conflicts. Key learnings and the framework of concepts are then translated in to a variety of courses, conducted by the Training & Education branch, which educate military and civilian stakeholders in all aspects of Civil-Military Cooperation from the tactical to the senior strategic level. During the first decade, these distinct CCOE branches have been jointly working together to fill the existing gap between CIMIC theory and practice.

"We cannot learn in splendid military isolation – working with partners in a comprehensive approach also means that we need to learn comprehensively. We must avoid stove piped databases with lessons forgotten but need to make this knowledge available for the civil-military community. While it is of course difficult for an organization or unit to perhaps share negative experiences, which could create embarrassment, or blame the organization. We still need and we have the responsibility to share information on all levels, so that we as individual, community, nation and organization can improve our performance."

Lieutenant-Colonel John Jakobsen, Royal Danish Forces, Head of CCOE Lessons Learned & Analysis Branch

LESSONS LEARNED AND ANALYSIS

During the past two decades, CIMIC has become a crucial function to support complex military operations, while reducing friction between armed forces, civilian relief actors, and local populations.[18] For stability operations, it is particularly important for the military to keep learning from experiences to avoid putting the lives of both civilians and soldiers at risk, or repeating the same mistakes all over again. As now customary in many military organizations, the CCOE established its Lessons Learned & Analysis branch in 2015. It provides for both internal and external use of observations, lessons and analysis deliveries. This is done within the daily operations of the CCOE, by capturing observations, analyses of lessons, publications and trends related to CCOE-owned CIMIC publications, and courses. To this end, the Lessons Learned & Analysis branch collects observations from NATO Summits and other relevant meetings on the political level: NATO missions, NATO exercises ("Trident Juncture"), non-NATO exercises ("Viking" in Sweden), and conferences hosted by NATO entities or other Centers of Excellence. This way, the branch continuously supports the CCOE's internal innovation process.

These steps are repeated externally across the Alliance, concerning trends related to the development of NATO CIMIC, which are of primary relevance to the CCOE's and its sponsoring nations' activities.

18. Department of the Army, FM 3-05.40, Civil Affairs Operations, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, September 2006), 1-1.

Exercise Trident Juncture 2015, a meeting with local leaders in the CIMIC centre

This external process considers NATO Command Structure interests and developments at the NATO Joint Analysis Lessons Learned Center (JALLC). Following the NATO Summit in Warsaw in 2016, and its decisions regarding the re-focus of the Alliance, the branch produced a defining study marking the future course for CIMIC in the early 21st century. It suggested the CCOE and the civil-military community should orient its focus towards Urbanization, Collective Defense, Resilience, and the cooperation with the European Union, as the defining characteristics of activity in a new era. To date, Lessons Learned & Analysis also contributes to improve the cross-cutting information sharing between NATO, relevant partner countries and civilian organizations such as UN-OCHA.[19]

The need to fill the gap between past activities and renewed challenges is supported by hands-on experience from the field. Adjutant Breur stated: *"The problem with the military is that while we always first start looking at the previous war in preparing for the next one, our Lessons Learned capacity is still very limited. While it makes sense to categorize the Lessons Learned section under Plans, it actually should become an integral capacity to operations. We should not just start our missions by looking at 'Lessons Learned', but also not concluding our missions before the lessons have actually been learned. If you fail to include this vital part within your operations, then your planning process also becomes futile."[20]*

19. Lieutenant-Colonel John Jakobsen – Head of CCOE Branch Lessons Learned & Analysis, 'Lessons Learned & Analysis Branch', LL Text to CCOE 10 years (2017) pp. 1-2. A copy of this document is in the author's possession.
20. Author's interview with Adjutant Jac Breur, Apeldoorn, the Netherlands (May 23, 2017) p. 2.

However, a remains a challenge to effectively implement the 'Lessons Identified' into the operations into the organization, or unit. Lieutenant-Colonel John Jakobsen, Head of the CCOE's Lessons Learned & Analysis branch, explained: *"It is not the Lessons Learned unit that has the responsibility to implement the Lessons Identified, it is the organization itself that must implement the results.*

The implementation of changes or best practices will normally cost resources. If the leadership does not embrace the ownership, cannot see the benefit of it, or prioritizes it differently, the Lessons Identified will be very hard to implement."[21]

Similarly, there is a need for NATO countries to exchange knowledge on best practices during national calamities. Captain Ebbers illustrated this: *"For example, when the dikes should break down in Germany first, the German Armed Forces will be called on to provide relief to the German people. In turn, the German CIMIC branch will provide support to this national operation. If the dikes then also break down in the Netherlands, the Dutch Armed Forces will then also be called on to perform the same national relief operation. During this effort, the Dutch CIMIC branch could provide useful support by integrating the Lessons Learned from the German CIMIC branch during the same calamity."*[22]

This example came with a critical remark: *"Such Lessons Learned are currently not yet sufficiently transferred, adopted and included between NATO countries. My point is that while the Alliance is a collective of countries with a shared purpose, our interests remain too strictly biased on the national level."*[23]

Another challenge in the Lessons Learned Community concerns the sharing of information after lessons have been identified or Lessons Learned. More often than not, there is an institutional reluctance to share negative experiences, prompting decisions to turn documents intended for publication into internal work documents to avoid embarrassment and blame. In the end, information-sharing remains one of the most important elements of Lessons Identified and Lessons Learned.[24]

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21. Lieutenant-Colonel John Jakobsen, 'Lessons Learned & Analysis Branch', p. 2.
22. Author's interview with Captain Rob Ebbers, Apeldoorn, the Netherlands (May 30, 2017) pp. 4-5.
23. Ibid., p. 5.
24. Lieutenant-Colonel John Jakobsen, 'Lessons Learned & Analysis Branch', p. 2.

