

Kauffman Foundation Research Series: Expeditionary Economics

Revisiting a School of Military Government: How Reanimating a World War II-Era Institution Could Professionalize Military Nation Building

June 2011, 3rd in the Series

Rebecca Patterson Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation

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1. Much of the historical research was taken from the author's doctoral dissertation titled, "The U.S. Army and Nation Building: Explaining Divergence in Effective Military Innovation" (PhD diss., The George Washington University, 2009).

The history of the United States offers an uninterrupted series of wars which demanded as their aftermath the exercise by its officers of civil governmental functions. Despite the precedents of military government in Mexico, California, the Southern states, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Panama, China and the Philippines, and elsewhere, the lesson has seemingly not been learned. In none of the service schools devoted to the higher training of officers has a single course on the nature and scope of military government been established.

Colonel Irwin Hunt, Military Government, U.S. Army Field Manual 27-5, 1940

In the last decade, the United States has found itself fully immersed in nation building, despite its alleged distaste for such endeavors. U.S. military forces in particular have been at the center of these efforts, building schools in Irag, staffing Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) throughout Afghanistan and training soldiers in Mozambique.² U.S. Army platoon leaders hand out micro grants to small business owners and help stand up city councils. Civil servants who once trained for peacetime development work now find themselves mediating tribal disputes in remote mountain provinces. Regardless of the efficacy of such efforts, public statements by both President Obama and Secretary of State Hillary Clinton suggest that nation building and related activities are preferred solutions in the war against terrorism.³ Yet despite the enormous complexity and ambition of such efforts, there remains a gap in the training and education for nation building.

This paper details the U.S. Army-established School of Military Government and its related Civil Affairs Training Program that prepared forces for occupational duties in Europe and Asia. It highlights the demonstrated effectiveness both of its curriculum and approach to education and of its impact on the occupation of Germany and Japan, which offer important lessons for today's military faced with similar challenges. If nation building, particularly with economic growth as a key component, is to assume a greater role as a component of foreign policy or national security strategy, it needs to consume a greater role of our planning, analysis, and organizational design. Civil Affairs and several other functional areas within the military play a significant role in aspects of nation building today and would benefit from education focused on such matters. Other beneficial initiatives would include creating a mechanism for drawing experts into and out of the military to serve as nation-builders at a level commensurate with their experience, providing a more effective and less expensive option than hiring contractors.

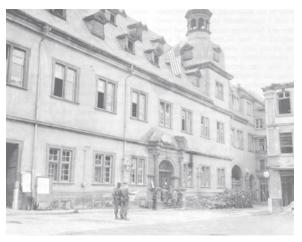
Given our current wars in Iraq and Afghanistan and their extraordinary cost in resources, rethinking how the U.S. military plans and implements transitions after hostilities is vital.4 Our latest entrée intro Libya supports this assertion: firing cruise missiles, although costly, is relatively simple to plan and execute, but what do we do next? War-to-peace transition is difficult, in part, because the responsibility for war is straightforward, but responsibility for what comes afterwards is not nearly as simple—there isn't one organization to which the military can pass off responsibility for the occupied or pacified territory. Furthermore, different aspects of transition occur at different speeds; for example, it is relatively easy to train police, but especially difficult to establish an entire criminal justice system.

^{2.} Robert Kaplan, "Supremacy by Stealth," *The Atlantic*, July 2003. Kaplan mentions that Special Operations soldiers are in some sixty-five countries, to include Nepal, the Philippines, Colombia, Yemen, Mongolia, and Romania.

^{3.} Gregory Grimes, "Civil Affairs: Gathering the Reins," Small Wars Journal, March 23, 2009, http://smallwarsjournal.com/blog/2009/03/civil-affairs-gathering-the-re/.

^{4.} Samuel R. Berger, Brent Scowcroft, and William Nash, "In the Wake of War: Improving U.S. Post Conflict Capabilities," Council on Foreign Relations Independent Task Force, New York, 2005.

Finally, resourcing is always an issue—the indigenous population of a foreign country is not a U.S. constituency. Finding adequate personnel particularly with the correct skills remains a significant challenge. Even when executive branch departments such as the U.S. Department of Agriculture or Commerce, send personnel to fill the military's expertise gap in nation building, the individuals assigned have significant institutional and legal barriers to assisting foreign countries.



By March 1945, even before Berlin fell, the United States had deployed 150 School of Military Government-trained detachments across occupied Germany.

Given these institutional constraints, what can be done? Rather than accept the status quo, advocate that "the interagency' or "whole-of-government" can solve the problem, or look for a panacea in every new idea that comes out of Washington, we should look back on an institution that prepared U.S. forces for nation building at a time in our history when that capability was most needed. Conceived before Pearl Harbor, the U.S. Army established a School of Military Government in 1942 that trained military officers for the myriad tasks associated with governing occupied territories. As U.S. involvement in the war

expanded, the program grew from one military-run school in Charlottesville, Virginia, to ten universities around the country. In eighteen classes between May 11, 1942 and February 16, 1946, the school graduated over a thousand officers, most of them members of the U.S. Army, but others from the Navy and Marine Corps, and from many of the United Nations, including Australia, Belgium, Canada, China, Czechoslovakia, France, Great Britain, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, and Poland. Its graduates assisted tactical and operational forces of the United States and many of its allies in Italy, France, Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Austria, Germany, the islands of the South West Pacific, the Philippines, Okinawa, Japan, and Korea. Military government and civil affairs officers served with distinction on the staffs of theaters of operations, task forces, army groups, armies, corps, and divisions, in general staff or special staff sections—almost wherever American troops had engaged the enemy.⁵ If the United States was able to create such an institution that had a positive impact on the outcome of the war, and on the creation of a sustainable peace during a time of extreme crisis (the Great Depression and an attack on the homeland), it is worth revisiting such an idea today.

We should fully expect that the United States and its forces will engage in economic reconstruction again and again, as it currently is the exit strategy for today's wars.⁶ The emerging field of Expeditionary Economics, advanced by the Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation, suggests that a country's political and social stability stems from economic opportunity and job growth.⁷ Its premise is that economic development is essential for the longer-term success of many military interventions, but while the United States has enjoyed military success abroad, our discouraging record in promoting economic growth and development has at times prevented us from attaining strategic success.⁸ Nation building and its associated tasks

^{5.} History of the School of Military Government, 16 February 1946.

