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*Phase IV*  
*Stabilization, Reformation, and Transition*

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## Agenda

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- What do we have to do in Phase IV?
- What conditions do we need to establish now to support Phase IV (a "Grand Strategic" framework)?
- Who is planning what?
- Where are the units going to be?
- How do create a plan that synchronizes military, civilian and Iraqi efforts toward a common goal?
- How do we leverage Phase IV activities to support the GWOT and our regional allies (achieve our strategic objectives)?

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*What we have to do....*

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## *US Strategic Objectives*

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- Establish a secure environment.
- Rapidly improve of civil order and material conditions.
- Demonstrate US commitment to Iraq and the region.
- Foster a national identity that unites all Iraqis while preserving their tribal, ethnic and religious heritage.
- Establish a broad-based, representative government that:
  - Adheres to the rule of law.
  - Respects basic rights of all Iraqis.
  - Does not threaten its neighbors and does not support terrorism.
  - Does not pursue WMD capability.
  - Maintains territorial integrity.

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## *US Military Objectives*

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- External threats from neighboring countries deterred and, if deterrence fails, swiftly defeated.
- Resistance from internal groups hostile to US and coalition forces prevented or defeated.
- Essential Iraqi infrastructure and social services rapidly restored.
- Reformed Iraqi military and security institutions capable of performing legitimate defense and public security missions.
- Government functions and services necessary to stabilize Iraq and initiate reconstruction of the country are established. On order, transfer these functions and services to a transitional US or international administration.
- Public order and safety maintained.
- As required, US interagency or international organization efforts to reorganize and train Iraqi law enforcement organizations supported.
- All WMD identified, secured, documented and destroyed or dismantled as appropriate.
- Destruction of terrorist networks completed and all terrorists and war criminals in custody.

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## *Managing the Reconstruction Effort*

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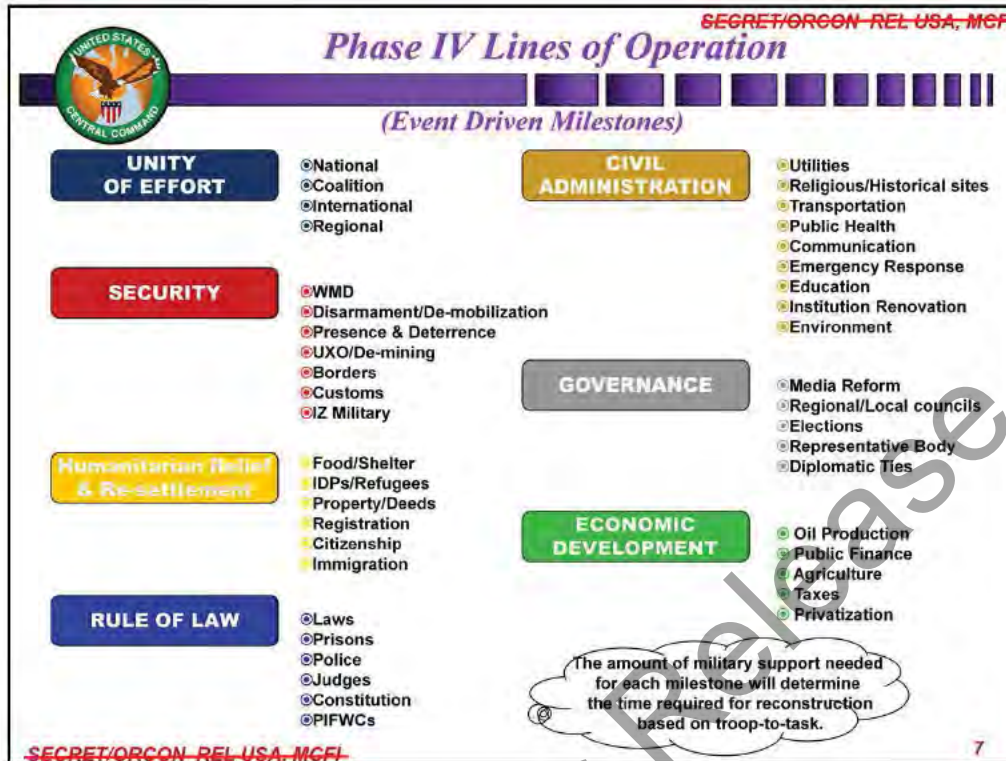
- Requirements for the reconstruction effort fall into seven general areas that comprise the lines of operation for Phase IV.
- Within each line of operation are the major tasks conducted primarily by civilian agencies with support from the CFC.
- These tasks are the milestones for gauging progress. Based on experience from past stability operations, working strictly off a set timeline is problematic and drives the requirement to measure success by progress within each milestone at the local, regional and national level.
- The milestones are prioritized within each line of operation – some conditions must be set by certain milestones before work on following milestones can be initiated. When the efforts of civilian agencies are not synchronized, resources for Phase IV will arrive but cannot be used because those conditions have not been established.

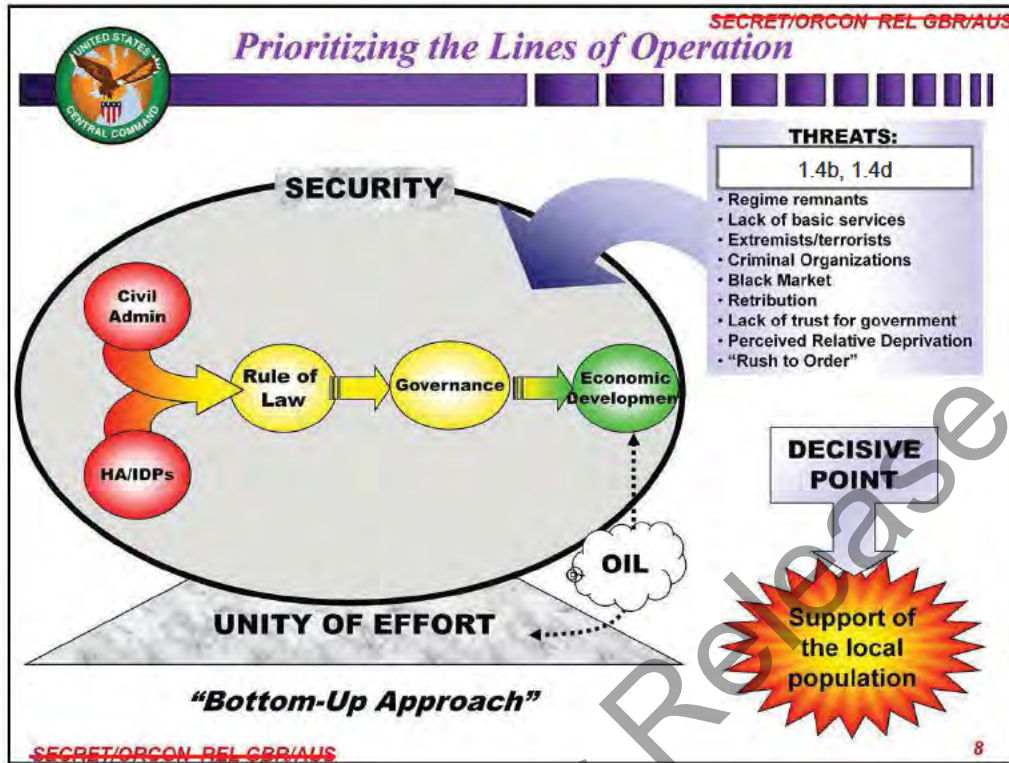
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## *Moving from Stability to Reform*