This applies equally to NATO CIMIC during out-of-area stability and crisis management operations, domestic disaster relief efforts, and in Collective Defense as well.

GETTING A CIC OUT OF CIMIC

The staff from the CCOE's Concepts, Interoperability and Capabilities (CIC) considers itself as the "brain" of the center, or the think tank within the think tank. They are tasked to think ahead of current policies and doctrines, come up with new concepts, and assess the different elements of recent political, or operational developments to identify their relevance for the CIMIC capacity. To this end, the CIC branch is responsible for carrying out two elementary tasks, which are categorized under 'Concepts and Development', or developing the capability of CIMIC. The other one being 'Interoperability'', which supports the standardization of CIMIC throughout NATO. These tasks relate directly to the overall understanding within the much larger Civil-Military Interaction community about the comprehensive scope of NATO CIMIC. These insights are then integrated into CIMIC training and education, in The Hague, as well as at the respective national CIMIC entities, to ensure that NATO forces can provide enough qualified personnel for missions and operations.

Lieutenant-Colonel Paul U-A-Sai, staff officer at the CIC branch, remembered one of his first assignments: *"After the Warsaw Summit in 2016, I was asked to prepare for our director a study about the implications for CIMIC of the decisions taken there [by the NATO leadership]. This led to the observation that for all three NATO core tasks (cooperative security, crisis management, and collective defense), CIMIC would still have a relevant part. In the past, we focused primarily on crisis response, as those had been the operations where NATO was mostly involved in. Yet, the world has changed, and as the conceptual development branch we believe that CIMIC has an important role to play. This has to be made clear."[25]*

25. Author's interview with Lieutenant-Colonel Paul U-A-Sai – Staff Officer of CCOE Branch Concepts, Interoperability and Capabilities, The Hague, the Netherlands (July 4, 2017) pp. 1-2.

"Ideally, the output of Lessons Learned should be our input to develop something. Similarly, our output be the input for Training and Education to develop lectures, courses and exercises. From my perspective, I can say that we are now able to operationalize civil-military interaction and get its new terminology approved by NATO. That's a big step forward, because it is the foundation for the rest! Personally, I think being a CIMIC Officer is quite a challenging job. In ideal situations you would have it established as a separate functionality, whereas in many countries this is actually not the case."

Lieutenant-Colonel Paul U-A-Sai, Royal Dutch Army, staff officer at the CCOE Concepts, Interoperability and Capabilities Branch

With this understanding it became evident that the core-functions of CIMIC would not fundamentally change in collective defense scenarios, yet would have to be refocused to allow for the specific political and operational circumstances applicable within NATO.

Being deployed to the sovereign territory of NATO member-states, with functioning civil infrastructures and government services, would now rather require increased military-military liaison, than civil-military liaison with local actors. In this different context, CIMIC support to the military force and the civilian environment is thus expected to materialize in its ability to facilitate consultations with, and integration of deployed forces within the host nation society environment. Within the Alliance, this approach is to supersede "winning hearts and minds", or the gathering information on the status of the civil environment.[26] The need to refocus CIMIC's role after the Warsaw Summit eventually led to the CCOEs' Baltic CIMIC Initiative. For this, a fact-finding team from The Hague visited Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania in October 2016, to consult with the J-9 experts and command structures at the respective Ministries of Defense, the NFIUs, National Defense Leagues' and other relevant stakeholders in national resilience building.[27] These assessment meetings initiated a process to further develop the respective national CIMIC capabilities, necessary to render support for NATO's Enhanced Forward Presence in the Strategic Direction East.[28]

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26. Paulik, 'Preface', in: Marian Corbe & Eugenio Cusumano (ed.), A Civil-Military Response to Hybrid Threats. {Book in print; publication scheduled for August 2017}
27. CCOE Half Year Letter 2017 to Coordinating Committee members – internal document (June 28, 2017) p. 5.
28. Author's interview with Lieutenant-Colonel Paul U-A-Sai, The Hague, the Netherlands (July 4, 2017) p. 2.

Baltic NATO CIMIC Initiative 2016 - Reception at NFIU in Vilnius, Lithuania

Due to a lack of deployed CIMIC staff with the multi-national battalions, the German Armed Forces CIMIC Centre at Nienburg (Zentrum ZMZ Bundeswehr), is destined to act as the reach-back capacity for the battalion stationed in Lithuania. In Estonia, the US forces have disseminated Public Affairs teams since 2016, separate from the core US-led battalion.

As the Warsaw Summit identified two strategic directions, the CCOE realigning its operational focus for 2017 and 2018 towards the Southern and South Eastern flank of the Alliance. Given a somewhat different threat scenario in that direction, the CCOE, together with regional military and institutional partners, will contribute its subject matter expertise to NATOs' further adaptation to the specific challenges emanating from the South. From the perspective of the Civil-Military Cooperation function, those concentrate largely around the ongoing migration and refugee crisis and its further expected developments resulting from the overall economic, political, instability tribal and religious circumstances across Africa and the Middle East. This initiative will focus on the root causes driving migrants and refugees and the process to save, register and safeguard affected people along Europe's Southern borders. The development of (national) resilience, as one of the key aspects of the NATO adaption measures coming from the 2016 summit, will have a decisive role in defining related resilience aspects for NATO and EU countries, for the Middle-East-North-Africa (MENA) region and the originating countries of most of the refugees.

With respect to the Concepts and Development task of the CIC branch, the other outcome of the Warsaw Summit is the heightened relevance of

cross-cutting topics, such as 'Children in Armed Conflict' or 'Cultural Property Protection'. These subjects and their handling, which cut across two, or more institutional stakeholders, are increasingly becoming more important to NATO, as they are valued on the political decision making level. Thus, it has been decided that those are also to play a role in NATO operations, preparations and planning. As several of these topics pertain to the civil-military interface, NATO HQ expects its J 9 function to translate them into practice during missions and operations. The CCOE is thus tasked has to reflect on the CIMIC aspect relevant within these cross-cutting topics.