^{6.} Carl J. Schramm, "Institutionalizing Economic Analysis in the U.S. Military: The Basis for Preventive Defense," Joint Forces Quarterly, April 2011.

^{7.} See Carl J. Schramm, "Expeditionary Economics: Spurring Growth After Conflicts and Disasters," Foreign Affairs, May/June 2010.

^{8.} Rebecca Patterson and Dane Stangler, "Building a Field and Setting Forth a Research Agenda," Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation, November 2010.

always have been a challenge for the U.S. military, which normally is not equipped or trained to undertake such endeavors, but instead is relied on by default as the only actor with the responsiveness and capability to perform them. What is particularly instructive is to examine a case where the military actually prepared systematically for nation building—the World War II—era School of Military Government—and also implemented military government with relative success.

History of the School of Military Government

What chance has a foreigner to teach the basic values of life to a conquered people, who, when he lays his notes on the desk, lays beside it an automatic pistol? Germans and Japanese will have to learn by hard experience that their philosophies and their practices lead to the destruction and death and then teach this great discovery to their people in their own way.

Professor Ralph H. Gabriel, "Military Government and the Civil Population," lecture at the School of Military Government, 1943

By the 1940s, the American army had been acquiring experience in military government

and civil affairs for a century, having frequently administered control of civilian populations.9 In liberated territories, civil affairs functions are designed to ensure that military operations against the enemy are not hampered by the civilian population while simultaneously assisting and encouraging the civilian population to resume normal life.¹⁰ Military government of an enemy country, on the other hand, is responsible for exercising the will of the military commander and is only concerned with the civilian population inasmuch as they affect military operations. 11 In every war since the War of 1812, the military has been required to establish military control over the civil government of occupied territories including the Philippines, Cuba, Puerto Rico, parts of Mexico, the Southwest, California, and several southern states during our Civil War.¹² Occasionally, the treatment of civilian problems contributed materially to the achievement of military aims of the campaign.¹³ More often, though, American military government followed in the wake of military operations and had a political rather than military purpose, as was the case following the Civil War, the Spanish-American War, and World War I. In 1918, American commanders governed parts of Siberia, Dalmatia, and the Rhineland. However, these earlier experiences were dwarfed by the enormously complex governance and economic problems facing the United States in the years following World War II.14

Although the United States had conducted military government during nearly all of its past wars, it always had done so as a kind of reluctant afterthought. Deliberate planning seemed to suggest cold-bloodedness, disregard for the traditional civil-military relationship, and disdain for the presumed natural superiority of civilians in the art of government.¹⁵ The leaders of the U.S.

^{9.} Andrew J. Birtle, *U.S. Army Counterinsurgency and Contingency Operations Doctrine*, 1860–1941 (Washington, DC: U.S. Army Center of Military History, 1998).

^{10.} Colonel Joseph P. Harris, "Selection and Training of Civil Affairs Officers," Public Opinion Quarterly 7, no. 4: The Occupation of Enemy Territory (Winter 1943).

^{11. &}quot;Conception of Military Government," Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force, 29 September 1944.

^{12.} Harris, "Selection and Training," 694-706.

^{13.} Edward M. Coffman, The Regulars: The American Army 1898–1941 (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004).

^{14.} Hajo Holborn, American Military Government: Its Organization and Policies (Washington, DC: Infantry Journal Press, 1947).

^{15.} Earl Frederick Ziemke, The U.S. Army in the occupation of Germany, 1944–1946, (Washington, DC: U.S. Center of Military History, 1975).

Army in 1941¹⁶ were aware of the significant role that military government operations were bound to assume in conditions of total war, both for winning battles and the final peace. 17 As such, they understood the need for a special personnel procurement and training program. Although most of the larger policies of any occupation theoretically would be determined by agencies other than the War Department or the army (political policy developed by the State Department, fiscal policy by the Treasury Department, etc.), the army would be responsible for administering military government. The number of personnel required for this task could not be reached merely by commissioning American civilians expert in foreign administrations; there were too few of them.¹⁸ Consequently, the secretary of war approved a plan to train officers for civil affairs in December 1941, and in May 1942 the School of Military Government (SOMG) opened its doors.¹⁹

The mission of the SOMG was to train Army officers for future detail to military government and civil affairs activities. ²⁰ The students were being trained to serve as the administrative and advisory assistants to military governors with a thorough curriculum that covered government and administration, legal affairs, government finance, money and banking, natural resources, agriculture, industry and commerce, labor, public works and utilities, transportation systems, communications, public health and sanitation, public safety, education, and public welfare. ²¹ The commanding general of a theater of operations is, under

authority of the laws of war, the military governor of the occupied area. The school was located in Charlottesville, Virginia, and generally instructed 100 officers at a time.²² The original candidates were required to possess experience in a former military government, or in federal, state, county, or city government.²³ Civilian lawyers, physicians, civil engineers, and others acquainted with certain foreign countries by former residence or travel also



The School of Military Government gave students a foundation in relevant international law and Army regulations to equip them as legal administrators.

were considered. The first students were civilians from local and state government, private legal practice, law enforcement, public health, transportation, and education.²⁴ They were given

16. Most of the senior leaders of the military during the 1940s had some experience with military government and its challenges during their careers. For example, George Marshall was familiar with the importance of military government and civil affairs having served in the Philippines twice and in China. Significantly, he also was responsible for building and developing Civilian Conservation Corps camps in the 1930s.

17. Larry I. Bland, Joellen K. Bland, and Sharon Ritenour Stevens, ed., *George C. Marshall Interviews and Reminiscences for Forrest C. Pogue* (Lexington, VA: George C. Marshall Research Foundation, 1991).

