MARO

MASS ATROCITY RESPONSE OPERATIONS: A MILITARY PLANNING HANDBOOK

A Collaborative Effort Between the Carr Center
for Human Rights Policy, Harvard Kennedy School
and the US Army Peacekeeping and Stability
Operations Institute

"An important addition to the very limited and fragmented body of work related to the subject of atrocities in our time. Well done."

GENERAL (Retired) **GORDON R. SULLIVAN,** US Army, Former Chief of Staff of the US Army

"Sarah Sewall and her team have produced an impressive contribution that shifts the debate on intervention from 'whether' to 'how.' With this critical recognition that mass atrocities present unique operational challenges, 'MARO' is a step closer to incorporation into military doctrine. National governments and the international community badly need the MARO framework as an effective template for 'soft' and 'hard' power responses before, during, and after preventable mass atrocities are committed."

SENATOR (Retired Lieutenant General) **ROMÉO A. DALLAIRE,** Canadian Forces, Former Force Commander United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda

"The MARO Project provides a solid framework for Geographic Combatant Commander development of contingency plans for mass atrocity situations. Tailored 'on the shelf' plans would be invaluable in increasing speed of framing the problem and developing appropriate response."

MAJOR GENERAL (Retired) **GEOFFREY C. LAMBERT,** US Army, Former Commander, US Army Special Forces Command

MARO

MASS ATROCITY RESPONSE OPERATIONS:
A MILITARY PLANNING HANDBOOK

MARO

MASS ATROCITY RESPONSE OPERATIONS: A MILITARY PLANNING HANDBOOK

Primary Authors: Sarah Sewall, Dwight Raymond, Sally Chin

FOREWORD

The Mass Atrocity Response Operations (MARO) Project seeks to enable the United States and the international community to stop genocide and mass atrocity as part of a broader integrated strategy by explaining key relevant military concepts and planning considerations. The MARO Project is based on the insight that the failure to act in the face of mass killings of civilians is not simply a function of political will or legal authority; the failure also reflects a lack of thinking about *how* military forces might respond. States and regional and international organizations must better understand and prepare for the unique operational and moral challenges that military forces would face in a MARO.

Such an effort offers several benefits, including the creation of a wider range of potentially effective military responses. Advance planning with possible partners would greatly facilitate coalition operations. Developing more effective intervention options may help strengthen deterrence of would-be perpetrators. Furthermore, by highlighting the complexities of responding militarily after violence against civilians has already become widespread, MARO planning should increase policymakers' appreciation of the value and economy of *preventive* efforts.

Since prevention will not succeed every time, some states may nonetheless find themselves conducting a MARO. They may initiate intervention or they may adjust the mission of forces that had deployed for other purposes, where mass violence against civilians becomes a primary challenge. In such cases, conceptual and operational MARO preparedness will facilitate success at the lowest possible cost in lives and treasure.

Accordingly, the Project addresses the concrete and practical challenges of using military forces to halt ongoing mass atrocities through a MARO. The Project has developed operational concepts, a tailored planning guide, tabletop exercises, and other tools for military institutions and political

actors. While military force will not always be required to halt mass atrocity, the MARO Project helps make credible, effective options more likely and it better prepares intervening forces in the event that they are directed to act. In this respect, the Project can help shift the policy debate from "whether" to "how" to intervene to stop widespread violence against civilians.

MASS ATROCITY AND GENOCIDE: REALITY OF OUR TIME

Mass atrocity and genocide remain a modern reality, and they can assume different forms and engender varied responses. The genocide in Rwanda was an extremely rapid and widespread example of violence against civilians. In April 1994, a peace agreement ending a four-year civil war in Rwanda between the ethnically Hutu government and the ethnically Tutsi Rwandan Patriotic Front fell apart, the plane carrying the Rwandan and Burundian presidents was shot down, and killing of civilians started throughout the country. Lightly armed militias of government-supported Hutu extremists targeted the minority Tutsi population and moderate Hutus. Perpetrators broadcasted inflammatory radio messages, set up roadblocks, uprooted villages, and massacred citizens with machetes. Within one hundred days, between 500,000 and 800,000 people had been massacred.[1]

Mass violence against civilians accompanied the Former Republic of Yugoslavia's dissolution in the 1990s. Serbian nationalists in Bosnia declared a separate state within the Republic of Bosnia, which comprised geographically-mixed Muslim, Orthodox Serb, and Roman Catholic Croat populations. Bosnian Serb and Serb-dominated Yugoslav forces began targeting and attacking Muslim and Croat citizens in Bosnia. Complex, multiparty fighting among numerous armed factions backed by Serbia, Bosnia, and other neighboring countries persisted throughout the next three years.[2] While the majority of civilian murders were committed by Serbs, atrocities were committed by all sides.[3] Over the course of the conflict, 40,000 civilians were killed, of whom 82 percent were Muslim.[4] A few years later, some 3,000 ethnic Albanian civilians were killed by the Serbian government in the province of Kosovo.[5]

---

1   Taylor B. Seybolt, *Humanitarian Military Intervention: The Conditions for Success and Failure* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 70.

2   Samantha Power, *"A Problem from Hell:" America and the Age of Genocide* (New York: Basic Books, 2002), pp. 247–251.

3   Roger Cohen, "C.I.A. Report on Bosnia Blames Serbs for 90% of War Crimes," *New York Times*, March 9, 1995.

4   Alan Kuperman, "Humanitarian Intervention," in *Human Rights: Politics and Practice,* ed. Michael Goodhart (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 345.

5   Power, *"A Problem from Hell,"* p. 445.

Mass atrocities against civilians in the Darfur region of Sudan assumed a different dynamic. In 2003, fighting broke out between government forces and the rebel groups Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) and Sudan Liberation Army (SLA). Janjaweed militia connected to the government conducted raids on Darfur villages, massacring civilians of predominantly non-Arab tribes. An initial wave of killings was followed by more sporadic attacks. Over the course of the next seven years, an estimated 200,000 to 400,000 civilians died—slaughtered or killed by war-related famine and disease.[6]

Each of these cases is different—presenting dynamics of varying size, trajectory, and form.[7] The international responses in the face of these cases of widespread killing and genocide have also been varied, ranging from withdrawal of UN peacekeepers in Rwanda in the face of widespread killing, to NATO airstrikes in Bosnia and Kosovo (designed to prompt political settlement and providing little direct protection to civilians), to a joint UN/African Union (AU) peacekeeping mission in Darfur with limited powers and effectiveness.

As the MARO Handbook explains, while every situation of mass killing is unique and requires a tailored response, there are some common themes and distinctions that have important implications for operational and political planning for intervention. Having a shared understanding of these distinctions and implications, thinking systematically through the risks and trade-offs, and dedicating resources to advance planning and training are all extremely important for providing realistic options for future actions.

Origins of the Project

The US military has long focused on preparation for major conventional operations, rather than preparing for other types of military operations. As it struggled with counterinsurgencies in Afghanistan and Iraq, the United States military realized that preparation for conventional warfare was inadequate for some other military challenges. MAROs also generate such unique requirements.

---

6 Siobhán Wills, *Protecting Civilians: The Obligations of Peacekeepers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 61.

7 For a thorough historical analysis of genocide and mass violence, see Ben Kiernan, *Blood and Soil: A World History of Genocide and Extermination from Sparta to Darfur* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007). For historically informed analysis of the causes and dynamics of mass killing, see, e.g., Ben Valentino, *Final Solutions: Mass Killing and Genocide in the 20th Century* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004), or Hugo Slim, *Killing Civilians: Method, Madness, and Morality in War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008).