According to Lieutenant-Colonel U-A-Sai: *"We developed fact sheets for the cross-cutting topics of CIMIC. So when the commander comes to you as J 9, you that there is an overall fact sheet [on the topic] and this is a place where you can find the relevant documents, contacts, and basic dos and don'ts [on this issue]. This allows you to progress with your activities."*[29]

In addition, it also ensures that NATO forces remain conscious of their own capabilities and their limitations. In earlier stages of CIMIC development, these processes were less structured, resulting in sudden demands without a proper framework to implemement ptroperly.

From his mission to Afghanistan, Adjutant Breur remembered: *"It had been decided on the highest political level of NATO that our soldiers should carry out Gender activities. This meant that Gender advisors suddenly had to be included in all our force headquarters. As NATO only deploys a military capacity, we never could have acted as a lead organization in carrying out*

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29. Ibid., p. 3.

"If we want CIMIC to be included in the training scenario that eventually gets determined, then we have to be included in the script writing process from the outset. This means that we need to raise awareness among the script writers that, when we're for instance training to carry out a military offensive or anticipate a (terrorist) attack, we also need to include the local population because there's always a chance they'll get caught in the middle. With our currently limited capacity, it is however nearly impossible to ensure a bit of continuity within our tasks. It's like trying to steer a wheelbarrow filled with frogs, which somehow all need to arrive at the same destination, but keep jumping to different directions."

Lieutenant-Commander Ilse Verdries
Royal Netherlands Navy

Gender governance. At most, NATO is capable of contributing to Gender activities, but it can hardly be in charge of leading the program."[30]

Cross-cutting topics are also a matter of poper cultural awareness, which then have to be translated into training, education, and pre-deployment preparation. Adjutant Breur: *"By Gender, it was meant that we had to empower and involve women in Afghanistan. We wanted to start by organizing Shuras for women, which really startled the men, because the privilege to sit in a Shura and make decisions was preserved for them.*

When we began to call those meetings "Women Gatherings" instead, this was an enormous culture shock for those women, who were removed from their daily routine and were asked to speak out for themselves. In addition, we had to pressure the local governor to facilitate those Women Gatherings. He eventually gave in, because he wanted to preserve a good relationship with the NATO forces. However, the local governor was met with so much resistance from his own supporters that he was killed."[31]

For the CIC branch, it is essential to describe and to define the importance of such conceptual developments for NATO's future commitments. They are linked to the CCOE's booklet on the study of 'CIMIC in Support of Collective Defense' and to the upcoming publication on the role of 'CIMIC in Response to Hybrid Threats'.[32] This work os moreover complemented by the release of the 'CIMIC Field Handbook', which is intended to creating awareness for these topics among organizations and individuals, who have

30. Author's interview with Adjutant Jac Breur, Apeldoorn, the Netherlands (May 23, 2017) p. 5.
31. Ibid., pp. 5-6.
32. Author's interview with Lieutenant-Colonel Paul U-A-Sai, The Hague, the Netherlands (July 4, 2017) p. 2.

a vested interest in the civilian-military interface. In particular, the Handbook provides tactical reference and operational command level insight for all personnel involved in CIMIC, or Civil-Military Interaction across the full mission spectrum.[33]

Finally, the CIC branch is tasked with ensurting Interoperability, which deals with the standardization of terminology and its unified interpretation across NATO. It is important that all actors involved in NATO missions, or operations, do have a common understanding of relevant terms, phrases, and definitions.

As the Department Head for CIMIC in NATO, the CCOE is the custodian for NATO doctrine, or Allied Joint Publication (AJP) on Civil-Military Cooperation. The CIC branch meets this responsibility by regularly updating this document in accordance with the latest developments in the practice of CIMIC.

Lieutenant-Colonel U-A-Sai described this process: *"You start by sending a big questionnaire to [the J 9 experts of] all the nations. Out of that process, there is a data fusion meeting, attended by the people, who provided the input. Next, a doctrinal task is created, which was given to me as the custodian of the doctrine. I had 12-15 participants in my writing team for the AJP, who all came from different countries. Out of the working draft, you create a study draft, which goes for review to all the nations. They comment on it and make proposals, also based on the Lessons Identified. In this way, everyone can see what has happened, with all the comments in a transparent manner."*[34]

Similarly, this work includes the synchronization with the doctrines of the UN and EU, as well as cross-checking with the doctrines of other military capabilities.

Lieutenant-Colonel U-A-Sai: *"CIMIC is in fact related to a lot of other subjects, actors and functionalities. The work of a logistical officer, a paramedic, or an engineer, will have an impact on the civilian environment in the field. This means that when we talk about CIMIC's relation to other military functionalities, each of them with their own doctrines and publications, we have to keep in mind that CIMIC is also briefly described in their doctrines and books.*

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33. 'Foreword', in: CIMIC Field Handbook (4th Edition), © Civil-Military Cooperation Centre of Excellence (CCOE) 2016.
34. Ibid. pp. 3, 5.

This is also why the CIC branch tries to screen, if CIMIC is properly reflected in other documents as well."[35]

In this way, the output of the Lessons Learned/Analysis and CIC branches together provide input for the CCOE's training and education program.

TRAINING AND EDUCATION

During the past decade since its foundation, the CCOE's Training & Education (T&E) branch has been responsible for training 2,400 civilian and military experts in resident and satellite courses. Based on experiences and lessons learned, the CCOE's training program covers the entire spectrum of CIMIC activities and engagement levels. The training offer varies from basic and general awareness courses to higher and more advanced field trainings, liaison level courses up to the higher command levels. Since 2016, there is also a fully accredited Master of Civil-Military Interaction program, offered in conjunction with the Helmut-Schmidt- University in Hamburg, incorporating several of the CCOE courses. This wide spectrum is essential to equip personnel on related posts, and on all operational and strategic levels across NATO, to conduct CIMIC in accordance with the mandate of any mission, or staff assignment.