- 18. Holborn, American Military Government.
- 19. The term "military government" will be used exclusively in references to activities within enemy territories, while "civil affairs" will continue to indicate G5/Civil Affairs activities in liberated territories.
- 20. Administrative Circular No. 1, 1942, (Charlottesville, VA: School of Military Government, April 17, 1942), 1. Although SOMG initially targeted only Army officers, the Navy established their own school of military government.
- 21. *Topical Outline of Military Government Handbook*, prepared for the Military Government Division, Provost Marshall's Office by the School of Military Government, Charlottesville, Virginia, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) Record Group 389, Entry 443, Box 841.
- 22. Administrative Circular No. 1, 1942, 1.
- 23. Memorandum for the Secretary of War from Allen W. Gullion, MG, Provost Marshall, 1942, NARA Record Group Number 389, Entry A1 442, Box 738.
- 24. NARA Record Group Number 389, Entry A1 442, Box 740.

direct commissions and sent to SOMG for training in military organization and methods, and in the political and social institutions of foreign countries, equipping them to use their skills effectively as members of a military team in occupied territories.²⁵

The first portion of the instructional course was devoted to a study of the general principles of military government—relevant international law and Army regulations, general procedures and practices,



Recruiting and training a local police force was a critical task for SOMG graduates in post-war Germany.

a historical review of American experiences in military government, the techniques of the Germans in World War I and of the Germans and Japanese in the current war, and a miniature course in public administration. These were designed to cover general principles applicable to the operations of military government in any area. The last portion of the course was devoted to the study of the

backgrounds of particular areas of potential occupation. Here the institutions, customs, economy, psychology, and general nature of each area were dealt with to provide the student officers as intimate knowledge as possible. The principal study was directed toward Germany, Italy, and Japan, but between ten and twelve other smaller special areas were considered.²⁶

In researching the literature and experiences of previous military governments, the school soon discovered that if the Army's mission in military government was to be adequately performed, its current authorized productive capacity of 450 per year would be grossly inadequate.²⁷ At the time, there were few personnel statistics of military occupations; the German occupational personnel in Belgium from 1914 to 1918 was 3,500 and more than 7,000 German occupational personnel were involved in the government of Poland.²⁸ The Rhineland occupation by American forces after World War I, which only involved a population of about one million, required 213 military government officers, or 0.1 percent of the occupation force.²⁹ Based on these ratios, the Military Government Division concluded in September 1942 that 6,000 trained officers would be needed worldwide and another 6,000 would be recruited from tactical units as areas were occupied.30

As the military realized how many officers would be required to execute occupational duties post–World War II, it became evident that the school at Charlottesville was not large enough. To supplement the school at Charlottesville, other colleges and universities around the United States established programs to train officers for civil affairs and military government.³¹ Yale, Harvard, Princeton, Stanford, the University of Michigan, the University

^{25.} Holborn, American Military Government.

^{26.} The country-specific education was meant to familiarize the students with the countries in which they were about to serve. They were not in the school for a period that would qualify them to be "experts" in a specific country. Instead, it provided context for the principles and case studies that were taught and added an important element of realism to the problems they would likely face. *Memorandum to the President from the Secretary of War, November 1942* (Washington, DC: U.S. War Department, 1942).

^{27.} Ziemke, The U.S. Army in the occupation of Germany.

^{28.} Interestingly, the Germans and Japanese had long anticipated military government, and planned and trained personnel to execute it.

^{29.} B.G. Wickersham, memorandum to the Provost Marshall General, 17 June 1942, Charlottesville, Virginia.

^{30.} Draft, Final Report of the Present Director, MG Division, PMGO, March 1945, in PMG, MG Division.

^{31. &}quot;Curriculum for Specialists," PMG Gullion for the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-1, 6 February 1943, PMGO Files, History of Military Government

of Chicago, Boston University, the University of Wisconsin, Western Reserve College,³² and the University of Pittsburgh all fielded programs that were attended by hundreds of civil affairs officers.³³ The Army did not design these schools to be mere replicas of the Charlottesville program. Although the universities had to adhere to the basic tenets of military instruction and focus on specific countries, the program directors found themselves free to create their own schedules, assignments, teaching



The SOMG trained students to interface effectively with the local population.

methods, and even student policy.³⁴ This made the learning environment more malleable than traditional military education. The schools also focused more on the abilities of the individuals as opposed to any rank, which created a different dynamic than the usual hierarchy of the military. At Charlottesville, the importance of rank was greatly diminished in favor of the collegiality not only between students, but even among professors, who often found themselves similar in age and background to those they taught. The civilian universities took this one step further, allowing the students to select their own group leaders by vote instead of appointment by seniority.³⁵

The Civil Affairs Training Schools (CATS),³⁶ as the Army dubbed them, were far less concerned with the high-level regional and national planning for which the SOMG graduates one day would be responsible. Instead, the civilian-run program would focus its curriculum more on the day-to-day work of running an occupied city or town; therefore, the students spent more time studying the individual nations that the United States expected to occupy and their characteristics. Although the students eventually ranged in rank from second lieutenant to lieutenant colonel, most held junior grades and all were expected to be given assignments as specialists and technicians in the field instead of staff assignments, for which Charlottesville provided training. The CATS graduate was expected to deal directly with the people in occupied areas; the Charlottesville graduate primarily with his own and allied staffs.³⁷ At its inception, the most attractive aspect of CATS was its ultimate expandability, since its faculties could provide courses in many fields on short notice, and when training demands increased, additional universities could be brought into the program.³⁸

Training, Tab 19, in Harry L. Coles and Albert K. Weinberg, Civil Affairs: Soldiers Become Governors (Washington, DC: U.S. Center of Military History), 80.

- 32. Western Reserve College federated in 1967 with Case Institute of Technology and became Case Western Reserve University.
- 33. Records of these schools can be found at NARA, Entry A1 442, Record Group 389, Stack 290, Row 33, Compartment 34, Shelf 05–, Box 738. Box 739 holds the lecture material from the first course. Box 740 lists the biographies of civil affairs trainers. Box 741–752 lists all the information on students and course materials for the first seven classes of trainees.
- 34. Representatives of Harvard University, "Summary of Sessions of the University Conference at the School of Military Government," (Charlottesville, Virginia, 16 and 17 April 1943), NARA Record Group 389, Entry 442, Box 806.
- 35. Fred Eggan, "Conference on Training Requirements for Military Government Specialists," (16–18 April 1943), NARA Record Group 389 Entry 442, Box 806, Folder 337.
- 36. The program itself was called the Civil Affairs Training Program (CATP), whereas the schools were referred to as CATS.
- 37. U.S. War Department Bureau of Public Relations, "Civil Affairs Training Program," 13 February 1944, in PMG, MG Division, decimal file 000.7; MG Gullion, memorandum for the Chief of Staff, sub: Training of Civil Affairs Officers, 13 September 1943, in PMG, MG Division, decimal file 353, in Ziemke, *The U.S. Army in the occupation of Germany.*
- 38. Ziemke, The U.S. Army in the occupation of Germany.