The US government's interest in halting mass atrocity has thus far remained largely rhetorical. For example, the 2006 National Security Strategy explicitly stated that *"genocide must not be tolerated. It is a moral imperative that states take action to prevent and punish genocide…. We must refine United States Government efforts—economic, diplomatic, and law-enforcement—so that they target those individuals responsible for genocide…. Where perpetrators of mass killing defy all attempts at peaceful intervention, armed intervention may be required…."* [8]

Despite the document's mention of the potential use of armed intervention to halt a mass atrocity or genocide, no official source directed the US military to prepare or plan for this eventuality (until recently, as discussed below). To the extent that actors within the US government and armed forces considered the matter, they saw intervention in mass atrocity as a "lesser included" military mission.

Sarah Sewall had experienced military dismissiveness of unconventional missions when she served as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Peace Operations in the Pentagon in the 1990s. She regarded a MARO as a significant and distinct challenge, and she wanted armed forces to be prepared before they faced mass atrocities in the field. US military officials, overwhelmed with ongoing operations, lacked the ability to address this conceptual challenge, but Sewall believed that they would understand the value of tailored concepts and planning tools if these could be developed elsewhere.

Partners

In 2007, Sewall founded the MARO Project to take on the challenge of developing concepts and planning tools for military actors to halt mass atrocity. With generous support from the innovative foundation Humanity United, she built a small team housed at the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy at the Harvard Kennedy School. Because of the Project's military planning focus, the Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute (PKSOI) of the US Army War College was invited to partner in the effort. Colonel John Agoglia, then PKSOI Director, valued the opportunity to engage in preventive work and efforts that enhanced interagency planning capacity. Seeing the MARO Project in this light, he devoted his personal creativity and initiative and had Mike Pryce, a retired military planner, organize a Core Planning Group.

---

8   *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America* (Washington, DC: March 2006), p. 17.

Perhaps the Project's most innovative dimension was the creation of a standing body of retired and active duty military planners to provide professional horsepower for thinking through aspects of this unique military mission. The group's membership varied over time; those participating in at least two of the dozen planning sessions from January 2008 through January 2010 include COL (Ret) Kevin Benson (US Army), COL Charles Eassa (US Army), COL (Ret) Scott Feil (US Army), Col Clint Hinote (US Air Force), Col Michael Kometer (US Air Force), LTC (Ret) Harry Phillips (US Army), Col (Ret) Mike Scott (US Marine Corps), LtCol Don Thieme (US Marine Corps), and COL (Ret) Mark Walsh (US Army).

The group's early efforts to develop a planning framework suffered from a procedural focus and doctrinal rigidity, however. After consultations with experts in and beyond the US government, the Project rededicated itself to articulating the distinct aspects of a MARO mission. Sewall developed this conceptual analysis based on the discussions to date and drawing upon USAF Lt Col Clint "Q" Hinote's insightful analysis of the escalation dynamic in mass atrocity.[9]

Since May 2008, PKSOI Director Colonel John Kardos has provided sustained leadership and engaged a wider range of PKSOI expertise in discrete MARO Project activities. He believes that the MARO Project addresses a critical operational void and can better prepare US military forces for success when directed by national leadership. Further, Colonel Kardos saw the work as advancing other PKSOI objectives, such as supporting interagency planning for complex operations of all types.

Goals

The MARO Project goals are both to develop a widely shared understanding of the specific and unique aspects of mass atrocities and genocide and to create a common military approach (within the context of a comprehensive approach) to addressing these challenges. The Project also aims to build the lexicon, habits, and relationships that will facilitate future international responses to mass violence. It hopes to educate and catalyze the interagency community to develop parallel non-military concepts and tools. Efforts to prepare for the more complex and demanding operations would ideally

---

9   Clint Hinote, *Campaigning to Protect: Using Military Force to Stop Genocide and Mass Atrocities* (March 2008), available online at: http://www.hks.harvard.edu/cchrp/maro/pdf/Clint_Hinote_Campaigning_to_Protect_Third%20Draft.pdf (accessed April 15, 2010).

help prompt the national leadership toward preventive action that would reduce the need for a MARO. And in the event that a MARO were necessary, the Project's work should better prepare the US military, the US interagency, and the wider international community to respond effectively.

THE MARO PROJECT'S EFFORTS AND THE MILITARY PLANNING HANDBOOK

MARO Project efforts have been focused on three main areas—developing the MARO concept and planning tools, creating tabletop exercises to test these concepts and tools, and outreach regarding the importance of MARO planning and preparation.

This new MARO Military Planning Handbook is the culmination of the MARO Project's efforts over the past two and a half years to develop concepts and tools.[10] The Handbook explains why a MARO is not akin to existing operational concepts (although it contains elements of many). It highlights fundamental characteristics that planners and political decision-makers must appreciate as they consider responses to mass atrocity situations, and it explains the associated operational implications. It then walks the reader through several key analytic exercises that are vital to assessing the situation and ensuring the appropriate means to respond with military and other resources. Along the way, the Project realized that several different audiences—both US and international military planners, policymakers, and others—would be implicated and interested in the concepts and tools. This Handbook therefore attempts to touch upon the main concerns of most parties. Some sections of the Handbook (because of their specificity) will be of more interest to military planners, particularly US planners, than to policymakers or others. Nevertheless, the parts work together as a whole, and a holistic understanding of all aspects of MARO planning should be helpful to each of the planning communities.

This Handbook is a living document and will continue to benefit from on-going thinking about and exercising of these concepts. The Handbook is not a specific or prescriptive plan, nor is it a political decision-making guide for the national leadership. Except in those cases where a military

---

10   The first iteration, developed in 2008, was the MARO Annotated Planning Framework based on a Joint Operational Planning and Execution System (JOPES) framework. More on the history of these two products and their evolution can be found in Annex I.

force finds itself in an operation that unexpectedly devolves into other parties' widespread slaughter of civilians, a MARO decision will be deliberate. The decision to conduct a MARO is made by political leaders, whose guidance may be vague and contradictory amidst a fluid situation. In such cases, planners should not hesitate to go back to political authorities to validate interpretations of the mission. The MARO Handbook should facilitate such a dialogue.

In order to test the concepts within the Handbook and train planners how to prepare for a MARO, the Project commissioned the development of a tabletop exercise that was piloted with crisis action and deliberate planning cells at US European Command (EUCOM) in January 2010. With the support of Mission Essential Personnel (MEP) Chief Executive Officer, Chris Taylor, the MEP staff will continue to refine and tailor new exercises to meet the education and training needs of the US military and other partners. EUCOM's positive response to the concept, Handbook, and tabletop exercise affirmed our efforts to date. The Project aims to hold additional exercises with other Combatant Commands in the future. Finally, MARO Project out-reach efforts in Washington, DC, have included educating policy officials about the doctrinal and operational gap and highlighting the need for MARO preparedness.

MARO and Related Concepts and Initiatives

The MARO Project has emerged in parallel with growing consensus around the international norm of the "responsibility to protect" (R2P). The R2P concept was introduced in the 2001 report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS), which shifted the discussion away from the debate about whether a state had the right to intervene to save civilians at risk and toward the formulation of a state's "responsibility to protect" global citizens.[11] As the Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect explains: "The principle stipulates, first, that states have an obligation to protect their citizens from mass atrocities; second, that the international community should assist them in doing so; and, third, that, if the state in question fails to act appropriately, the responsibility to do so falls to that larger community of states."[12] The ICISS further breaks down Responsibility

---

[11] International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS), *The Responsibility to Protect* (Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 2001).