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35. Ibid. p. 4.

Master of Arts
Civil-Military Interaction

Given the regular staff rotations, Allied command structures continuously will always require qualified personnel to prepare and conduct CIMIC tasks in conjunction with a unit's operational plan. As the military's interface towards all civilian stakeholders, all CCOE courses are also open to civilian students. Whether it is UN agencies like the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), development organizations like Cordaid, private aid delivery organizations such as AMREF Flying Doctors, or local civilian authorities active in the context of any military operations, all need to be likewise able to engage constructively with trained military experts on the appropriate level. Usually these diverse civilian stakeholders vastly outnumber NATO military personnel in the field. Allied CIMIC personnel is therefore required to provide a wide range of skills and senior level experience, to reach common ground and identify mutual interests. To this end, the CCOE's training program develops specialized capacities, which are geared to respond highly flexibly to all challenges within complex environments.

All too often, military commanders still mistakenly assume that any just soldier can take on CIMIC tasks with ease.[36] This makes for a bold understanding in an increasingly complex information and skill set environment. Instead, continued investment in a trained and experienced CIMIC capability remains a key future prerogative given the ever developing new challenges. New and unusual training demands also arise beyond the NATO alliance.

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36. Ubaldi, 'Why Civil Military Operations will be a Combat Multiplier in Counterinsurgency Operations', p. 3.

CCOE supported the CIMIC Directorate of the Lebanese Armed Forces (LAF) by teaching a CIMIC course and conducting a Training Requirement Analysis onsite.

For example, on the request of the hosting nations, and with approval from higher command, Mobile Training Teams (MTT) from the CCOE have conducted onsite Train-the-Trainers courses for the Ukrainian Armed Forces to introduce CIMIC methods and policies. Similar courses are underway with the senior leadership of the Lebanese Armed Forces, in a country where the civilian population is besieged by various armed factions and various patterns of instability. These experiences also contribute to the process of collecting, documenting and disseminating both lessons identified and learned. This ensures that the CCOE training and education program remains in close touch with fresh insights from the field.[37]

Lieutenant-Commander Verdries, though, also observed: *"While every single one of us wants our Lessons Identified and Learned to be registered, disseminated, and integrated into our training exercises and activities, it is virtually impossible to pursue this in practice."*[38] She went on: *"I keep noticing there's simply not enough time between the end of a deployment, or the subsequent exercise, for the essential task of registering and preserving mission experience. Our capacity is far too limited: the CIMIC Platoon consists of 32 people, divided into four different teams. These four teams in turn serve four different brigades, which all have their preparatory trajectories for training exercises. In turn, 7 out of 30 people are either away on missions, or returning from them. Looking at our offices within the barracks, there are currently only 4 people available from a 30-sized Unit. This makes it nearly impossible to ensure a bit of continuity within our tasks, or to keep*

37. Civil-Military Cooperation Centre of Excellence (CCOE) Training and Education Branch, accessed: March 30, 2017, available from: http://www.cimic-coe.org/products/training-education/.
38. Author's interview with Lieutenant-Commander Ilse Verdries, Apeldoorn, the Netherlands (May 30, 2017) p. 3.

each other informed about relevant matters. It is like trying to steer a wheel-barrow filled with frogs, which somehow all need to arrive at the same desti-nation, but meanwhile keep jumping into different directions all the time."[39]

For this reason, it remains essential for NATO member-states to keep investing in their capacity to train and educate CIMIC personnel. Not only will this enhance their ability to conduct stability operations, but it will also strengthen NATO's territorial defense, deterrence and resilience capabilities through a better integration of NATO forces within the respective populations and nation societies.[40]

Each of the CCOE's three specialist branches provides core contributions to the CIMIC response of tomorrow. Despite the institutional and operational challenges outlined so far, CIMIC continues to function as NATO's key capability for the civilian-military interface. Meanwhile, the Alliance will have to confront an increasingly threatening, yet unpredictable global security environment, characterized by events such as the Russian annexation of Crimea and the fueled conflicts in Eastern Ukraine. For this reason, the CCOE is also stressing the need for a 'CIMIC 360°' approach to understand potential crisis incentives and regional particularities from any conceivable direction. This also includes the preparation of operational frameworks based on permanent consultation.

While the story of Captain Jean-Michel Paquet at the beginning of this book illustrates the positive outcome of CIMIC tasks for the Canadian ISAF forces in the Afghan village of Haji Gulan, the original focus on stability operations has become insufficient for the demands on CIMIC in the early 21st century. This focus is likely to shift from traditional liaison efforts and civil assessments towards institutional coordination and de-confliction, as NATO's new phase of military presence and operations will have direct effects on the civil society of the particular Allied host nations.[41] To avoid the loss of socio-cultural awareness, deemed critical for strengthening the resilience of NATO member-states' societies, the core lessons learned from the initial stability operations must thus be capitalized on and transferred to today's security environment.[42]

39. Ibid., p. 3.
40. Corbe and Cusumano, 'Conclusion', in: Marian Corbe & Eugenio Cusumano (ed.), A Civil-Military Response to Hybrid Threats. pp. 1-7, there: p. 5. {Book in print; publication scheduled for August 2017}
41. Concept Development: CIMIC 360 Degrees – A CCOE Fact Sheet (2017) pp. 1-2. available from: http://www.cimic-coe.org/products/conceptual-design/down-loads/ccoe-publications/ccoe-factsheets/
42. Corbe and Cusumano, 'Conclusion', in: Marian Corbe & Eugenio Cusumano (ed.), A Civil-Military Response to Hybrid Threats. pp. 1-7, there: p. 1. {Book in print; publication scheduled for August 2017}