### Stabilize

- Initial humanitarian assistance
  - USAID contracts to assist in opening Port of Um Qasr
  - NGO / IO food distribution
- Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) resettlement
- Initial reconstruction
  - Micro loans to local entrepreneurs
  - Re-open APODS / SPODS
  - Improve road network
  - Re-open schools
  - Create civil work corps with capitulated Iraqi RA units
- Iraqi Consultative Council

### Reform

- Internal security
  - Police
    - Local
    - Regional
    - National
  - Borders
    - Border patrol
    - Customs service
    - INS
- External Security
  - Iraqi Self – Defense Force
- Representative self-governance
  - Institutional reforms
  - Judicial authority

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## *Iraqi Consultative Council*



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- A council of seven Iraqis who advise Commanders (CENTCOM, CFLCC, and CJTF-Iraq) on stability, reform, and transition issues
  - Possess ideals compatible with Coalition objectives
- The council is publicly announced to the Iraqi people in its national level capacity just prior to regime collapse
- 3 x members selected from Iraqis in exile
  - Credible representatives of the Shias, Sunnis, and Kurds
  - Identified and brought on board now
- 4 x members selected from Iraqis who have lived under Saddam's rule
  - Selected from Shias, Sunnis, Turkomen, and Kurds who are identified as credible and have name recognition within the Arab region
  - Professionals, clerics, professors
- The 7-member council will select among themselves a principal spokesperson to serve on a rotational basis

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*Establishing a framework  
for governance...*

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## *Some lessons from history...*

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- 1991 – Gulf War:
  - A cease-fire was declared 100 hours into the ground war.
  - Within 48-hours, CENTCOM planners drafted a cease fire agreement, sent it to DC for approval by POTUS and it was signed with the Iraqis.
  - **Two lessons:** 1) a document will eventually be signed ending formal hostilities, and 2) all parties are stuck with what eventually is signed.
- 1871 – Franco-Prussian War:
  - One of the first modern examples of “catastrophic success”
  - When the King of France was killed, the government collapsed and Bismarck had no one with whom to sign a peace treaty and gain the political objective of the war.
  - France remained in turmoil until Napoleon took over.
  - **Lesson:** CENTCOM will be in a similar situation as the mission statement directs us to destroy the regime with whom a peace treaty would be signed.

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## *Successful method when destroying a Regime*

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*(Political Framework for German Reconstruction)*

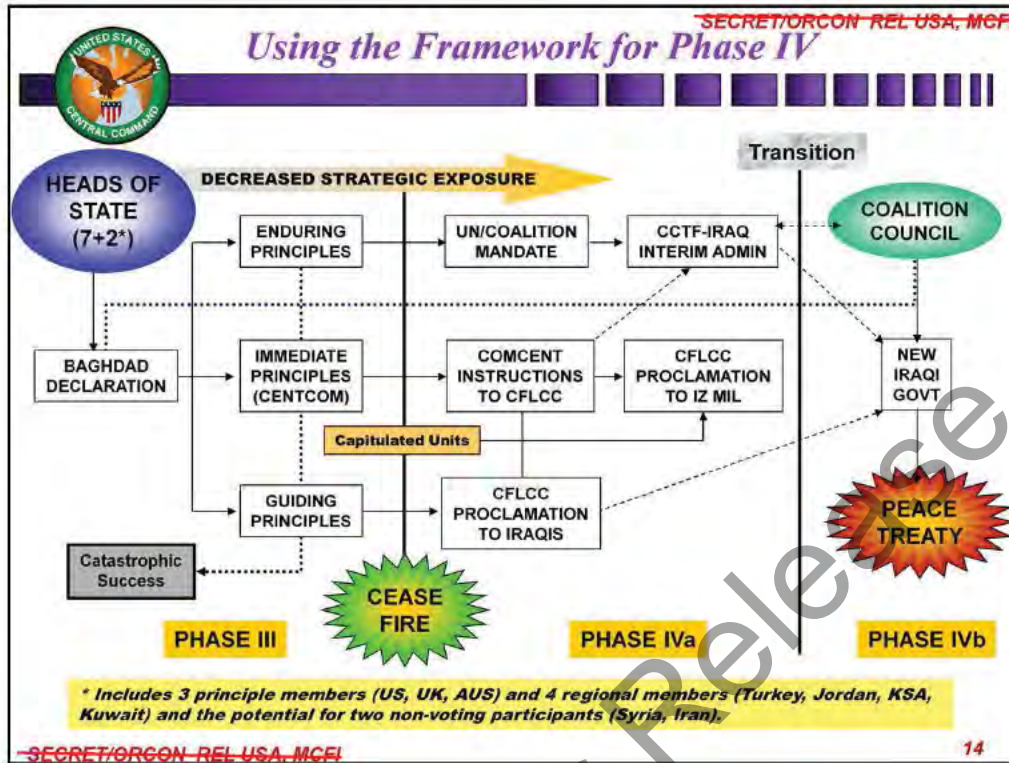
- Potsdam Declaration:
  - Established an agreement of the coalition for the governance of Germany (there was no United Nations to draft a mandate), signed by each Head of State.
  - Spelled out principles for governance.
  - Used by Eisenhower as a basis for reconstruction.
- Eisenhower's Instructions to his Commanders:
  - Based upon the declaration, Eisenhower issued instructions to the US, UK, USSR and French commanders for their zones.
  - Provided the legal framework for military governance.
- Council of Foreign Ministers:
  - A body consisting of the foreign ministers (Department of State) established by the declaration responsible for deciding policy issues concerning Germany.
  - Provided direction for the zone commanders.
  - After six years, signed the peace treaty with the new German government.