[12] Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect, "R2P Primer," http://globalr2p.org/about/primer.html (accessed April 15, 2010).

to Protect into three areas of responsibility: to prevent mass atrocities, to react to mass atrocities, and to rebuild after mass atrocities have occurred.

Because the MARO Project is narrowly focused on the "how" of mass atrocity response, many R2P supporters have focused on the Project's utility for the "operationalization of R2P." Indeed, the MARO Project's concepts and planning tools can help states meet R2P military planning needs. Similarly, Project concepts and tools are also compatible with wider efforts to develop and institutionalize military guidelines and options for Protection of Civilians (PoC) within peacekeeping and other types of missions.[13]

However, there are also some important distinctions between the MARO Project's efforts, R2P efforts, and PoC in general. Unlike most other PoC work, the MARO Project focuses only on the most extreme civilian protection risks, that of mass atrocity and genocide. In addition, whereas the R2P concept focuses on diplomatic, economic, and other approaches to both prevent and respond to genocide, the MARO Project prepares states to use military force and assets after mass killings have begun. The MARO Project's focus on the most challenging cases of mass atrocity differs from the PoC concept, which commonly applies to peacekeeping and operations at the lower end of the spectrum of violence. The MARO Project does not advocate for a military intervention or response in a given situation, as some who advocate for R2P may do; the Project seeks to prepare states operationally for that possibility. In addition, MARO Project concepts and tools have been developed primarily with US military planners, in hopes that they can be adapted by international actors, whereas much of the R2P and PoC work is being developed primarily with and for international coalition operations.

Finally, the UN General Assembly has articulated a requisite Security Council process for international decision-making about the use of military force in R2P situations.[14] The MARO Project, as such, is agnostic

---

[13] One such notable initiative is that of the *Future of Peace Operations Program* at the Henry L. Stimson Center, founded by Victoria Holt. (Washington, DC: 2010) http://www.stimson.org/fopo/programhome.cfm (accessed April 15, 2010).

[14] See UN General Assembly, 60th Session, *World Summit Outcome*, A/60/L.1, September 15, 2005, which states:

> 138. Each individual State has the responsibility to protect its populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. This responsibility entails the prevention of such crimes, including their incitement, through appropriate and necessary means. We accept that responsibility and will act in accordance with it. The international community should, as appropriate, encourage and help States to exercise this responsibility and support the United Nations in establishing an early warning capability.

> 139. The international community, through the United Nations, also has the responsibility to use appropriate diplomatic, humanitarian and other peaceful means, in accordance with Chapters VI and VIII of the Charter, to help protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. In this context, we are prepared to take collective action, in a timely and decisive manner, through the Security

about the politics; the concepts and tools we are developing can be used in an R2P case, in a "humanitarian intervention," or whenever national leadership decides it needs to conduct a MARO. As discussed previously, the MARO Project itself is concerned with answering the "how," not the "whether."

In the later stages of its development, the Project intersected with related initiatives on genocide and mass atrocity. These included the Genocide Prevention Task Force (GPTF), co-chaired by Madeleine Albright and William Cohen.[15] One key recommendation of that group has been:

The secretary of defense and US military leaders should develop military guidance on genocide prevention and response and incorporate it into Department of Defense (and interagency) policies, plans, doctrine, training, and lessons learned.[16]

These recommendations were also echoed by the Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies' Will to Intervene Project, which noted the importance of developing relevant guidance, doctrine, and training.[17] Activist groups, who have focused on advocating for interventions specific to particular situations of genocide or mass atrocity, such as in Darfur, have also become interested in campaigning more generally for better response capacities.

The Project has also deepened its dialogue with humanitarian organizations, through workshops and other events. In a MARO, unlike in many other types of military operations, there is the opportunity to harness true unity of purpose between the humanitarian community and military actors. Many humanitarian organizations, which normally would refrain from being connected in any way with the military, have in the past called for military intervention in the face of mass atrocity and killing of civilians. They, like many within the government and military, have at times

---

Council, in accordance with the Charter, including Chapter VII, on a case-by-case basis and in cooperation with relevant regional organizations as appropriate, should peaceful means be inadequate and national authorities manifestly fail to protect their populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. We stress the need for the General Assembly to continue consideration of the responsibility to protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity and its implications, bearing in mind the principles of the Charter and international law. We also intend to commit ourselves, as necessary and appropriate, to helping States build capacity to protect their populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity and to assisting those which are under stress before crises and conflicts break out.

15   Sewall took part in the "Employing Military Options" expert group, led by Victoria Holt.

16   *Preventing Genocide: A Blueprint for US Policymakers,* Genocide Prevention Task Force (GPTF), Madeline Albright and William Cohen, co-chairs (Washington, DC: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2008), Recommendation 5.1, p. 87.

17   *Mobilizing the Will to Intervene: Leadership and Action to Prevent Mass Atrocities,* The Will to Intervene Project, The Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies (Montreal, Canada: Concordia University, 2009), p. x.

been unable to specify "how" they hoped the military could stop mass atrocities (and have stated that the "how" was outside their sphere of expertise)—only that some form of military action would be necessary. This further confirms the need for carefully developed, viable options.

The Next MARO Situation?

It remains to be seen in what context halting mass atrocities will next become a US military mission, but the challenge is virtually certain. Some argue that it is unlikely that, despite advocacy and education to the contrary, the United States will ever decide that it is within its national strategic interest to launch an intervention to stop a mass atrocity, and therefore that planning for this eventuality is not a priority. Such a position is not only ahistorical, it represents an abdication of responsibility to prepare for contingencies.

As a presidential hopeful, Barack Obama declared: "America deserves a leader who … responds forcefully to all genocides. I intend to be that President."[18] The recently issued US 2010 Quadrennial Defense Review states: *"Not all contingencies will require the involvement of U.S. military forces, but the Defense Department must be prepared to provide the President with options across a wide range of contingencies, which include supporting a response to an attack or natural disaster at home, defeating aggression by adversary states, supporting and stabilizing fragile states facing serious internal threats, and **preventing human suffering due to mass atrocities** or large-scale natural disasters abroad"*[19] (emphasis added). This is essentially a warning order to the US military to be prepared to offer options to the national leadership in the event of the widespread killing of civilians.

Moreover, nations may not choose a MARO, a MARO may choose them. The next mass atrocity could emerge amidst an initially uncontested peacekeeping or humanitarian relief operation. The targeting of civilians, often an element of insurgency or civil war, could develop into a full-blown genocide or mass atrocity. Military actions to halt the targeting of civilians may therefore develop from, or even coexist with, other operational concepts in the context of a larger campaign in which US forces are engaged. For example, it is easy to imagine how systematic mass atrocities could emerge

---

18 Quote can be found at: Barack Obama, "Barack Obama on the Importance of US-Armenia Relations," Organizing For America, http://www.barackobama.com/2008/01/19/barack_obama_on_the_importance.php (accessed April 15, 2010).

19 US Department of Defense, *Quadrennial Defense Review Report* (Washington, DC: March 2010), p. vi.

from a security vacuum created by the withdrawal of a foreign counterinsurgency force. Thus, mass killings could haunt US forces as they exit Iraq.

We intend this Planning Handbook as a first step to inform and to catalyze further action within the United States and other states and institutions. We hope that individuals who are responsible for directing the use of force can better appreciate what they don't know and will become better prepared to make informed decisions, so that they can take effective action when a mass atrocity next requires their response.