Observations and Reflections

In the course of the 1990s, NATO CIMIC developed transformed from an initial logistical and technical support-function for purely military activities. It reshaped into a dedicated capability for understanding and engaging with civilian actors during non-Article 5 Crisis Response Operations in increasingly culturally challenging environments. The growing need to support military force in missions marked a clear shift from facilitating projects to conducting comprehensive civil assessments by specialized CIMIC personnel. The recognized need for cultural understanding based approach of the mission area has led to a number of successful projects local and regional, as illustrated in Afghanistan. Hence, this cultural based approach has been incorporated in CIMIC training, education, and exercises. Meanwhile, the growing number of missions and requests for NATO military assets to be deployed during international disaster relief operations, has meant that CIMIC liaison personnel is bound to engage more frequently in aligning and de-conflicting military activities with civilian organizations in the respective region.

Developing threats and hybrid conflict scenarios at the geographic and statutory borders of the Alliance, however, have been answered by a rejuvenated and modernized of resurrection of the Collective Defense paradigms from their Cold War state. For NATO CIMIC, it will be one key challenge to adjust the application of its three core-functions to this changed environment in order to fully protect Allied societies from aggression already in the early stages of conflict. A somewhat different challenge presents itself at the South Eastern and Southern flank of the Alliance, where migration and its

root causes present a particular issue for the respective member states.

The CCOE's 10-year anniversary thus merits particular reflection on how the CIMIC Centre of Excellence, as the policy and think tank of CIMIC in NATO, shall continue to support the Alliance and individual member nations, during the second decade of its existence. The following observations and reflections might provide a guideline for this midterm period, elaborating how the established CIMIC principles – enhanced by these recommendations – could be applied to NATO's internal and out-of-area operations, in addition to an emerging capability area within Collective Defense.

AWARENESS FOR RELEVANCE OF NATO CIMIC

Despite the significant progress already made, limited awareness of NATO CIMIC's relevance remains widespread on the very senior command levels, as well as in the lower tactical ranks. As current and likely future conflicts are to take place within populated regions, there is thus a dire need for comprehensive involvement of CIMIC considerations in all military planning processes. This recommendation applies equally to all categories of NATO's operations, on the tactical, operational, and strategic levels. At this time, the prevalent lack of recognition of CIMIC in the armed forces can still be experienced in missions, where the local (NATO) commander does not request the advice of his assigned CIMIC personnel. Too often, it happens that the commander is simply unaware of the expertise available to him, or her. At other times, commanders prefer to engage only with the (civilian) Senior Political Advisor, who usually outranks the assigned CIMIC personnel. This attitude is then often mirrored by civilian stakeholders in the local government, or by locally active IOs and NGOs that refuse to engage with seemingly lower-ranking CIMIC experts.

Crucially, this perception has resulted in numerous missed opportunities and at times outright critical situations for the command in the field. In order to complement NATO's dedicated CIMIC capability and render Allied forces more effective during missions and operations, a growing number of soldiers and military officers need to 'stop clenching their fists around weapons and shake civil hands instead'. Only a generic and basic understanding of how do engage with civilian actors will reduce tangible friction, or outright conflicting

approaches to a minimum. For this reason, a basic understanding of CIMIC and the Comprehensive Approach needs to enter the ongoing and missions specific training curriculum of all personal on all levels, just as fitness, arms practice, and para-medical know-how. To support this process, also the CCOE will enhance and upgrade its training curriculum already in a short-term perspective. This is done with the clear intention to steadily close the still existing gap between the kinetic and non-kinetic aspects of military activities. To premeditate the preparation for and the response to future hybrid scenarios, the training and education of CIMIC personnel also needs to turn more ambitious and up-to-date in this respect.

In particular, the described characteristics of hybrid threats and warfare furthered an understanding about the interdependency of Special Operations Forces and CIMIC disciplines, as both are increasingly becoming crucial for successful responses to these threats. For this reason, the Directors of the CCOE and the NATO Special Operations Forces School decided that an intensified cooperation between their organizations will provide numerous mutual opportunities for enabling joint training and creating increased awareness for these relations. Subsequently, both institutions are planning to exchange instructors and training materials to prepare for hybrid warfare, sharing capabilities, and clustering those disciplines related to national resilience.

In addition, the CCOE is in the process to create a more advanced and attractive training landscape by developing 'Modeling & Simulation' based exercises. Based on this, its first strategic war game will be ready by the end of 2017, followed by an operational tool in 2018, as well as a tactical web-based simulator by 2019. This new technology will grant course participants the opportunity to interact with the civilian domain in a simulated mission area, in which they can experience the 'dos' and 'don'ts' of civil-military interaction during kinetic operations.

IMPROVE PRE-THEATRE AND DEPLOYMENT PLANNING WITH IOs AND NGOs

Military and civilian organizations are still in the process to realize that aid deliveries and technical support might fuel the conflict dynamics. As during the era of Stability Operations, both sides must continue to ***do no harm**, or at least minimize the harm that is still being done. Coordination and de-confliction provide a method of preventing such harm from occurring, provided that civil-military liaison officers are enable to fulfil this indispensable role. More than twenty years of mission experience proved, nevertheless, that true effectiveness requires an even more direct alignment with IOs and NGOs on all political, strategic, and operational levels. To enable effective alignment and exchange when it matters, both military and civilian actors need to acquaint each other institutionally, before actually dealing with each other in the field. Therefore, respective CIMIC staff should be able to engage with senior personnel from IOs and NGOs and other civic organizations on the strategic level on a regular basis, but at least annually, to discuss and share their respective activities during stability, disaster relief, and future collective defense operations.