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## Baghdad Declaration

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- Provides a *coalition framework* of governance for the international community, CFC forces and Iraqi people.
- The declaration is submitted to the UN during Phase I as the pretext for war (lacking a UNSCR) and defines post-Saddam Iraq.
- Consists of three sets of principles:
  - **Enduring Principles** - Those principles that dictate an acceptable governance of Iraq for the region, coalition nations and the international community.
  - **Immediate Principles** - Those principles provided to the CFC that dictate the framework for military governance until an Interim Administration is capable of leading reconstruction.
  - **Guiding Principles** - Those principles that define the expected norms of behavior for the Iraqis.

**The Declaration is also the basis for any "Catastrophic Success" scenario as it defines Coalition policy for an acceptable Iraqi Government...**

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## *Enduring Principles*

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- Establishes the legal and moral justification for action and post-hostility governance of Iraq.
- Provides the minimum requirements for any UN resolution:
  - POTUS leverage over any subsequent UN mandate
  - “Coalition of the Willing” vs. UN Security Council
- Establishes the basis for Interim Administration and provides guidelines for the Coalition Council; the body of Foreign Ministers who will oversee the Interim Administration, provide policy decisions and sign the eventual peace treaty with the new Iraqi Government.

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## *Immediate Principles*

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- The principles derived primarily from the specified military objectives for Phase IV.
- Provides guidance on implementing the different lines of operation.
- Constitutes the initial legal framework for the CFC from the Heads of State. Will be modified by the Coalition Council as reconstruction issues requiring policy decisions force changes to military, joint or civil administration.

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## Guiding Principles

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- Provides requirements and expectations of Iraqi citizens, based on coalition requirements for human rights.
- Focuses on conditions required for the different ethnic, religious and tribal groups to co-exist, not on creating new norms for Iraqi society.
- Incorporates the JCS terms for a negotiated settlement and establishes the legal framework for the CFLCC "Proclamation to Iraqi Citizens."

***May be used to resolve disputes concerning the conduct of CFC forces and Iraqi nationals as well as between different Iraqi groups.***

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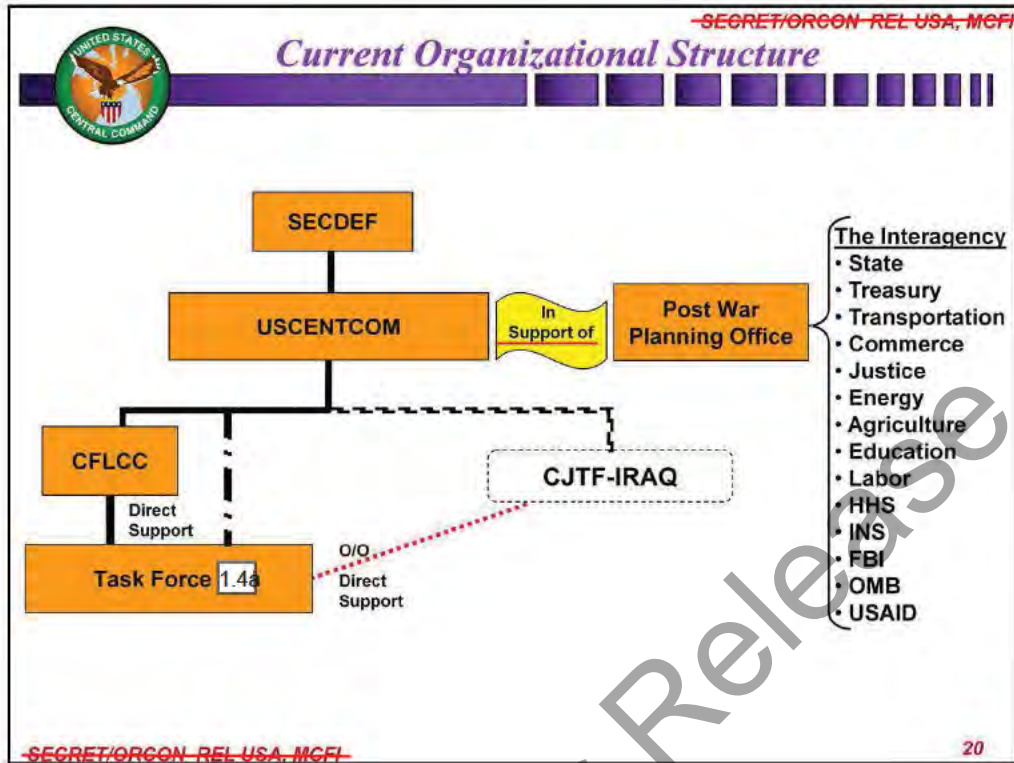


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*Who is planning what...*

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## Responsibilities

### USCENTCOM


- Develop the Iraqi post-hostilities plan and an integrated future theater engagement plan
- Provide guidance, direction, and synchronization of all USG post-hostility planning efforts in the region
- Designate key planning leads
  - Strategic level Interagency planning element
  - Operational level civil-military planning element

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## Responsibilities

*Post War Planning Office (PWPO)*

- Serve as the strategic level interagency planning element
- Synchronize Phase IV coalition and interagency planning
  - Coordinate the UN / international post-hostilities mandate
  - Solicit coalition / international participation
  - Determine requirements, resources, and timelines for coalition / interagency efforts to establish required civil institutions
  - Identify how to transition from military administration to civil administration
  - Shape US / coalition endstate

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## Responsibilities

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### Combined Forces Land Component Commander (CFLCC)


- Serve as the operational level civil military planning element
- Integrate Phase IV Iraqi post-hostilities strategic and operational planning efforts
- Develop plans to:
  - Establish post war security
  - Account for WMD and initiate disablement and elimination
  - Facilitate emergency humanitarian assistance
  - Defeat threats to territorial integrity or internal stability
  - Dismantle terrorist organizations
- Execute stability and security operations and initial reconstruction efforts
- Transition planning and execution to CJTF – Iraq

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## Responsibilities

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TF-4a

- Serve as core planning nucleus responsible for the integration of operational and tactical level Phase IV Iraqi post hostilities planning
- Provide the planning element continuum between CFLCC and CJTF-Iraq Phase IV planning and execution
- Identify:
  - The detailed troop to task requirements for Phase IV
  - The execution timelines for all assigned tasks
  - The most effective means to integrate coalition, civil, and military resources at the local, regional, and national levels