Sarah Sewall and John Kardos

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

A Mass Atrocity Response Operation (MARO) describes a contingency operation to halt the widespread and systematic use of violence by state or non-state armed groups against non-combatants. The term MARO is not yet enshrined in military doctrine—but it should be. The United States does not currently recognize mass atrocities as a unique operational challenge, and there is no operational concept or doctrine that might help commanders understand the dynamics and demands of responding to mass atrocities. As a result, the US is not fully prepared to intervene effectively in a mass atrocity situation. This Military Planning Handbook is guided by the core belief that the nature of mass atrocity, and the focus of a mission to stop it, means that a MARO presents unique operational challenges requiring careful preparation and planning. This Handbook aims to create a shared understanding of the specific and even unique aspects of mass atrocities and a common military approach to addressing them.

Part I of the Handbook explains how a MARO is a specific type of operation involving a dynamic mix of offense, defense, and stability operations. Many of the tasks and qualities of a MARO can resemble those found in other kinds of operations; however, the fact that the tasks and concepts are familiar reveals little about the dramatically different context in which those tasks must be performed.

The Handbook details the three main distinctions of a MARO context.

1. Multiparty Dynamics. Unlike traditional warfare between enemy and friendly forces, a MARO situation is defined by complex multiparty dynamics. Perpetrators of violence, victims of violence, the interveners, and other actors such as bystanders, the media, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) interact with results that will be difficult to predict.

2. Illusion of Impartiality. The intervener may be acting for what he considers impartial reasons (e.g., defense of human rights), unrelated to the identities of the

parties or the underlying conflicts. While the intervener may be acting in an even-handed manner against "actions," the perpetrators and victims will perceive the intervening force as anything but impartial. An intervention to stop mass atrocities will inevitably be hostile to the party committing violence, effectively putting the intervener in alliance with the victims against the perpetrators. As the intervener changes the dynamics, there is a high potential for a MARO to quickly metastasize again into another type of conflict—civil war, insurgency, interstate conflict—and for the original distinctions between victim and perpetrator, and the original "impartial" reasons for intervention, to dissolve.

3. Escalatory Dynamics. A MARO can be defined by unique escalatory dynamics—mass killing of civilians can potentially intensify and expand very quickly once it begins. At the same time, the international community is slow to reach decisions to intervene, and slow to operationalize a response. This asymmetry presents a challenge for conducting a successful MARO.

There are then eight key operational and political implications of these three distinguishing characteristics.

1. Different Information, From the Outset. The difficulty of predicting either the onset or course of mass atrocity, the complexity of the operational environment (OE), and the potential for unanticipated consequences of intervention all highlight the critical role of different information from the outset of considering a possible MARO, including non-traditional types of information from non-traditional sources.

2. Advance Interagency Planning. The potentially rapid escalatory dynamic of a mass atrocity implies that advance interagency planning and preparation for a MARO will be critical. A MARO is likely to be a contingency that requires improvisation or adapting an existing deliberate or crisis plan.

3. Speed vs. Mass. A MARO may stand traditional planning precepts on their heads; for example, the potential for a rapid escalation of mass atrocities may require privileging speed over mass in MARO planning, thus putting a premium on capabilities such as transport assets and mobile forces to reach and move within the area of operations (AO), as well as upon rapid political and military decision-making in the face of uncertainty and risk.

4. The Power of Witness. The shameful nature of mass atrocities suggests the potential power of witness: surveillance and other forms of both high-tech and low-tech witness can deter or mitigate violence against civilians. During an intervention, witness can be critical for gathering evidence that can be used in future criminal proceedings.

5. Symptoms or Root Causes—Can There Be a Handoff? One of the most important questions related to MARO planning is the intervening force's measure of responsibility for civilians. This question of limits pertains to both scope of tasks and

length of time. Will the intervening force simply stop the killing, providing whatever emergency assistance it can until relative stability has been restored, with a hand-off to a follow-on mission or the host nation's government? Or will the force be expected to sustain its efforts beyond the cessation of the killing, to include the provision of services and restoration of governance? There are severe challenges for either approach, yet the choice makes a huge difference for the intervention of the military (and accompanying civilian agencies).

6. Immediate Non-Military Requirements. Regardless of a MARO force's future nation-building responsibilities, it is likely that many non-traditional military tasks will fall to military forces in the short term, certainly while the level of violence remains high. A MARO plan must account for the particular combination of humanitarian, public order, justice, and governance challenges that accompany mass atrocities, and it will be best served by early integration with civilian actors and agencies in order to facilitate the transition of specific responsibilities to others.

7. Moral Dilemmas. The complex dynamics of a MARO situation create multiple moral dilemmas, such as how to distinguish and separate perpetrator from victim populations, and how to avoid becoming complicit in revenge killings. These dilemmas may create significant political vulnerabilities for the intervening parties.

8. Political Guidance. A high degree of politico-military interaction in the MARO planning process is critical. Most of the vexing issues related to a MARO—e.g., how to identify perpetrators, whether to treat the symptoms or the root causes, the degree of risk to assume in moving swiftly—need to be resolved by civilian authorities.

Part II of the Handbook addresses military planning considerations for a MARO intervention. An effective and continuous appreciation of the OE provides the necessary situational understanding of key geographic, political, military/security, economic, social, infrastructure, and informational factors. Actors include perpetrators, victims, interveners, and others; they have unique capabilities, motivations, and vulnerabilities that can be woven into the plan. Actors can switch groups as a result of a MARO situation's dynamics; for example, today's victims can seek revenge and become tomorrow's perpetrators, particularly if the intervention alters the power balance. One of the keys of a MARO plan will be to enable the myriad of actors that fall into the category of "others" to have a positive influence on the situation while preventing them from becoming perpetrators or victims.

The Mission Analysis results in an effectively framed problem set, mission, objectives, and assumptions. Strategic guidance for the operation may be vague, delayed, incomplete, changing, or conflicting; indeed, the MARO commander may at times be enlisted into the effort to craft the

guidance. The strategic guidance should provide clarity with respect to actions taken against the host nation's government or its military (if they are complicit in the atrocities); whether the MARO force should focus on the apprehension of perpetrators; how and with which partners the MARO force should coordinate its effort; and anticipated actions once the atrocities have been halted. This latter issue addresses any responsibilities for post-conflict stabilization, governance, and reconstruction to include transition of these responsibilities to other actors.

As a mass atrocity builds, policymakers may want options to interrupt the escalation of violence. Military Flexible Deterrent Options (FDOs) supplement diplomatic, economic, and informational measures and can be employed to expose perpetrators to international scrutiny, establish the credibility of a potential intervention, build capability, isolate perpetrators, protect potential victims, dissuade or punish perpetrators, or build and demonstrate international resolve. FDOs have different levels of resources, risk, and intrusion on the target country's sovereignty and include measures such as increased surveillance, deployments and other essential preparations, shows of force, and strikes or raids.

If unsuccessful in resolving a crisis, FDOs can be followed by a full MARO intervention, which may reflect one or more of the following general approaches:

- Saturation—secure a large area with sufficient force deployed in unit sectors.
- "Oil Spot"—systematically secure limited areas with a "clear-hold-build" approach.
- Separation—establish a demilitarized zone (DMZ) or similar buffer zone between perpetrators and victims.
- Safe Areas—secure concentrations of vulnerable populations such as internally displaced person (IDP) camps.
- Partner Enabling—provide advisors, equipment, or specialized support such as deployment or airpower to coalition partners, host nation, or victim groups.
- Containment—influence perpetrator behavior with strikes, blockades, or no-fly zones.
- Defeat Perpetrators—attack and defeat perpetrator leadership and/or capabilities.