For out-of-area deployments, this focus should particularly be on better (pre-) coordination with UN-OCHA and then with other related UN relief entities. Within the borders of the Alliance, there is every indication that refugees

and migration, together with the management thereof, will continue to be an ongoing issue for most NATO and all EU countries. While the EU must remain the first responder to this challenge, the CCOE as the human-centric think-tank of NATO is destined to address and develop military competencies for selected member states in this field. As there are several national governments, which consider their national forces as a resource enhancement for handling migration and refugee flows, the CCOE is challenged to provide added value, advice, and best practice in this area as well. Better pre-coordination, de-confliction, and alignment will ensure that CIMIC and humanitarian principles are properly applied, if national governments call upon their military to enhance their public administration and civil order authority. Such an approach would also have to incorporate in-depth joint pre-deployment training (and education) between the national armed forces of the respective NATO countries, together with civilian organizations, and operatives.

CIMIC TO ENHANCE PRESENCE IN OPERATIONS AND CORPORATE RELATIONS

To prevent NATO deployments from being perceived as a 'black box' by civilians, CIMIC also needs to be more physically present in the overall area-of-operations on a regular basis. By increasing physical presence in the field, rather than being often limited to camp duty, CIMIC will significantly enhance its ability to interact with both military and civilian stakeholders in civil-military-interaction. There will also be a likely interest in this by civilian partners, if CIMIC will be empowered to contribute more incremental benefits to such relationships, than before. This, however, also requires a significant cultural shift within military organizations, as those will have to move from a 'need-to-know' approach to a 'dare-to-share' mentality of relevant and available information with external partners.

Corporate business, for example, has often developed technical and intellectual solutions long before the military, or governments, have even anticipated the developments that triggered them. Today, international corporations often possess better and more detailed knowledge about regional scenarios and stakeholders than international military forces, which

usually only enter a region after a conflict has already developed there. In this context, the CCOE will also seek to engage pro-actively with the national private sector and the much larger corporate world of the international economy.

ESTABLISH AND MAINTAIN AN EFFECTIVE CIMIC DATABASE

There has always been a vital need to provide for the consistency and informational continuity of CIMIC in within the area and scope of an operation. In the armed forces, such consistency and continuity is constantly impaired by regular staff rotation, which in missions can occur up to three times per year. At the same time, rotating staff joining a new theater of operations need to be able to draw on the consistent and reliable dissemination of CIMIC relevant information. To this end, NATO is challenged to establish and maintain an effective CIMIC database, which is to be adjusted on the national level for each member nation.

The Dutch have already developed such a concept, with their Reserve Officers being educated and trained as Functional Specialists within their 1 CMI Battalion. Yet many other nations continue to lag behind in adjusting their respective capabilities to the new realities of the Alliance. For NATO's out-of-area missions and operations, such a comprehensive database would have to be tied in with the respective resources of an organization such as UN-OCHA, as such an entity is in a better positon to contribute essential ground data than the much smaller CIMIC capacities. Such an approach will optimized its shared use, so that it can be the most effective for the cooperation and coordination between NATO forces and the variety of UN and affiliated agencies. Moreover, development and mutual use of such a data base will again require from both side a much needed 'dare-to-share' mentality.

Data collection, data processing, and information-sharing are increasingly important for CIMIC activities. This was one of the crucial finding of the joint 2017 COE Conference in Riga that "information sharing" is a key element in achieving a "unity of effort." The effectiveness of the widely accepted dictum by the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which recommended that approaches to crisis management should be "as civilian as

possible and as military as necessary", rests significantly on the premise that these organizations are able to access and distribute each other's information freely without obstruction to the coordination of their activities. Currently, the opposite is taking place: when CIMIC information is entered into a military database, it becomes classified material which can no longer be shared or distributed freely. One solution is to develop a joint civil-military database with civilian organizations, where civil assessments, insights, conclusions, and minutes can be stored. This material can then be used for conducting a CIMIC analysis, after which only that final document including the eventual recommendations for the commander is being stored in the classified military database.

The CCOE followed this recommendation by exploring options to develop a unified CIMIC and relief related database solution. As both humanitarian and military operators are using mobile applications to support their activities, it has become the aim of this project to identify a suitable mobile application, which can be shared by military and civilian actors to draw on the same basic information for use in respective programs and projects. In addition, this project is in process to align with the establishment of the UN Humanitarian Data Centre in The Hague, the Netherlands. Scheduled for opening in August 2017, this center aims to standardize UN databases and to improve the interoperability civilian actors in humanitarian crisis response efforts.

FUNCTIONAL SPECIALISTS TO ENHANCE NATIONAL RESILIENCE

In the face of the ongoing hybrid threat scenarios, it remains even more essential to maintain and preserve a basic understanding of the requirements and demands of domestic defense on the civilian side. As there is hardly any mandatory draft system left in Central Europe, the number of actors in civil societies possessing some understanding of the potential implications of a military conflict keeps declining. Crucially, it is an urban myth that these highly developed and inter-dependent Western societies will be more resilient in conflict situations, than those in lesser advanced countries. Societies where overall hardship had been a concern for previous generations only,

are less likely to demonstrate considerable resilience compared to those, where regular subsistence struggles have shaped daily life.

Thus, it will become even more important for both national and collective resilience to drastically enhance the number of 'Functional Specialists' across the board, for example: civilian experts with basic military skills, who have a generic understanding of where they, and their specialty, would be required during emergencies to enhance national defense and overall resilience measures. In the end, it will only be possible to effectively counter the myriad of destabilizing activities and measures, which can be deployed through hybrid and cyber aggression, through a large number of available and trained Functional Specialists across all NATO forces and countries.