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## Responsibilities

### CJTF – Iraq

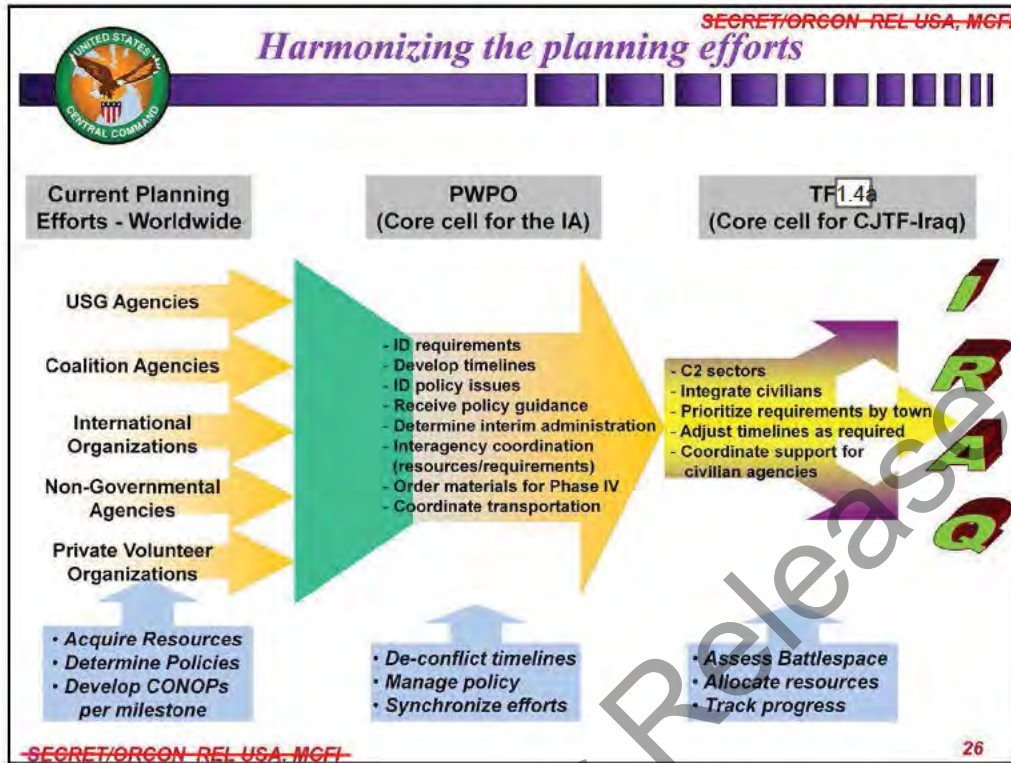
- Assume Phase IV operational level civil military planning and execution from CFLCC
- Focus on:
  - Providing a safe and secure environment
  - Completing reconstruction
  - Setting conditions for the transfer of authority to competent civil administration
  - Developing an Iraqi Self - Defense Force
- Capabilities
  - Provide unity of command
  - Command and control multinational forces
  - Work at the operational and tactical levels
  - Conduct a broad range of operations- combat/civil military/stability
  - Maintain effective political-military interface

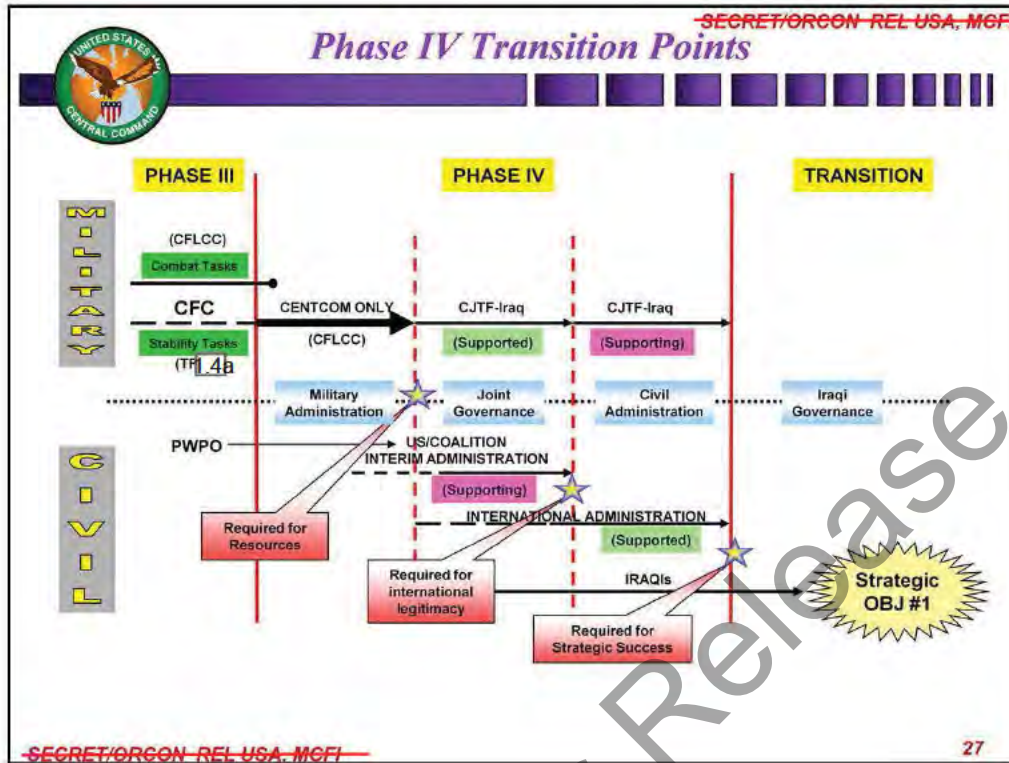
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*Where the units will be...*

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## *As We Transition From Combat to Post-Hostilities*