While subject to modification depending on the situation, an example MARO design framework is offered in the Handbook. The example includes lines of effort (LOEs) that are collectively vital for an intervention's success. Some of the LOEs are common to interagency and international conceptions regarding reconstruction and stabilization, while others are fundamental to the military force's operations:

- Situation Understanding—conduct adaptive analysis to comprehend, predict, and assess.
- Strategic Communication and Diplomacy—explain legitimacy of effort, gain support of international and regional actors, and mediate conflict.
- Unity of Effort—coordinate/cooperate with international and indigenous partners.
- Military Operations—conduct offensive, defensive, and stability operations to protect victims, defeat perpetrators, and/or enable responsible actors.
- Force Generation and Sustainment—deploy/sustain force and build indigenous capacity.
- Safe and Secure Environment—protect vulnerable populations and provide security.
- Governance and Rule of Law—provide justice and support legitimate institutions.
- Social and Economic Well-Being—enable humanitarian assistance (HA) and essential services, develop infrastructure, and foster economic growth.

Military plans usually are phased, based on anticipated activities or conditions. Although specific cases could vary, MARO contingency plans may conform to the doctrinal phasing construct, which can help preparation and integrate the MARO force's activities with those of other actors.

- Phase 0 (Shape): Prevent a crisis or prepare for a contingency.
- Phase I (Deter): Manage crisis, deter escalation, prepare for intervention.
- Phase II (Seize Initiative): Conduct initial deployments and actions by intervening forces.
- Phase III (Dominate): Stop atrocities; control necessary areas.
- Phase IV (Stabilize): Establish secure environment.
- Phase V (Enable Civil Authority): Transition to responsible indigenous control.

Concluding the Handbook, *Part III* looks ahead to the future of MARO research, including further "proof of concept" work, additional useful products for military planners, other areas of research such as the use of intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance (ISR) and airpower for "witness" and deterrence, as well as ways to move MARO concepts into the international arena.

A Mass Atrocity Response Operation (MARO) describes a contingency operation to halt the widespread and systematic use of violence by state or non-state armed groups against non-combatants.[20] Less important than the *type* of mass atrocity (genocide or crime against humanity) or its *scale* (number killed or wounded, the rate of harm, or the potential for future harm) is the primary *purpose* of the violence, the civilian nature of the victim, and the response it triggers. When political authorities direct forces to *halt the violence against civilians,* the result is a MARO.

The term MARO is not yet enshrined in military doctrine—but it should be. Like other operational concepts, a MARO involves elements of offense, defense, and stability operations. While a MARO is focused on "responding" to an ongoing mass atrocity, depending on the situation, it could also include preventive, deterrent, and follow-on reconstruction aspects. Nevertheless, what distinguishes a MARO from other operations is the primary objective of stopping the killing of civilians.

A. MARO'S RELATION TO OTHER OPERATIONS

The United States does not currently recognize mass atrocity response as a unique operational challenge, and there is no operational concept or doctrine that might help commanders understand the dynamics and demands of responding to mass atrocities. As a result, the US is not fully prepared to intervene effectively in a mass atrocity situation. This is not to argue that everything about a MARO is different. Most tactical tasks comprising a

---

[20] This definition is similar in formulation and meaning to that used by the GPTF, which defined the term "genocide and mass atrocities" to mean large-scale and deliberate attacks on civilians. Either could be used. Legal definitions of genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes are provided in Annex A.

MARO will be familiar. This is true almost across the operational spectrum; convoy escort, direct fires, and detainee operations are features of both peacekeeping and war. More broadly, a MARO involves a dynamic mix of offense, defense, and stability operations. Many familiar operational concepts, such as no-fly zones, protected enclaves, or separation of forces, may be elements of a MARO operational plan.

The fact that the tasks and concepts are familiar reveals little about the dramatically different context in which those tasks must be performed. Consider the US experience in Operation Iraqi Freedom, in which the context changed from major combat operations to counterinsurgency. Although many of the tasks and concepts remained the same, US forces were inadequately prepared to carry them out.

Some comparisons can be drawn between MAROs and other uses of military force that are recognized as types of operations requiring their own doctrine and training. However, in each case, there are sufficient distinctions to consider MARO a separate type of operation. For example, the civilian is critically important in both MARO and in humanitarian and relief operations, but the latter generally occur within permissive (non-violent) environments. Food, shelter, medical, and other assistance are required; the force is not organized or equipped to provide civilians protection from armed attack.

MAROs may combine elements from high-intensity conventional combat with aspects of non-combatant evacuation operations (NEO). But a MARO is obviously neither of those missions. For example, a MARO could require massing force, maneuvering, and closing with a well-organized and equipped adversary as in conventional operations. But in conventional operations, that enemy aims first to defeat opposing forces, not slaughter the defenseless. A NEO occurs in the face of external factors (e.g., competing sides in a civil war, a natural disaster) that have created the emergency requiring civilian evacuation. A NEO requires identifying and protecting civilians at risk, but success is defined as transporting the civilians to safety. Defeating combatants, protecting civilians from continuing attacks, or creating stable conditions are not part of the NEO mission.

A MARO can also resemble a robust peacekeeping operation. Indeed, in recent years civilian protection language has become embedded in UN peace operations mandates.[21] Unfortunately, tactical civilian protection is

---

21 Victoria Holt and Glyn Taylor with Max Kelly, *Protecting Civilians in the Context of UN Peacekeeping Operations: Successes, Setbacks, and Remaining Challenges* (New York: United Nations, 2009).

only slowly being implemented, in part because it presumes a level of capability and commitment to use significant levels of force for which not all troop contributors are prepared. More fundamentally, there is also little common understanding yet of what is required to "operationalize" civilian protection during peace operations. In notable cases, courageous UN field commanders have pushed the envelope of their mandates and capabilities to protect some civilians in specific tactical circumstances. Nonetheless, increasing civilian protection as one aspect of a peace operation remains conceptually and operationally distinct from intervening in ongoing mass atrocities for the primary purpose of halting civilian killing.

Counterinsurgency (COIN) has some aspects that are similar to those of mass atrocity response. COIN also prominently features the civilian, along with insurgents and local and/or foreign counterinsurgents. Insurgent and counterinsurgent forces compete for civilian loyalties using positive (protection/assistance) and negative (threats/violence) actions, and some civilians will be allied more closely with the competing groups. However, in COIN, all civilian protection is instrumental and relevant to the sides' competition for legitimacy. In a MARO, protection of civilians victimized by perpetrators is the core objective of the mission.

At the macro level, what distinguishes a MARO and a MARO situation is the character and dynamics of the conflict and the mission's primary objective—ending mass atrocities against civilians. Identifying the characteristics of mass atrocity and the particular challenges of a MARO is a prerequisite for developing relevant planning tools and the supporting doctrine, training, leadership, and matériel support. The following sections unpack these distinctions in greater detail.

B. DISTINCTIONS OF A MARO SITUATION

1. Multiparty Dynamic

A MARO situation is a multiparty affair, complicating planning and operations. At least three major categories of actors—the perpetrators of violence, the victims of violence, and the interveners—interact with results that are difficult to predict. A fourth category of "other actors" might include local civilian bystanders, a neighboring country, the United Nations, or NGOs. In a MARO, the reaction of these "other actors" can be highly

significant, affecting the pace of violence or the speed or perceived legitimacy of outside intervention. But the core dynamic of MARO remains *at least tripartite by definition,* even as all of the "others" remain critical for a full diagnosis of the conflict.[22] The complex dynamics of these groups must be factored into operational planning from the start.