The value of the readily expandable program was proved sooner than anyone expected. In August 1943, the impending Italian surrender increased the requirements for Military Government (MG) trained officers, and by September the planning for the invasion of France, plus the possibility that the German defeat might come sooner than previously anticipated, raised the prospect of vastly increased demands in the near future.³⁹ At Charlottesville, the classes were increased to 175 students and the course reduced to twelve weeks. The CATS took in 450 students per month; in the last four months of 1943, Charlottesville and the CATS schools together turned out more than 2,000 graduates, thereby nearly filling the estimated wartime European requirements.

In addition to graduating hundreds of officers in a short period of time, the program also institutionalized these concepts by creating doctrine. The Army's Office of the Provost Marshall, which oversaw the school, prepared a number of reference manuals. 40 These references provided a common body of knowledge for both military governance specialists and combat soldiers. Furthermore, the U.S. Army developed a vast number of detailed training publications for civil affairs: Bank Accounting and Operations in Japan, Government Finance, Technical and Economic Troops in Occupied Europe, and Field Protection of Objects of Art and Archives, to name a few. 41 The level of detailed preparation for the World War II occupations reflects a remarkable grasp of both the nature and magnitude of the challenges of stability operations.42

Evaluating its Effectiveness

Allied Military Government has earned the gratitude of the United Nations for a distinct and important contribution to the winning of the war.

Lieutenant General Mark W. Clark, Commanding General, Fifth Army, 1944

Although the curriculum and what occurred at the school itself are informative, the performance of the graduates is even more illustrative in evaluating the school's effectiveness. Those who graduated from the SOMG as well as CATS were assigned throughout the European theater in vast numbers. They brought with them many of the lessons they learned in Charlottesville and at the various universities they attended. While it is difficult to determine exactly what individuals retained from the lectures and group work, it seems that many officers looked back on their time with some conscious appreciation of the information they learned, as demonstrated through many postwar memoirs and publications.⁴³

The tactical commander's appreciation of the value of military government has been nicely stated by Lieutenant General Mark W. Clark, Commanding General of the Fifth Army, in a letter to the Senior Civil Affairs Officer of the Fifth Army, dated 9 November 1944:

On the occasion of the first anniversary of the establishment of the Allied Control Commission in Italy, I should like to express my appreciation of the work which has been

^{39.} Ibid.

^{40.} NARA Record Group 389, Stack 290, Row 34, Compartment 2, Shelf 4–6, Entry A1 443, Boxes 867–884.

^{41.} Checklist of Civil Affairs Handbooks, Office of the Provost Marshall General, Military Government Division, Liaison and Studies Branch, 25 August 1944.

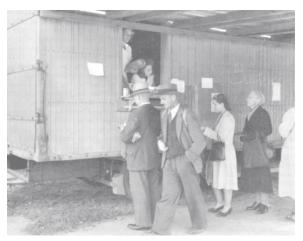
^{42.} Russell R. Hula, "Stability Operations and Government: An Inherently Military Function," in *Short of General War: Perspectives on the Use of Military Power in the 21st Century* (Carlisle, PA: Department of the Army, 2010).

^{43.} Raymond Joseph Parrott, "An Education for Occupation: Army Civil Affairs Training And Military Planning for Postwar Germany" (thesis, University of Virginia, 2008).

done during the past year ... Throughout the entire period of the Fifth Army's service in Italy, Allied Military Government (AMG) has been one of its integral parts ... The plans made by the AMG personnel at Fifth Army Headquarters have proven sound and their execution efficient. The Army Command has never had to concern itself with problems of civil government, which would have inevitably been a serious burden had AMG failed. Thus AMG has played an important part in the successive advances of the Fifth Army. In the cities of Salerno, Naples, Rome, Siena, Pisa, Florence, Lucca and Pistoia, in turn, as well as in numerous smaller cities and towns, the Fifth Army's AMG has created effective government. All of these cities had known the ravages of war and the destruction caused by a ruthless foe. The inhabitants were, as a rule, all but starving; public utilities were wrecked; banks and courts were closed; political unrest was widespread; educational institutions were either ruined or closed. So effective have been the efforts of AMB that these conditions were corrected in a remarkably brief time.44

The greatest impact by those trained at the school pertains to the postwar treatment of Germany. The Army created a "Basic Handbook for the Military Government of Germany" as well as numerous Civil Affairs guides in the summer of 1944, advocating a relatively progressive administration of Germany through the implementation of social, political, and economic recovery measures. The military's approach was a stark contrast to many of the punitive policies proposed in Washington. The majority of the team who wrote these manuals were SOMG and CATS graduates. Despite President Roosevelt's criticisms of the manual, which suggested relatively rapid rejuvenation of German industry, it became the unofficial policy in the American occupied zone.

General Lucius Clay was assigned to serve as the deputy military governor in Germany in 1945 and subsequently as the military governor. Upon taking up his position, he found himself surrounded by graduates and instructors associated with the various MG training schools. Former SOMG director Cornelius Wickersham was his predecessor as deputy military governor and was responsible for much of the planning and creation of the staff that Clay inherited. Even some of the civilian advisors to the military governor had worked with the armed forces through stints as instructors in the various schools.



The economic impact of war on civilian society is as profound now as it was in postwar Germany, yet there is currently no trained cadre of professional nation builders equipped to operate in the early stages of post-conflict occupation.

Although the aforementioned testimonies provide evidence of the effectiveness of the schools, these impacts did not extend beyond the post-World War II reconstruction because the SOMG was disbanded and many of the MG/CA lessons were forgotten. This happened for several reasons. First of all, since its inception, the controversial nature of military government has made it equally objectionable in civilian and military communities. Second, in an attempt to clearly define civil-military control and fix responsibilities and requirements following the occupations during World War II, the National Security Act (NSA) of 1947 created the National Security Council with the initial purpose to serve as a mechanism to coordinate political and military questions. 45 In reality, this shifted

^{44.} History of the School of Military Government.