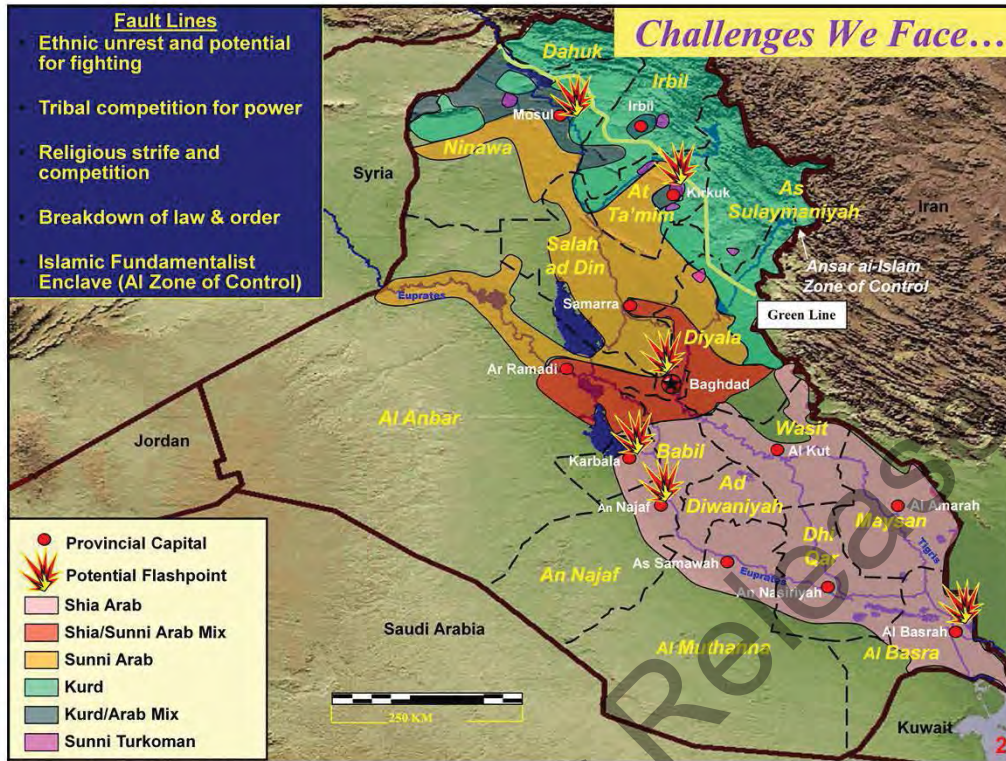
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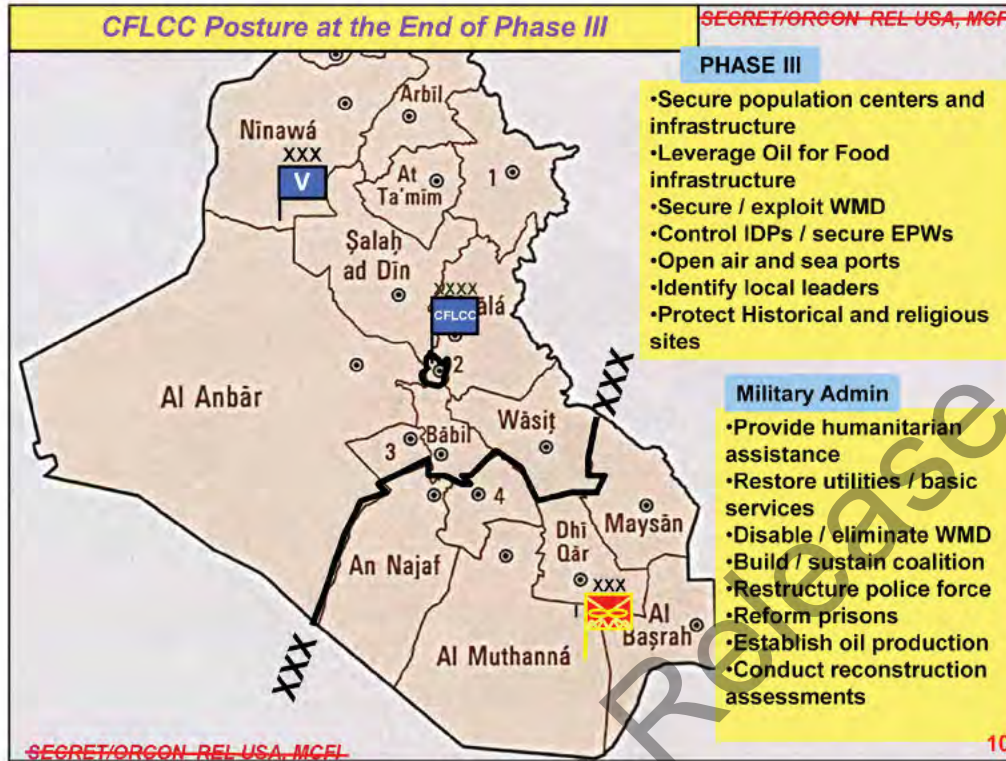
- Establish initial security within I MEF and V Corps sectors
- Position CFLCC Headquarters, including TF14 in Baghdad
- Expand initial local security tasks to encompass full array of stability / reform tasks
- Transition from initial security sectors to seven multi-national sectors
- Stand up CJTF-Iraq to assume military administration duties

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### Northern Hot Spots

KDP, PUK and Turkomans

- Territorial / oil infrastructure claims.
- Score settling against Sunnis (Arabization).
- PUK fighting Al Qaida enclave operating within Ansar al-Islam (AI) zone of control. Both 1.4b and Iraq have provided arms and TNG to AI. Roughly 250 members.

### Southwest Hot Spots

Shia holy cities\*

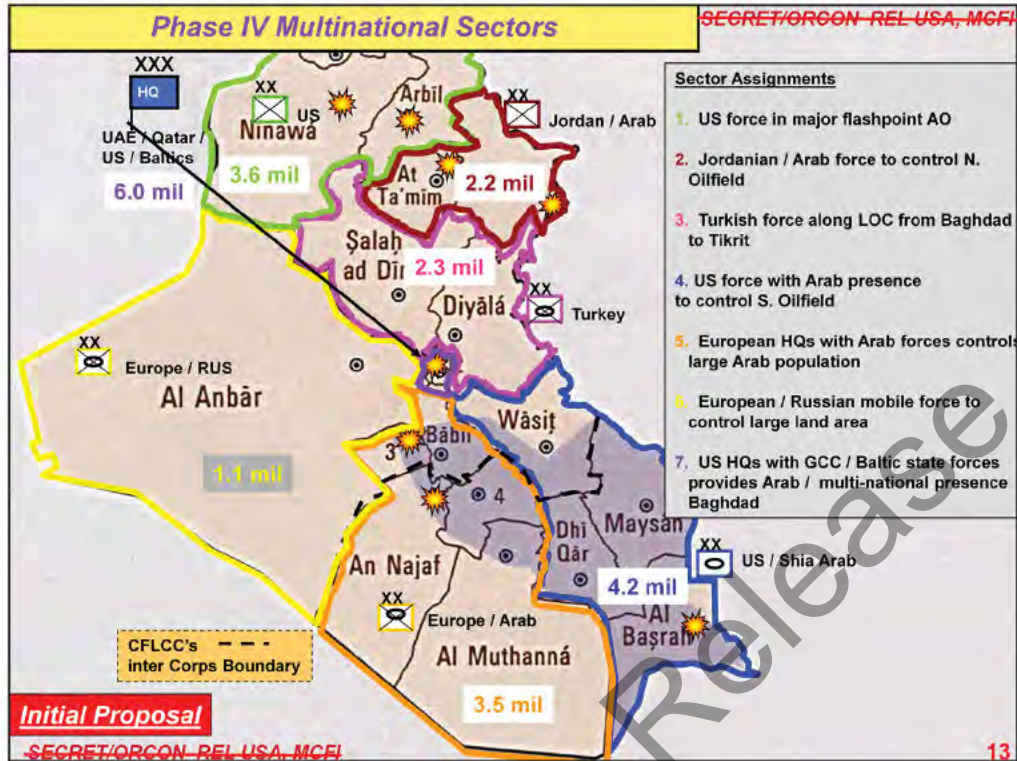
- score settling against Sunnis.
- religious rioting in the past.
- An Najaf is the location of the shrine of Imam Ali B. Abi Talib and the grave site of the martyr Imam Husayn is in Karbala.