Warfare has long been considered a two-party game between enemy and friendly forces. Accordingly, military war games have typically involved two actors: a red team (the enemy) and blue team (the "good guys"). In the last few years, US war games have begun adding a "green" team to represent non-US military, non-state actors, civilian governmental actors, or "others" with the capacity to affect the battlefield. While this is a welcome acknowledgment of complexity, this overlay continues to apply to the tripartite dynamic of a MARO. Thus these "green" actors—however they are defined—exist in addition to the perpetrator, victim, and intervener groups described above.

In a MARO scenario, an armed party—the perpetrator—is focused first and foremost on killing, wounding, or otherwise harming civilian actors, while the intervener's goal is to halt or prevent those actions. It is possible that multiple armed actors will commit mass atrocities against civilians rather than focus on fighting armed opponents, although they may also commit violence against agents of a state or victim's *ad hoc* or irregular defense forces. The numbers and types of perpetrators will vary, but in any MARO situation there will be at least one armed group committing violence against civilians. In many cases, perpetrators will use violence against civilians as a means to an end—killing or attacking civilians as a means of gaining political power, access to resources, or other objectives. This can create difficulty in identifying the centrality of mass atrocity amidst other types of conflict (e.g., insurgency, civil war) in which civilians are often targeted by one or both parties.

In the event that outside military forces have already been deployed for other purposes (e.g., peacekeeping, counterinsurgency) when a new decision is made to conduct a MARO, the shift in the intervening forces' mission will render the situation more complicated. For example, if intervening forces had been seen as impartial implementers of a peace agreement, the MARO force will now be seen as taking the side of the victims of violence against the perpetrators of civilian killing. If the MARO force had been allied with a government but is now protecting victims of government-inflicted or government-sanctioned violence, the intervening force will be considered

---

22   A more in-depth discussion of the "other" category is contained in the Mission Analysis section of Part II.

to have "switched sides." Further, by entering the equation, the intervening force transforms itself into a combatant that has taken sides in a (however potentially unequal) conflict. The intervening forces' entry into the mass atrocity situation will affect the calculations of all parties, change their behavior in unexpected ways, and may even transform the conflict into something entirely different.

The victims, too, have a vote. The victim response is not likely to be strategic or coordinated but rather *ad hoc* and reactive, varying across geography and time. Victims' choices—fleeing, hiding, organizing to defend themselves, appealing to other citizens or nations to intervene on their behalf—will affect the strategies of the perpetrator. Victim actions will also affect the MARO force, whose mission to stop the killing may then become a shield behind which victims can take revenge or a force that neighboring states or external actors fight for their own reasons.

Understanding these dynamics will be critical as the intervening force begins planning for an appropriate course of action. Any particular plan to address the mass atrocity will be shaped by a variety of traditional planning factors, including available resources, speed of required response, degree of acceptable risk, etc. It may be unclear who the perpetrator(s) is/are and what motivations or goals guide their actions; assessments could change over time as the situation develops and the intervention's consequences (both intended and unintended) unfold. Choosing from among competing courses of action should also be informed by analysis of the likely effect of intervention upon the calculations and actors of other parties, and the third-order effects of their adjustments upon each other.

2. Illusion of Impartiality

The intervener may be acting for what he considers impartial reasons (e.g., defense of human rights), unrelated to the identities of the parties or the underlying conflicts. The intervener may believe himself opposed to *actions*—violence against civilians—rather than a party or force. Indeed, if more than one party were inflicting mass violence upon civilians, the intervener might oppose actions in an even-handed way, i.e., against all attackers. Nonetheless, the perpetrators of violence and victims as well will perceive an intervening force as anything but impartial, even when more than one party is restrained from acting.

An intervention to stop mass atrocities will inevitably be hostile to the party committing violence, effectively putting the interveners in alliance

with the victims against the perpetrators. The perpetrators may turn their vengeance against the interveners, transforming the intervening operation's emphasis from civilian protection to enemy neutralization. Concomitantly, the victims may regard interveners as protectors, and they may also use the intervening forces as a means for extracting vengeance. Victims may use the implicit shield of protection offered by foreign intervention to carry out reprisals against perpetrators or others outside the victim group.

Other actors in and outside the region may see the interveners as threats to the preexisting power balance, or as threats to their own aspirations to change the constellation of power. Examples might include countries allied with the interests of the perpetrators, or armed groups seeking to overthrow a government conducting mass killings. These actors may then decide to use force against the intervening party.

Thus, even as a MARO may arise out of other types of operations as explained earlier, there is also a high potential for a MARO to quickly metastasize again into another type of conflict—civil war, insurgency, interstate conflict—dissolving both the original distinctions between victim and perpetrator as well as the original "impartial" and humanitarian reasons for the intervention.

3. Escalatory Dynamic

Mass killing of civilians can intensify and expand very quickly once it begins. This is particularly true when the ranks of potential perpetrators are elastic. The number and capabilities of those carrying out the killing may expand as the result of a *de facto levée en masse* among citizens or because additional internal or external military or paramilitary forces join in the massacres. The start of massacres (often coupled with a deliberate strategy to incite the population or allied actors) can also unleash emotions and fear with exponential effects. Consider, for example, that the Rwanda massacres had largely ended in 100 days, with perhaps 800,000 killed during that timeframe. Perpetrators may consciously speed up their killing in anticipation that they may be either discovered or stopped. One military analyst has argued that perpetrators of genocide recognize that they have a limited window of opportunity for their criminal actions, so that once their crime become known, their commission will hasten.[23]

While mass killing can be quick and expansive, it can also simmer slow-

---

23 Hinote, *Campaigning to Protect,* p. 29.

ly and flare episodically, as has been the case in Darfur, where the initial wave of killings was followed by more sporadic attacks over time. Attacks against civilians vacillated with the political climate, constraints placed on perpetrators by other actors, and even the season. This constrained dynamic will be more common where perpetrators have limited capability or believe that they can forestall outside intervention as long as levels of violence stay below a particular threshold.

Nevertheless, the potential for a rapid escalation raises particularly acute challenges for an intervening force. Individual states are generally slow, and the international community is even slower, to reach decisions about the use of force, particularly in situations that remain as controversial as a MARO.[24] Even when states choose to intervene, "their approach tends to be gradual, as more potent measures are only adopted after it becomes apparent that lesser measures are not working."[25]

Indeed, the asymmetry between a rushed genocide and a graduated response has important—and somewhat contradictory—implications for intervention. "The asymmetry works against those who want to stop mass atrocities," Hinote argues. "To be successful, a model of military intervention must account for it."[26]

C. OPERATIONAL AND POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS

This section outlines some key implications of the above discussion about a mass atrocity's character and dynamics.

1. Different Information, From the Outset

The difficulty of predicting either the onset or course of a mass atrocity, the complexity of the OE, and the potential for unanticipated consequences of intervention all highlight the critical role of information from the outset of considering a possible MARO.

The first indications of a potential mass atrocity are likely to require immediate reprioritization of collection assets and analytic resources simply to stay informed about the tangible and intangible conflict indicators. In addition, MARO planners will have an immediate need for non-traditional

---

24 Sarah Sewall, "Do the Right Thing: A Genocide Policy that Works," *Boston Review* (September/October 2009).

25 Hinote, *Campaigning to Protect*, p. 29.

26 *Ibid.*

types of information from non-traditional sources. They will want to know the motivations, strengths, and weaknesses of each of the relevant parties. They will therefore seek to change the typical information the intelligence community gathers—asking for psychological profiles of non-state actors, cultural assumptions and practices, conflict analysis, and tracking of small arms flows. They will want to exploit open-source information from non-traditional providers ranging from NGOs to the diaspora community in the US and beyond.