^{45.} U.S. Department of State, Office of the Historian, "History of the National Security Council," available at http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/history.html.

the responsibility for leading complex political-military challenges away from the military. ⁴⁶ Third, the U.S. military quickly adjusted its strategies, doctrine, and capabilities to those based heavily on deterrence during the Cold War. ⁴⁷ Demobilization pressures, in addition to the dwindling requirement for trained military government officers in the wake of successes in Japan and Germany, led to the contraction of training, resources, and infrastructure, leaving only a civil affairs shell with its capabilities predominantly in the reserves to play supporting roles in CMO. ⁴⁸

Relevance to the Current U.S. Experience

The United States and the international community cannot shy away from the difficult task of pursuing stabilization in conflict and post-conflict environments. In countries like Iraq and Afghanistan, building the capacity necessary for security, economic growth, and good governance is the only path to long term peace and security.

National Security Strategy, White House, 2010

Revisiting this historical example is particularly relevant today since over the past decade, the United States has become more deeply involved in nation building than at any point since World War II.⁴⁹ Commanders today face problems similar to U.S. historical experience with nation building: they are forced to maintain order between mutually antagonistic tribes, create an indigenous security

apparatus, and foster economic growth, education, and law. The Philippines campaign of the early 1900s is such an example: while officers built schools, roads, clinics, markets, and courtrooms, they also scoured the country for guerillas and other rebels. Villages and provinces that accepted pacification received better roads to waterborne trade, schools, markets, and a number of other benefits. Those who collaborated were given most of the powers they had fought for as insurgents. The current focus on nation building similarly is tied to counterinsurgency, yet some degree of nation building is essential to any transition from war to peace.

Furthermore, since the majority of current conflicts do not enjoy uniform security, governance, or economic conditions, there is a strong case for a corps of professionals who have experience in and extensive training for restarting governments, spurring economic growth, and creating indigenous security forces. The Three Block War concept, described by U.S. Marine General Charles Krulak, suggests that soldiers on the modern battlefield may be required to conduct full scale military action, peacekeeping operations, and humanitarian aid within the span of three contiguous city blocks.⁵¹ This serves as an instructive example at the micro level of what an entire country may look like at a discrete point in time, with different cities and provinces having distinctly unique economic, governance, and security challenges. If the United States is to succeed in transitioning an occupied territory to a nation with a trajectory of economic growth, capable of governing its own people, the government needs to have professional nation-builders on call with realworld skills.⁵² The School of Military Government and the Civil Affairs Training Program of the 1940s offer a methodology for training personnel in the tasks associated with military government and civil affairs in occupied territories.

^{46.} Hula, 269.

^{47.} Troy Thomas, "Control Roaming Dogs: Governance Operations in Future Conflict," Military Review (January–February 2006): 79.

^{48.} Hula, 269.

^{49.} Manuals such as U.S. Army Field Manual (FM) 3-07, *Stability Operations* and FM 3-24, *Counterinsurgency*, both discuss at length governance and economic considerations as vital to a successful military campaign.

^{50.} Brian McAllister, "Batangas: Ending the Philippines War," in Between War and Peace, ed. Colonel Matt Moten (New York: Free Press, 2011).

^{51.} Gen. Charles C. Krulak, "The Strategic Corporal: Leadership in the Three Block War," Marines Magazine (January 1999).

^{52.} Nathan Hodge, Armed Humanitarians: The Rise of the Nation Builders (New York: Bloomsbury, 2011).

Addressing the Issue of Contractors

The United States is severely handicapped by its undersized and underresourced civilian planning and operational capacity for preventative security, stabilization and reconstruction ... the U.S. military will require its own capabilities to meet security cooperation goals, abide by the Law of War during combat and ensure U.S. capability for reconstruction and stabilization in less permissive environments or sectors.

Kathleen Hicks, Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2010

By early 2003, nearly six in ten of the personnel running USAID's overseas missions were contractors.

Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, *Hard Lessons*, 2009

Although the military always has relied on contractors to support military operations, over the past ten years reliance on contractors has greatly increased, resulting in an expeditionary workforce that at times has comprised significantly more contracted than uniformed personnel.⁵³ While contractors are widely viewed as being vital to U.S. efforts in the region, their use does raise concerns of transparency and accountability. In particular, the use of contractors in the conduct of foreign policy–related tasks suggests that a SOMG is required to prepare the military, or government civilians, for nation-building tasks.

Contractors working for the U.S. military, the State Department, or other government agencies during contingency operations are classified as noncombatants who have no combat immunity under international law if they engage in hostilities, and whose conduct may be attributable to the United States. ⁵⁴ Contractors who commit crimes while deployed are subject to U.S. prosecution under criminal statutes that apply extraterritorially or within the special maritime and territorial



Broad use of contractors in lieu of uniformed military personnel raises questions of accountability and transparency, not to mention fiscal efficiency. In post-war Germany, American troops, many trained at the School of Military Government, were unquestionably the face of the reconstruction effort.

jurisdiction of the United States, or by means of the Military Extraterritorial Jurisdiction Act (MEJA). The National Defense Authorization Act for FY 2007 (P.L. 109-364) makes military contractors supporting the armed forces in Iraq subject to

53. Moshe Schwartz, DoD *Contractors in Iraq and Afghanistan: Background and Analysis,* Congressional Research Service, August 2009. 54. Jennifer K. Elsea, *Private Security Contractors in Iraq and Afghanistan: Legal Issues,* Congressional Research Service, January 2010.

court-martial jurisdiction.⁵⁵ Despite congressional efforts to expand court-martial jurisdiction and jurisdiction under MEJA, some contractors may remain outside the jurisdiction of U.S. courts, civil or military, for improper conduct overseas.⁵⁶

In addition to the legal questions of the use of contractors, there also is the question of which private security functions are "inherently governmental" (vital to U.S. interests) in nature and therefore ought to be performed by public officials. This includes those actions that can "determine, protect, and advance United States economic, political, territorial, property, or other interests by military or diplomatic action, civil or criminal justice proceedings," contract management, and functions that can "significantly affect the life, liberty, or property of private persons ..."⁵⁷ Inherently governmental actions include, among other things, conduct of foreign relations and the determination of foreign policy, and the direction and control of intelligence and counterintelligence operations.⁵⁸ This definition suggests many of the tasks and responsibilities that contractors are providing in Iraq and Afghanistan should be performed by government employees.