### Southeast Hot Spots

- Intra Tribal factionalism.
- Score settling against Sunnis.







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## *Establishing the CJTF-Iraq Headquarters*

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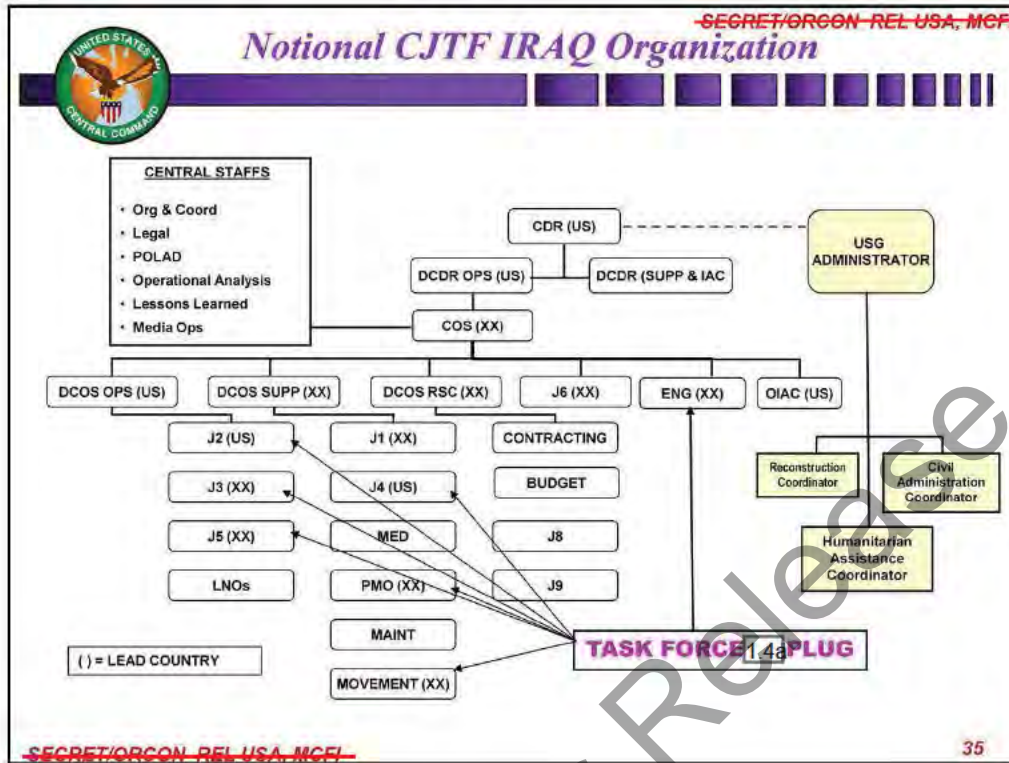
- Task existing three star USMC / US Army headquarters
- Task a coalition three star headquarters
- Build an ad hoc three star headquarters around TF 1.4a
- Task CFLCC to execute Phase IV and build CJTF Iraq with TF 1.4a imbedded


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*Developing a plan to synchronize the  
reconstruction efforts...*

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## *Creating a plan for Phase IV...*