Nations will likely require greater capacity to provide rapid assessments of the "human terrain" in what may have been considered low-priority parts of the world. The US military is already moving in this direction as a result of its missions becoming focused on COIN and irregular warfare. The intelligence community should be forewarned about the need to shift its intelligence collection priorities and efforts quickly in the event of a potential MARO.

2. Advance Interagency Planning

Because of the difficulty of predicting a mass atrocity and its potential speed of escalation, advance planning and preparation for intervention will be critical. A MARO is unlikely to afford the preparation time that coalition forces enjoyed before Operation Desert Storm, with months for multiple iterations of plans, long negotiations about transit or overflight through neighboring countries, and build-up of staging bases and equipment. It is more likely to be a contingency that requires improvisation or the adaption of an existing deliberate or crisis plan. By the time military forces are directed to undertake this mission, they will be challenged to figure out what they are getting into or how best to achieve success.

This speaks to the importance of developing doctrine, leader orientation, conducting routine planning exercises, and developing common national and coalition concepts, vocabulary, and expectations. Any multinational execution of this type of mission will require a high degree of coordinated political and military effort.

At the same time, a certain amount of caution should be used with regard to early warning watch lists that might trigger planning. Historically, the conditions for widespread violence have often appeared to exist, yet violence has occurred in a relatively small proportion of these cases,[27]

---

27 Scott Straus, "Second-Generation Comparative Research on Genocide," *World Politics* 59.3 (April 2007): 481.

making lists useful but not determinant. Several different mass atrocity or genocide early warning initiatives have been developed, with the Genocide Prevention Task Force (GPTF) stating that "empirical analysis … indicates that the strongest and most reliable genocide risk factor is the existence of an armed conflict or a change in regime character."[28] In general, there will be a lot that is context-specific about pending mass atrocities and each will require close case-by-case analysis.[29]
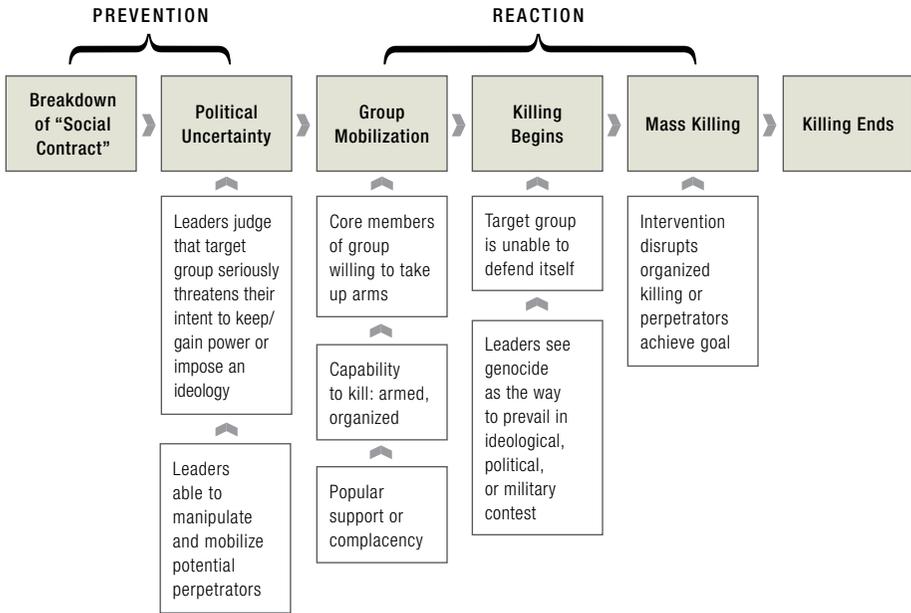
Yet even if there is no proven "checklist" of predetermining factors of a mass atrocity, there are still useful ways to think about how violence progresses toward mass atrocity and genocide—which in itself provides "precursors" or "interruption points" for intervention. For example, the model developed by the GPTF maps the progression of violence and potential intervention points (see Fig. 1).[30]

28 GPTF, "Preventing Genocide," p. 24. The GPTF highlights the efforts of the US government-sponsored Political Instability Task Force (PITF). Other resources include Gareth Evans, *The Responsibility to Protect: Ending Mass Atrocity Crimes Once and For All* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2008), pp. 74–75, which identifies five factors generally present before the onset of mass atrocities including a past history of such occurrences, the persistence of both articulated and non-articulated tensions or grievances, a lack of institutional peaceful conflict-resolution structures, a closed society, and poor leadership. In addition, the UN Office of the Special Adviser of the Secretary-General on the Prevention of Genocide has recently developed a genocide risk "analysis framework," which can be found at http://www.un.org/preventgenocide/adviser/pdf/OSAPG%20AnalysisFrameworkExternalVersion.pdf (accessed April 15, 2010).

29 The various branches of the US government will have access to the quarterly produced classified Atrocities Watchlist (AWL), issued by the NIC's Warning Staff, although reviews of the utility of this list have been mixed. GPTF, "Preventing Genocide," p. 25.

30 GPTF, "Preventing Genocide," p. 82.

PREVENTION

REACTION

| Breakdown of "Social Contract" | Political Uncertainty | Group Mobilization | Killing Begins | Mass Killing | Killing Ends |

Leaders judge that target group seriously threatens their intent to keep/gain power or impose an ideology

Core members of group willing to take up arms

Target group is unable to defend itself

Intervention disrupts organized killing or perpetrators achieve goal

Leaders able to manipulate and mobilize potential perpetrators

Capability to kill: armed, organized

Leaders see genocide as the way to prevail in ideological, political, or military contest

Popular support or complacency

KEY

❯ = LEADS TO

⌃ = WHEN e.g., political uncertainty leads to group mobilization when leaders judge that target group seriously threatens their intent to keep/gain power or impose an ideology and they are able to manipulate and mobilize potential perpetrators.

NOTE
The connections in the process are potential intervention points, at which a menu of options comes into play.

CONSIDERATIONS
• Environment: permissive or non-permissive
• Nature of belligerents: state and/or non-state; strong or weak; transnational allies/suppliers or not
• Nature of civilians: accessibility, size of population, geographically mixed or separated groups.

FIGURE 1 "Process of Violence: A Military Planning Tool," GPTF

3. Speed vs. Mass

A MARO may stand traditional planning precepts on their heads. Typically, military leaders prefer to adhere to the "Weinberger-Powell doctrine" and assemble a comfortable threshold of capabilities in advance of intervention. However, the potential for rapid escalation and a daily increase in civilian casualties in a mass atrocity or genocide situation may privilege speed over mass in MARO planning.

A late intervention could still potentially save some civilians, or help bring justice to the survivors; in some circumstances, a smaller or later intervention may be the only thing possible and should not be ruled out by planners. Nevertheless, "lateness" can be more problematic in a MARO than in many other operations. In a conventional conflict, if an intervention arrives late, certain aspects can be "undone"—territory may be recaptured or prisoners released. In a MARO situation, the perpetrator has achieved success if the civilians it wishes to have killed are killed; no subsequent victory against the perpetrators will undo the civilian deaths. Since the primary purpose of a MARO is to stop that killing, speed of response can determine overall success.