The justification for using contractors frequently has been heralded as a cost-saving measure, but

the numbers tell a different story. For example, individual private security contractors are paid between \$600 to upwards of \$1,000 per day. In contrast, a noncommissioned officer with twenty years of experience costs about \$150 per day. Although this disparity does not account for the expense of health care, retirement, and the education investment in the noncommissioned officer, the difference is still staggering. This is even more worrisome when one considers how the contractor received his or her training. Many of those contracted to perform such services are either former military or retired military. So, the ancillary costs may in some cases be borne by the military itself, through previous expenditures on training and/or retirement on top of paying the contract.59 Finally, the method of contracting on a "cost-plus" basis⁶⁰ provides no incentive to minimize costs, since the contracting company has 100 percent of its expenses covered, plus overhead, plus a profit.61 With the complicated layering of subcontractors, in many cases the fee for services can be as high as quadruple what the individual providing the service is being paid.62

If the reality of using contractors to provide inherently government functions actually is not providing cost savings, then the U.S. government should develop the capability to provide the services currently contracted. This paper does not

55. Elsea, 2010.

56. Ibid.

57. Ibid. § 5(2) (B) (i), (ii), and (iii).

58. 48 C.F.R. 7.503.

- 59. According to a 2011 report by Rick Wrona at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), "Currently, private military and security companies tout the cost effectiveness of their services, but they neglect to consider that the sunk costs regarding the training of many contractors has already been provided by the United States military. Maintaining the current situation—in which the United States Government pays hundreds of thousands of dollars to train an individual, then loses the individual to the private sector, then re-hires the same individual as a security contractor while, simultaneously, paying hundreds of thousands of dollars to train a replacement service member—is nonsensical."
- 60. Cost-plus means the U.S. government pays all the company's expenses, plus its costs, plus 2 percent profit on top.
- 61. The most illustrative examples of the astronomical costs of contracting are in the security contractor space. An article by Joseph Neff and Jay Price of *The News & Observer* describes the confusing cost structure of just one contract. For an individual hired to provide security, the salary was \$600 a day or \$180,000 per year. The contracting company, Blackwater (now Xe) in their example, added a 36 percent markup, plus its overhead costs, and sent the bill to a Kuwaiti company that ordinarily runs hotels. That company, Regency Hotel, tacked on its costs for buying vehicles and weapons and a profit and sent an invoice to a German food services company called ESS that cooked meals for the troops. ESS added its costs and profit and sent its bill to Halliburton, which also added overhead and a profit and presented the final bill to the Pentagon.
- 62. This example is cited in "The Use of Private Contractors in Iraq proves costly," by Joseph Neff and Jay Price, Associated Press, October 25, 2004, and is recounted again by Neff in "Private Military Contractors: Determining Accountability: The reliance on private contractors and a web of subcontractors can come with a staggering price," Nieman Reports, Harvard University, Summer 2008, accessed March 26, 2011, http://www.nieman.harvard.edu/reports/article/100037/Private-Military-Contractors-Determining-Accountability.aspx.

address the security force requirements per se, but the number of contractors required for inherently government functions should be dramatically minimized. The proposed school of military government would provide training and education for the skills currently required to fill the capability gap identified through the use of contractors. This paper is not suggesting that maintenance and/or food service functions should not be provided by contractors, but that where personnel are hired to



Civil Affairs officers are currently often tasked with designing and implementing education policy, a task for which SOMG graduates were much better prepared.

provide expertise that directly impacts the nation building of an occupied territory, those personnel should be government employees. Furthermore, those government employees should be adequately prepared for the endeavor on which they are about to embark. The school of military government would provide the body of knowledge and the outlet for government employees to provide the requisite skills in nation building.

Refashioning a School of Military Government

Re-establishing an authentic School of Military Government could provide the foundational basis to once again allow trained commissioned and non-commissioned Army and Marine officers to "take charge" on the ground and utilize all available resources—military, non-military, U.S. and indigenous—to stabilize an area suffering from upheaval, both during combat or stability operations and in the critical weeks and months post hostilities.

Lieutenant Colonel (Ret.) Brent C. Bankus and James O. Kievit,⁶³ Small Wars and Insurgencies, 2008

There is a strong case to be made that recreating an educational institution that trains personnel for rebuilding societies after conflict or natural disaster is required. Nation building education and training does not exist in one central place within the current military structure. Many military educational programs touch on issues related to nation building tangentially or as a component of a broader curriculum. Civilians tasked with supporting the military also have inconsistent training and experience. The historical experience with the SOMG provides a possible model for educating a group of nation-builders to both implement and oversee the complexities of a postwar transition by the United States military. It should draw upon the expertise of those within academia, the private sector, and government to provide an educational curriculum and capability for analysis and assessment of ongoing nationbuilding efforts. Like its predecessor, the faculty would conduct research and publish manuals pertaining to the countries likely to require some form of nation building.

There are several reasons to reestablish a SOMG. First, it would provide civil affairs officers an educational program to properly prepare them

63. Lieutenant Colonel (Ret.) Brent C. Bankus and James O. Kievit, "Reopen a Joint School of Military Government and Administration?" Small Wars & Insurgencies, 1743-9558, 19, no. 1 (2008), 137–143.

for the critical and highly specialized roles they are expected to play. Secondly, there is a broader need for nation building expertise than civil affairs alone can provide. Intelligence officers and strategists also should be trained and educated in military government and civil affairs considerations so they can adequately advise military commanders throughout the war planning process. Establishing a school and a cadre of personnel for the purpose of military government and civil affairs provides a unique opportunity to draw expertise into and out of the military specifically to serve in niche roles that may not always be required. Civilians who have a specific expertise would potentially be put through the school and assigned a rank and position commensurate with their abilities and experience. This in turn would relieve the U.S. government of its overreliance on contractors and dramatically reduce the information asymmetry of purchasing an external capability. Finally, related to contractors, such a school has the potential to present a less expensive option than our current approach. The following section will address each reason in greater detail.