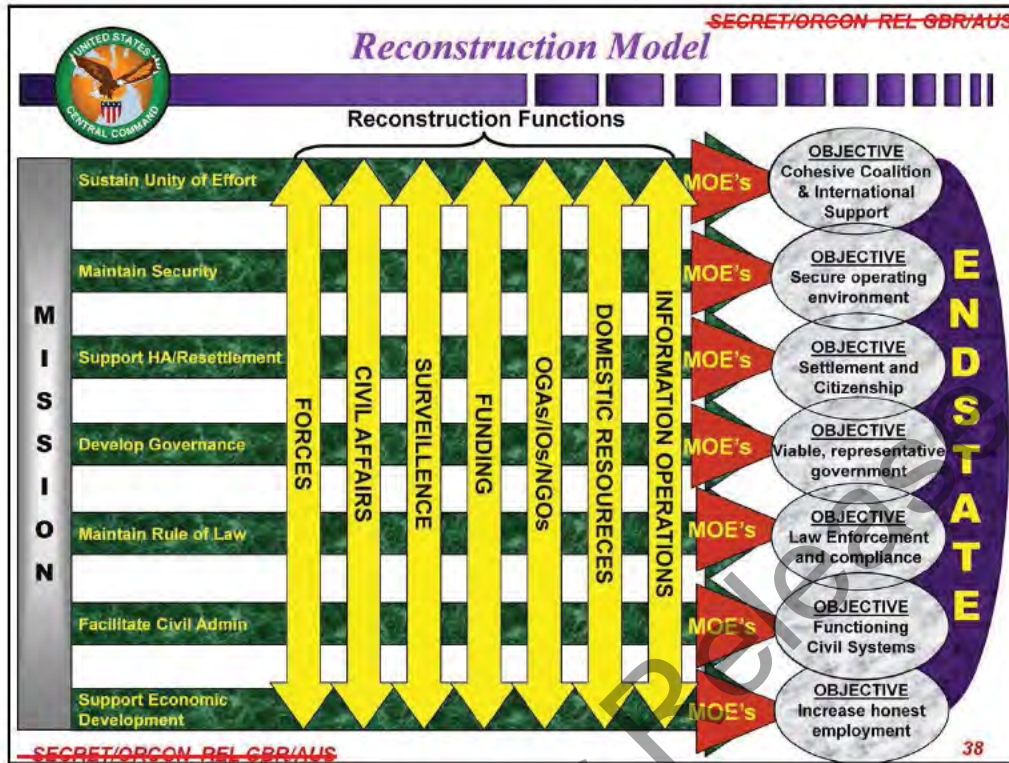
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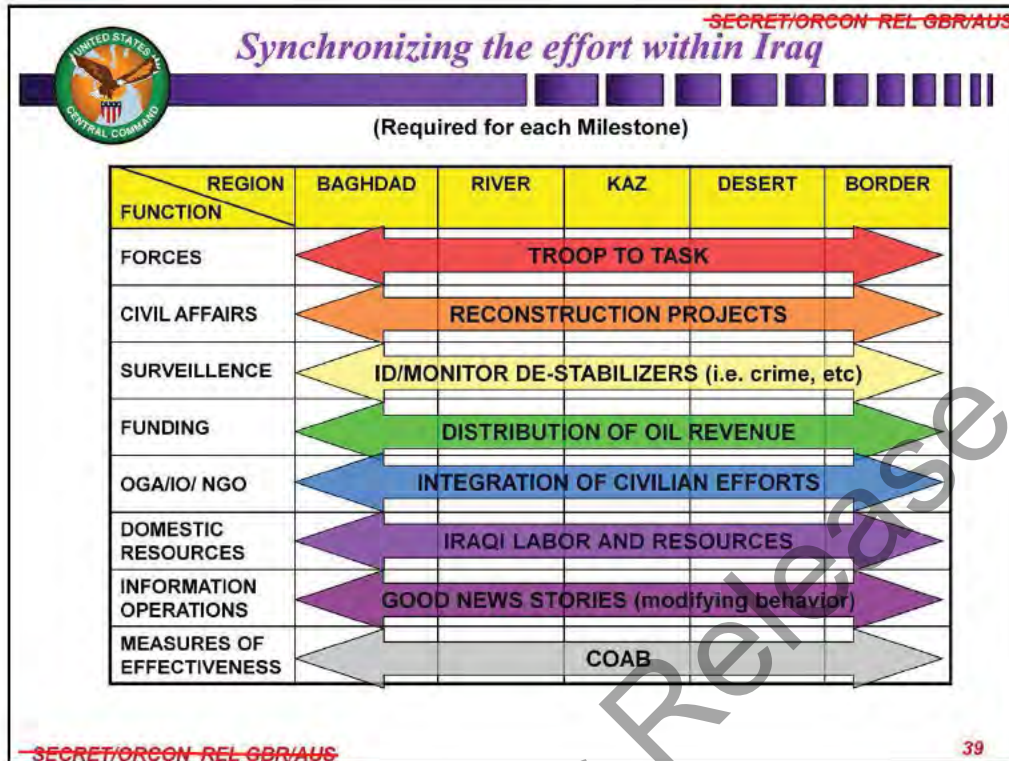
- Every milestone within each line of operation consists of efforts and resources from military units, civilian organizations and local nationals.
- There are seven functions that require synchronization:
  - Military force allocation
  - Projects identified by civil affairs personnel
  - Surveillance assets to identify de-stabilizing influences
  - Funding (distribution of oil revenues and coalition contributions)
  - IO/NGO/USG agency plans
  - Domestic (Iraqi) resources
  - Information operations
- These activities will occur at the local, regional and national level along exclusive timelines during Phase IV.

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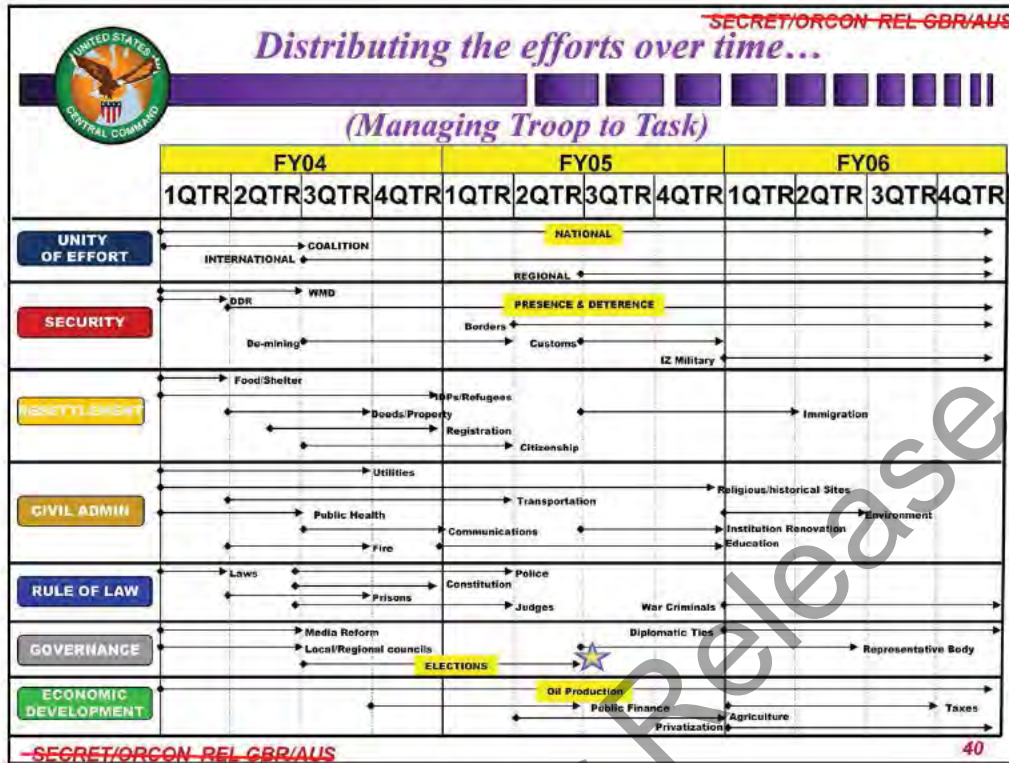
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*Leveraging success to better  
Iraq and the region...*