Wessel Toonen

About the Author

Wessel T. Toonen (1990) was born in the Dutch municipality of Boxmeer, located in the Southeast region of the Netherlands. While in school, he developed an eagerness to understand the dynamics of the world. Soon he also discovered the fulfilment of untangling complex topics on the interface of politics and society. Wessel thrives most in international, multicultural environments, where he can help bring a variety of people together towards a shared cause. By rendering complicated issues understandable in writing, he is keen on contributing to consensus-building for good governance, security, and development. Incapable of quietly sitting around in the face of growing instability across the globe, Wessel is always looking for ways to harness his talents for organizations striving for change and improvement.

During his studies, his interests moved quickly to fragile states in Sub-Saharan Africa. Images of the genocides in Rwanda and Darfur motivated him to specialize in civil conflicts, military missions, state building, and the politics of identity. To this end, he published on several United Nations and African Union-mandated peacekeeping and multidimensional peace operations in Somalia and (South) Sudan. As an Operational Research and Support trainee at the Netherlands Ministry of Defense, Wessel learned to observe, listen, and ask targeted questions. As a Project Management trainee at an non-governmental organization established by the International Cooperation Agency of the Association of Netherlands Municipalities, he expanded his intercultural skills and international network with local governance professionals from all over the world.

Wessel holds a Master of Arts by research in Political Culture and National Identities from Leiden University, next to a Bachelor of Arts in History from Utrecht University. He also took courses in Politics and International Relations at Swansea University and Global Economic and Social History at the N.W. Posthumus Institute. He has been trained for the international political arena by the Foundation Max van der Stoel. In June 2017, he was granted a scholarship reserved for promising young academics to participate in the 72nd Course International Relations of the Clingendael Institute. With his background and skillset, Wessel aims to dedicate his life to supporting the international community to build peaceful and resilient states wherever instability prevents nations from prospering.

The Empowerment of Women and Girls

Contribution by
Her Excellency the President of the Republic of Croatia
Kolinda Grabar-Kitarović

Conflicts and disasters have terrible consequences for families all around the world and unfortunately women and children are increasingly the victims of gender-based violence, rising extremism, discriminatory norms and stereotypes. Basic human rights are violated on a daily basis and international commitments or standards are being ignored.

The empowerment of women and girls is very important to me personally and to my country, all of us together, as humanity must do more to support and encourage women globally to stop the violence and discrimination.

I was 23 years old when the war broke out in Croatia. My youth was defined by that war in so many ways, Today, I can say that I was not a child of war but I was certainly a youth of war. However, I consider myself to be one of the lucky ones because tens of thousands of women and girls in Croatia, in the neighbouring Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo and also in so many other parts of the world went through a horrendous ordeal - sexual violence, mass rape, stripping of dignity, will to life, and any ambition to personal and communal development became weapons of war.

It has taken years for some brave women to speak out and share some of their horrible experiences as victims of war and to find the strength to begin their fight for justice. I have spoken to many women on several occasions, in the Croatian City of Vukovar and in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the town of Srebrenica, where so many women and girls have been violated and so deeply wounded, some as young as twelve years old were subjected to sexual violence as a weapon of war.

Today, I remain in awe of those courageous women for what they have gone though and for what they have become today. They have become advocates for women's rights to end sexual violence and to empower women and girls in conflict and post-conflict situations.

In one of the most heart-wrenching stories that I ever heard, a woman after years of therapy wanted to finally tell her husband that she had been a victim of mass rape. When she started to tell him what had happened very little kept him from killing her and himself. He was overwhelmed with fury and the emotions ignited his natural instinct for self–defence. Thankfully this story had a positive end and this woman is now helping other women and families.

Unfortunately however, today this is the reality in so many countries around the world. I have visited Afghanistan often and it is just one of the countries ridden with conflict. I have worked with women and girls in Afghanistan for many years encouraging their full involvement in society. We have all read many stories and I have heard many testimonies of the horrific crimes committed against women, both physical and psychological. But when you see a woman clad in a blue burka, sitting by the side of the road, and the cars passing by splashing mud all over her, you cannot but feel ashamed for all of us, for the whole of humanity, you cannot but ask yourself: why have we left so many women and girls behind?

More than 15 years ago we adopted Security Council Resolution 1325, but what have we really done to implement it? The problem is not that we lack a blueprint for action, the problem is our inability to use appropriately and decisively all the instruments at our disposal.

Our world demands change and there is hard work ahead of us. Together we must work to eliminate violence against women and girls, change stereotypes and continue to fight against all forms of prejudice.

Kolinda Grabar-Kitarović

I would like to highlight some of the steps that we should take together.

First, we need a change in mindsets. We need to build a new political culture conducive to equal participation of women which aims to change widespread gender stereotypes. Sexual violence is not a fact of war and stereotypes are not part of one's culture or religion. It is high time we stopped using such excuses for our inaction. We need to continue to promote the role of women's groups but also encourage greater involvement of men in this conversation.

Next, we need to provide for the basic conditions necessary for human development – change in conflict-ridden areas but elsewhere as well. We need to ensure that women are not treated just as victims but as agents of change. Focusing on what really works, listening to women in the field, taking into account different backgrounds and different experiences and ultimately helping women voice their problems and improve their status. This will contribute to achieving long-lasting peace and stability.

Thirdly, we must put an emphasis on education. Education is crucial in our effort to prevent future violence, terrorism, totalitarianism, corruption, conflicts and other major threats that the global community is facing today. Education is the strongest weapon against any radical ideology and against enslavement. Therefore it must be our priority in all conflict prevention actions and post-conflict programs.

The fourth step is to encourage the economic empowerment of women. I have seen first-hand so many cases where the economic empowerment of women has positively changed many areas of society both at the local and national levels. Women who have become economically independent have indirectly contributed to combating terrorism by supporting their families and eliminating the need for husbands and sons to join insurgency groups.