Improving Civil Affairs Expertise

Our Civil Affairs (CA) operators are for the most part uneducated and untrained for the roles we ask them to fill. We need real expertise in power systems, transportation and distribution, fuels and energy (utilities), banking and finance, payroll operations, sanitation, water purification, communications (including mail, radio and television broadcasting, telephone, data and satellite operations), contracting and personnel management. CA officers and NCOs are currently pressed into jobs they might know something about, but too often we expect a reservist who works for a bank to know how to set up a banking system. It should be obvious that this does not work very well.64

> Lieutenant Colonel Mark L. Kimmey, U.S. Army Reserve, Civil Affairs, *Army Magazine*, 2005

Although contemporary military doctrine places responsibility for civil-military operations on the shoulders of military commanders, civil affairs forces provide expertise to commanders in the interface with civil societies in the following areas: rule of law, economic stability, governance, public health and welfare, infrastructure, and public education and information.⁶⁵ In practice, however, there are few requirements to be qualified to serve in one of the aforementioned functional specialties. There are cases where reserve officers have a civilian career or an academic background in a particular functional area, but this is the exception rather than the rule. Even when civil affairs personnel possess expertise in a particular function, the type or level of expertise may be a mismatch. For example, a public school teacher may be identified to have a specialty in the area of public education, but be ill-suited to design a provincial or national-level school system.

64. Lieutenant Colonel Mark L. Kimmey, "Transforming Civil Affairs," Association of the United States Army's *Army Magazine*, March 2005. 65. U.S. Army, Field Manual 3-05.40, *Civil Affairs Operations*, September 2006.

Most importantly, the civil affairs education system itself does not offer a specialized program of study for any of the six areas of expertise it claims to provide. All civil affairs officers go through the typical Army education system, which may provide a few hours of discussion about civilmilitary relations or civil considerations in military operations, but lacks depth and breadth in the spectrum of problems faced by those charged with the interface between the military and civil society.66 Those officers transitioning into the civil affairs branch receive nine weeks of training. A school of military government would provide more targeted theoretical and practical training for civil affairs generalists. Furthermore, a more comprehensive program should be developed in each of the six specialty areas, which in many ways correspond to the capabilities required for effective nation building. The Civil Affairs Association, a trade organization founded after World War II that represents the professional interests of 8,000 reserve and active duty civil affairs personnel, itself recognizes the need for more rigorous and systematic training of civil affairs personnel. It suggests that,

The emerging roles of civil affairs forces demand knowledge of civil-sector institutions and systems; foreign language, customs and mores; contractual arrangements and ethical practices with private businesses and other civil-sector organizations; coordination and negotiation techniques; political and historical background; United Nations and other international organizations; other U.S. government agencies; nongovernmental organizations; and non-state actors as well current U.S. military doctrine and foreign militaries' civil affairs capabilities.⁶⁷

A model based upon the one used in World War II still holds great relevance today. The first portion of the school could be a rigorous study of past instances of military government and civil affairs to discuss best practices. In addition,

focused study in the areas of law, economics and entrepreneurship, governance, public health and welfare, infrastructure, and public education and information provides a basis for advising military commanders in occupational duties. Each civil affairs officer needs some basic level of expertise in each of the aforementioned areas. However, individualized programs that focus on the six areas (rule of law, economic stability, governance, public health and welfare, infrastructure, and public education and information) are requisite for supporting military operations. Greater specialization should be encouraged so that civil affairs officers have the ability to provide commanders with more specific advice, such as how to foster economic growth in a specific area or what steps should be taken when reestablishing local governance structures. The second portion of the program would be practically focused, running through scenarios and simulation for the purpose of experiential learning.

Finally, the school would serve as a repository for lessons learned and provide reach back capability for those nation-builders actively engaged in their craft. Often, the expectations of those responsible for nation building far exceed the realm of the possible. In fact, one advantage of having educated personnel charged with providing commanders and policymakers advice is that whole scale societal change should be foregone for something far more realistic.68 These "nation-builders" would help in suggesting which few existing societal elements should be reformed and which should be co-opted. The faculty and students at the school should incorporate best practices from the field as well as use real-world case problems from the field as learning opportunities. Those civil affairs officers who are generalists would have a place to call or email for assistance when facing a problem beyond their skill set.

^{66.} Kathleen H. Hicks, Christine E. Wormuth, and Eric Ridge, "The Future of U.S. Civil Affairs Forces," Center for Strategic and International Studies, February 2009.

^{67.} Civil Affairs Association, Civil Affairs Issue Papers, November 2007.

^{68.} Amitai Etzioni, "Whose COIN?" Joint Forces Quarterly, Issue 60 (1st Quarter, 2011).

Developing Nation-Building Expertise in Other Branches

Nation-building encompasses a number of objectives. The two most notable objectives are establishing a representative government and setting conditions which will allow for economic growth and individual prosperity.

Colonel Jayne A. Carson, "Nation-Building: The American Way," 2003

In addition to civil affairs forces, strategic intelligence and strategist personnel both would benefit from more specialized training in nation-building-related tasks. For war planning purposes alone, both the intelligence and strategist community should have a greater understanding of the economic conditions of the country in question to appropriately and adequately inform military course-of-action development. There are many aspects of the political economy of territories that impact the security considerations for military forces. Moreover, economic considerations have been the most ignored of all concerns along the entire spectrum of conflict.

Strategic intelligence

The strategic intelligence field is concerned with broad issues such as economics, political assessments, military capabilities, and intentions of foreign nations.⁶⁹ Officers who are selected to specialize in strategic intelligence attend a yearlong program of instruction at the National Defense Intelligence College, which focuses on military strategy as it pertains to intelligence, intelligence collection and analysis, geostrategic

issues, and transnational threats. The one piece largely missing from the curriculum is economics. A school of military government could provide an additional intelligence capability—one that provides early warning of civil unrest, study of politics and economics of specific areas of probable military concern, and analysis of key indicators that may illustrate a propensity for conflict. Such specialization within the intelligence community could provide more nuanced advice to commanders both pre-conflict and post conflict in terms of how civil considerations may impact military operations, how resources might best be spent to influence portions of the population most at risk of returning to conflict, or who are the key power brokers with the potential for the greatest impact on the indigenous population. Such information would be invaluable to commanders trying to decipher who to partner with in a given population.