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## *Leveraging Success*

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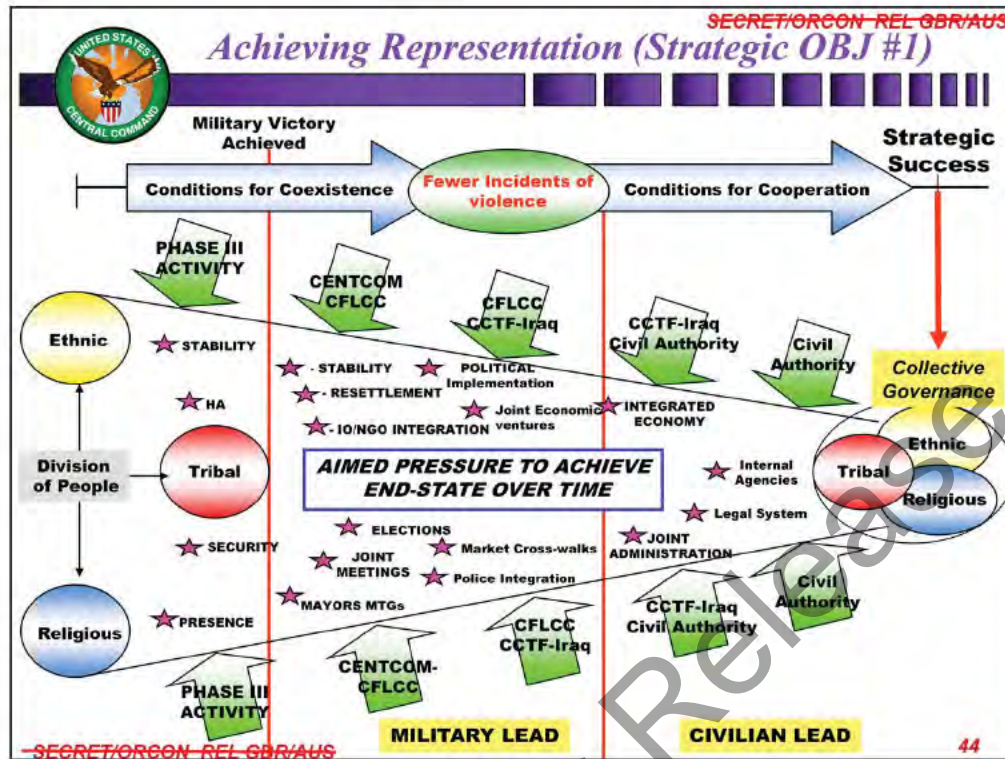
- Executing the activities for each milestone creates an opportunity to bring the different ethnic, religious and tribal groups together to work toward a common end.
- Emphasizing the successes of these joint efforts over time will result in each group developing "ownership" in the process of creating a broad-based, representative government.
- Focusing initially on establishing an environment of tolerance that leads to eventual cooperation.

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- A framework is needed to articulate purpose and provide unity of effort
- We developed objectives that are linked to achieving progress over time
- Each function within the task force is assigned objectives that are linked to achieving the desired end state.
- CFC Units focus on stability, safe and secure environment.
- Intellectual energy is dedicated at building joint cooperation, finding employment opportunities
- CA/IO work to influence behavior and attitudes
- NGOs/IOs, although not in unison with our objectives, can provide resources that we aim





## Strategic Vision

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**POLITICAL OBJECTIVE:** (Goal) "In WW II we fought to make the world safer, then worked to rebuild it. As we wage war today to keep the world safe from terror, we must also work to make the world a better place for all its citizens."  
-President Bush (March 14, 2002)

<u>NEXSTATE:</u>	<u>Reconstruction Enablers:</u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Break the barriers between cultures</li><li>• Foster multi-national "teaming" to better the region as well individual countries</li><li>• Increase regional support for the fight against terrorists and extremists</li><li>• Increase "ownership" among regional partners by developing "global perspectives" -- we're all in this together</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Soldiers handing out soccer balls, medicine and talking about how they just want to go home</li><li>• Mundane coordination that opens dialogue (border issues)</li><li>• Joint military exercises</li><li>• Coalition (International) debate about what is best for the Iraqis</li><li>• Collective fight against terrorists and crime</li><li>• Company-grade officers at the local level acting as the "honest broker"</li><li>• Joint commercial ventures</li></ul>

(Using the war and Phase IV activities as a forcing function to further the President's Goal)

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Pages 46 through 47 redacted for the following reasons:

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1.4b

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## Summary

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- Phase IV is the strategically decisive phase. To influence the region, one could not pick a better country than Iraq.
- Phase IV activity is a "communication medium" through which CENTCOM works with regional allies and countries to help solve internal and regional problems.
- Through interaction, make the Iraqis proponents of US involvement to:
  - Reduce anti-western sentiment
  - Decrease support for extremist views in the region
  - Leverage positive results of restructuring to generate antipathy toward terrorism (hurting the West hurts us; if the US pulls out, we lose all their help and resources)

*"The presence of American forces overseas is one of the most profound symbols of the U.S. commitments to allies and friends."*

*-National Security Strategy, 2002*

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## Way Ahead

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- Emplace agile funding source for Phase IV now to help in synchronizing the planning effort.
- Commence critical Post War Planning Office work
  - Baghdad Declaration & the Phase IV mandate (US / UN?)
  - Determine policy for De-Ba'athification (what level?)
  - ID potential candidates for Iraqi Consultative Council
- Select CJTF-Iraq HQ option
- Request Coalition HQ and forces for post-hostility sector administration
- Coordinate with international community for Phase IV force contributions

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## *The Reason why Phase IV is not "Nation-Building"*

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- **Nation-building:** Entering a country at the request of third parties to assist in restoring civil order and infrastructure to a failed or failing nation-state.
- **Reconstruction:** The moral, ethical and legal obligations of a country to restore governance and order in a nation following the destruction of its former government.

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## *Criteria for Sector Boundaries and Force Assignments*

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- **Sector boundaries**
  - Existing provincial boundaries
  - Ethnic demographics
  - Population density and / or land area
  - External sensitivities (Kurdish area and 1.4b boundary)
- **Force assignment**
  - Muslim force for religious / cultural sensitivities
  - Capabilities required (mobility, communications, force availability)
  - Reduce potential for undue influence from neighboring countries
  - Perception management
  - National interests

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## Multinational Force Task Organization

- Two Star Headquarters Element
- 3-4 x Maneuver Brigades
  - 3 x Mech/Motorized Infantry or Armor Bns per Brigade
- 1 x Artillery Brigade
- 1 x Aviation Brigade
  - 1 x Cavalry Squadron
  - 1 x Attack Helicopter Battalion (Bn)
  - 1 x Utility Helicopter Bn
  - 1 x Med Lift Helicopter Co
- 1 x Engineer Brigade
  - 2-3 Combat Engineer Bns
  - 1 x Heavy Engineer Equipment Unit
  - Horizontal & Vertical Construction Unit

- 1 x Support Command
  - 3-4 x Multi-functional Service Support Bns
  - 1 x Medical Bn
  - 1 x Transportation Unit
  - 1 x Preventative Med Unit
  - 1 x Water Purification Unit
- 1 x Military Intelligence Battalion
- 1 x Military Police Battalion
- 1 x Civil Affairs Battalion
- 1 x PSYOP Detachment
- 1 x Chemical DECON Company
- 1 x Chemical RECON Company
- Paramilitary/Police Battalion(s) in Direct Support

- Notional Example
- Composition Varies by Sector

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