Another step would be to encourage political and communal participation. As civil society actors, women play a vital role in engaging their communities both in the prevention of and response to conflict. And their role in post-conflict reconciliation and rebuilding is irreplaceable. With the involvement of women in the peace process, it is more likely to succeed.

Finally, we must foster ambition. We need to tell women and girls all around the world that they can do it. Together we must support, encourage, empower and promote women and girls in their efforts.

Changing things will require more than our earnest repetitions of the „leave no one behind" statement. All governments need to back commitments with public spending and implement policies which will lower the barriers faced by the most disadvantaged. We need everyone on-board to make things change. Reforms are necessary at the local, national and global levels and our response has to be a holistic one – combining a comprehensive political, security, humanitarian and development response.

I can confirm that Croatia will continue to focus its development policy on conflict and post-conflict societies, assisting in the protection of human rights of vulnerable groups, especially women and girls. We have been quite active despite our limited resources: we have built a school for girls in Mazar-e-Sharif, educated midwives to decrease the maternal mortality rate, promoted and financed many projects for the economic empowerment of women supporting self-sustainability and we have also promoted the social and political inclusion of women.

Croatia will continue to work on the implementation of gender equality policies and further support the empowerment of women, both at home and abroad. The empowerment of women is a crucial part of our foreign policy priorities and we will continue to achieve them through bilateral relations and our activities within the UN and other international organizations. However, I must be frank and say that it is crucial that globally we do more than just check the boxes, prepare our annual reports or brief the media on what we have concluded. We need not only to change our approach but we also need to act upon it.

Every step counts. Personally, I have been asked often by women in Afghanistan why do we want to help. I want every girl to have an opportunity to succeed. I want my daughter and all our daughters to achieve so much more than I ever have. Let's do this together, let's give our daughters a chance to make a better world.

Kolinda Grabar-Kitarović

List of Contributors

EDITING CONTRIBUTORS

Hannah Keely comes from Ashburn, Virginia and is a fourth year cadet at the United States Military Academy at West Point, class of 2018. Hannah is a Human Geography major, and a fourth year member of the Rabble Rouser Cheerleading team that competes across the United States. After graduation, she hopes to serve in the Adjutant General Corps as a 2nd Lieutenant. The summer of 2017, she had the pleasure of working the book at the Civil-Military Cooperation Centre of Excellence (CCOE) in The Hague, The Netherlands.

Kirsten Calmus is a member of the Class of 2018 at the United States Military Academy, West Point. She was born in Richland, Washington, where she lived until her move to The Academy in 2014. Prior to attending West Point, she spent one year studying at the United States Military Academy Preparatory School and she is now working to earn her degree in environmental engineering. In the summer of 2017, she spent three weeks on an internship project at the Civil-Military Cooperation Centre of Excellence in The Hague, The Netherlands.
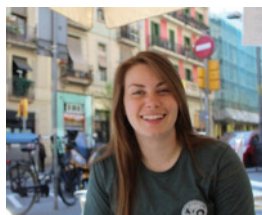
Francis Williams III grew up in Boucherville, Québec and is a fourth-year cadet at the United States Military Academy, majoring in Environmental Science. Prior to his time in West Point, NY, he served in the Virginia Army National Guard as a Bridge Crewmember, while attending the College of William & Mary for two and a half years, majoring in Geology with a focus in Vertebrate Paleontology. After his time at the Academy, Williams hopes to serve as a Combat Engineer officer, and as a Foreign Area Officer later on in his career.
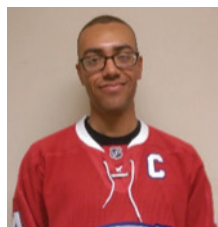
Jennifer Ho, MA History, historian-editor
Jennifer received her B.A. and M.A. from the University of Manchester where she specialized in humanitarian history. Her interests lie in technology, big data, and sustainability. Presently, she works on revolutionizing inner city transport in Amsterdam.

Supervising Editor and Project Director: Lieutenant-Colonel Tilman Engel

Interviews

- John Varmark Jakobsen
  Lieutenant Colonel (DNK), CCOE, Branch Chief Lessons Learnd & Analysis

- Paul U-A-Sai
  Lieutenant Colonel (NLD), CCOE, Staff Officer CIC Branch

- Martin Kurt Kuechen
  Lieutenant Colonel (DEU), Operations Devision, Civil-Military cooperation cpmpe-
  tence centre of the German armed forces Nienburg

- Ralph Waschki
  Lieutenant Colonel (DEU), CCOE, Staff Officer CIC Branch

- Ilse Verdries
  Lieutenant-Commander (NLD), SENIOR CIMIC Staff Officer of the 1. CMI Command/
  CIMIC Platoon of the Royal Dutch armed forces

- Rob Schuurman
  Lieutenant Colonel (retired)

- Rob Ebbers
  Captain (NLD), Senior CIMIC Staff Officer 1. CMI Command/CIMIC Platoon of the
  Royal Dutch armed forces

- Ralf Baur
  Captain (DEU), Liaison and Exchange Officer 1. CMI Command/CIMIC Platoon of the
  Royal Dutch armed forces

- Frank Höpner
  Captain (DEU), Operations Division, Civil Military Cooperation competence center of
  the German armed forces Nienburg

- Jac Breur
  Adjutant (NLD), Senior CIMIC OO CIMIC Platoon of the Royal Dutch armed forces

- Kilian Kleinschmidt
  former UN official/Founder, Chairman IPA | switchboard Global Networking and
  Humanitarian Expertise

- Tarin Kot
  Senior provincial representative of a line ministry, Uruzgan Province, AFG

- Kyle King
  Civil Emergency Advisor to NATO operations and recipient of the NATO Meritorious
  Service Medal