Strategic plans and policy

A complimentary capability to the strategic intelligence function is the strategic plans and policy function. Strategists specialize in the development and implementation of national strategic plans and policies; theater strategy and campaign planning; and the evolution of concepts and doctrine for employing military forces at the operational and strategic levels of warfare. In appreciation of the significant impact that strategists have on the strategic level of warfare, they are required to attend a specialized course, "Basic Strategy Arts Program" (BSAP), which is a fourteen-week program that focuses on strategic theory, strategic art, joint and Army systems, national security decision making, contemporary security challenges, and joint and Army planning.⁷⁰ BSAP is instructive because the format is similar to the proposed SOMG, but it is focused on operational and strategic art as it pertains primarily to war planning. A SOMG could supplement such a course by offering a unique perspective on the types of considerations that are vital to an effective war-to-peace transition, such as economic growth and rule of law considerations. Political and

69. U.S. Department of the Army Pamphlet 600-3, Commissioned Officer Professional Development and Career Management, (Washington D.C.: U.S. Army, December 2005).

70. Charles P. Moore, "What's the Matter with Being a Strategist (Now)?" Parameters (Winter 2009–2010), 6.

economic considerations should play a significant role in military strategy. Furthermore, planning for the postwar phase and the transition between the military and the civilian administration remains the most challenging portion of contingency planning. A SOMG could provide an educational opportunity for strategists who may be assigned at combatant commands, the National Security Council, or other key defense organizations where such planning is vital. Enrollment in the SOMG would supplement existing educational opportunities within the strategist functional area.

Personnel Innovation

Reform the Army Personnel System...Get more personal adaptability and openness in assignment and promotions ... Find ways to creatively ease out the perfect "up or out" industrial-age promotion pyramid: enable officers to drop back year groups, open up direct commissions for selected skills ...

Lieutenant General (Ret.) Dave Barno, "Dave Barno's Top Ten for General Dempsey, the new Army Chief of Staff," January 2011

Reestablishing a school of military government also offers an innovative opportunity to address the personnel challenges inherent in providing nation building expertise. In the World War II era and before, personnel could be commissioned for a specific job at a specific rank. As the military has become a professional all-volunteer force, this opportunity has been lost. There currently is no mechanism to bring in experts from the civilian world at a level commensurate with their experience and education. There is little incentive, patriotism aside, for well-qualified civilians to leave a highly paid job and start a career in the military. Using the historical model, the school could provide an institutional opportunity to on-board experts

from the civilian world, either in the private sector, public sector, or academia, to an appropriate rank and position within the military. Running this school like a private company with parallel entry and exit and special personnel policies so that people can be frocked if necessary or hired on a short-term basis enables a more flexible surge capacity during times of excess demand.

An additional benefit to this approach is that entry into the military, or being hired as an Army civilian, has the potential to address the information asymmetry problems inherent in contracting out services. It also creates an opportunity to train civilians who would like to assist the military or development structure but also would like to return to their previous profession after some time serving their country. By creating an opportunity for lateral entry and exit for skill sets that aren't in constant demand, nation-building support becomes cheaper in the long run and more effective. Furthermore, these trained professionals then would be prepared to operate in risk-laden environments.

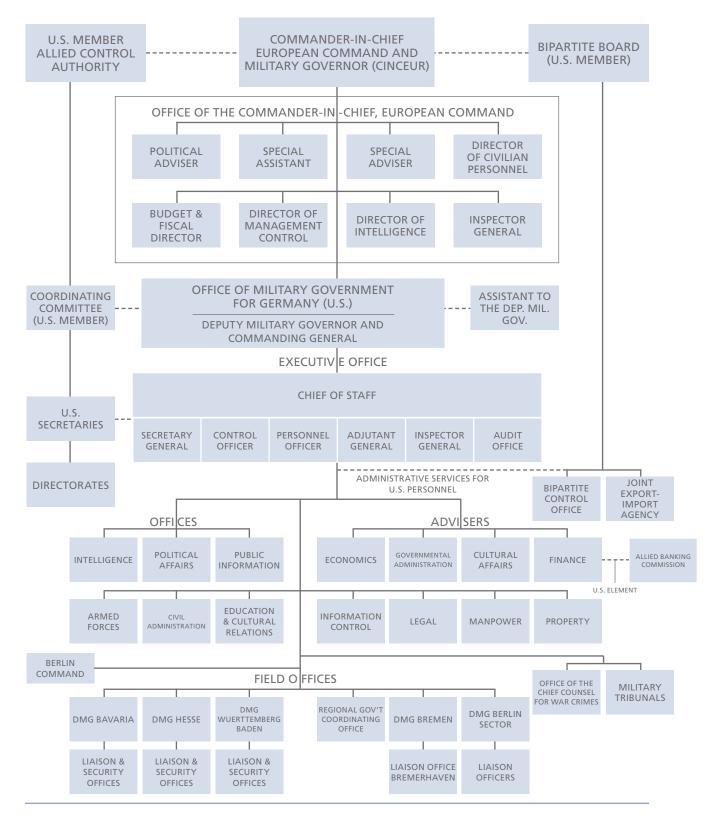
Conclusion

In the aftermath of World War II, America tackled the greatest postwar administration challenge it had ever faced. The School of Military Government prepared its students for postwar military government, which ultimately proved to be successful. The school effectively provided officers with expertise in the myriad tasks associated with nation building. During and in the years following World War II, those trained at the school played an integral part in all aspects of the war-to-peace transition—from establishing organizations to ensure public safety to standing up courts, governments, and schools. The United States currently is faced with equally ambitious and perhaps even more complicated nationbuilding challenges, and it is worth rethinking how this model might be useful in today's complex operating environment. Reestablishing a school of military government would provide the foundation

for the professionals charged with stabilizing areas suffering from upheaval and make them truly capable of overseeing nation building.

A twentieth-century version of the school would have important impacts on the way the United States plans and implements occupational duties. First, by creating a corps of experts, war plans would be better informed by economic considerations—an area that has long been neglected in strategy and policy. In addition to improved planning, greater competence in implementing nation-building-related tasks also would make such endeavors more effective and efficient. Earlier and better planned interventions could be less costly and enable swifter exit. A school of military government would offer a rigorous program for specialists in rule of law, economic stability, governance, public health and welfare, infrastructure, and public education and information, and would collect nation-building lessons from the field, incorporating them into doctrine. Training nation-builders at such a school for duty in mid- and post-conflict occupations might just provide a cheaper and more effective way of approaching our current and future overseas engagements.

Appendix: U.S. Military Government in Germany



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