Figure 2 shows the potential asymmetry between the escalation of the perpetrator's violence and an intervener's response; the key is to try to move the intervener's action curve as far to the left as possible while delaying or dampening the perpetrator's action curve.[31]

This implicitly puts a premium on capabilities such as transportation assets and mobile forces to reach and move within the area of operations. It also suggests the need to leverage quickly deployable and non-kinetic resources to serve as efficient "force multipliers." The potential utility of one key enabler—ISR—is discussed in greater detail below. Finally, and most important, it requires rapid political and military decision-making in the face of uncertainty and risk.

The planning calculus implied by MARO suggests another reason why military planners must be familiar with this kind of mission before they confront one. A well-thought-out effort will be superior to merely attempting to muddle through.

---

31   Based on Hinote, *Campaigning to Protect*, p. 34.

| Shape | Deter | Seize Initiative | Dominate | Stabilize | Enable Civil Authority |

Other Actors and Activities

MARO

Other Actors and Activities

INTENSITY

TIME

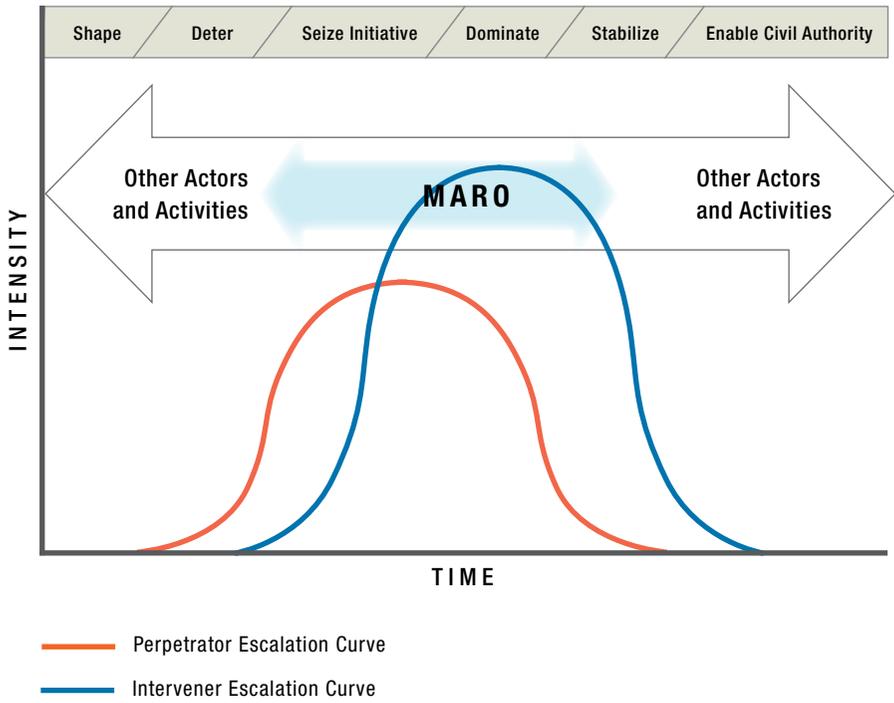Perpetrator Escalation Curve

Intervener Escalation Curve

FIGURE 2   MARO scenario escalation curves

4. The Power of Witness

In a MARO situation, transparency or witness can be a particularly important alternative or adjunct to using force. It is also a capability that retains utility before and throughout an intervention. For these reasons, witness deserves special attention from political and military leaders.

ISR provided by satellites, aircraft, or drones is the most flexible and lowest risk form of witness available to military planners. It might be effective in MARO situations to release some intelligence products to inform public understanding of events. However, ISR has technical limitations and its utility may be limited in some cases. Of course, not all witness need be high-tech. Witness on the ground—people observing violence, handheld video recordings of perpetrators, or cell phone cameras documenting crimes—offers a lower-tech "democratized" version of witness. These methods may entail more risk to the recorder of violence and the data may not be transmitted as reliably or immediately, but they can be critical for enhancing visibility and ensuring accountability. Military forces may wish to embed members of the media, given media's potential to contribute to witness and thereby advance mission objectives.

Transparency can help national leaders predict the onset and course of violence and consider how armed forces might help prevent its spread. Greater visibility regarding trends of violence may increase options for preventing its spread. Furthermore, the nature of mass atrocities suggests that ISR and other forms of witness might be useful for deterring or mitigating violence against civilians. Because mass atrocity is indisputably criminal and potentially shameful, the very fact of exposing it may have an impact quite different from exposing the conduct of war among combatants (assuming that the threat of prosecution or retribution is real and understood). Witnessing or recording acts of genocide can be powerful in several complementary respects:

- Transparency can actually halt the acts of violence if perpetrators decide that the risks of being subsequently held personally responsible (either as a matter of justice or physical violence) are significant.

- Transparency can convince the "others" group not to join in the violence against civilians for similar reasons, or to do something to prevent it. Witness shatters the illusion that "everyone's doing it" by demonstrating that outsiders have an interest in knowing precisely who is committing crimes. It can also put pressure on potentially influential actors who may be turning a blind eye to the situation.

- Witness can shape international understanding regarding the nature of crimes and need for political, economic, and/or military action to stop or ameliorate their impact. While it is rarely the case that outside states and organizations are unaware of mass atrocities, they have historically been reluctant to believe sporadic reports, or unwilling to take action until sufficient consensus regarding the brutality and impact of the crimes has emerged.

- Witness can be critical for obtaining evidence that can be used in future national or international processes for legal redress.

- Tactically, witness can help political and military authorities better assess the dynamics of the conflict in order to allocate diplomatic, humanitarian, and military resources more effectively.

The above discussion suggests that a different use of familiar tools can be critical in identifying, deterring, and responding to mass atrocity. It also suggests that deterrence may be practicable in the context of mass atrocities, even where states are not the primary actors.[32]

5. Symptoms or Root Causes—Can There Be a Handoff?

One of the most important questions related to MARO planning is the intervening force's measure of responsibility for civilians. This question of limits pertains to both scope of tasks and length of time. Will the intervening force simply stop the killing, providing whatever emergency assistance it can until relative stability has been restored? Or will the force be expected to sustain its efforts beyond the cessation of mass murder, to include the provision of services and restoration of governance? Essentially the issue is whether it is possible to limit a MARO to dealing with the symptoms rather than the underlying causes (or aftereffects) of mass violence.

There are severe challenges with either approach, yet the choice makes a huge difference for the military (and accompanying civilian agencies). On the one hand, limiting the responsibilities of the intervening force should make it easier to garner political will to intervene in the first place. However, there is a danger that assumptions about a future "handoff partner" will prove false, or that the partner may be inadequately prepared for the responsibility. In this case, the intervening force will find itself either withdrawing without ensuring enduring security or assuming responsibilities

---

32 It should be noted that this dynamic could be manipulated by parties in order to catalyze intervention by outside forces. Policymakers and planners should be alert to the general possibility that parties will seek to manipulate their actions.

for which it was ill-prepared. Alternatively, an intervener's willingness to accept long term nation-building responsibilities following a MARO may require a long-term commitment and a broad range of governance, economic, social support, rule of law, and other capabilities. It is therefore a more weighty decision. If there were a viable "relief" force on the horizon, nations with greater military capability may be less reluctant to consider taking on the initial MARO mission.

There is thus a potential international division of labor on MARO, akin to that sought in the early 1990s on peacekeeping responsibilities. Unfortunately, international capacities to provide follow-on peacekeeping and nation building are still deficient despite some improvements in the past decade. Moreover, some situations will remain sufficiently violent that only more robust military forces could hope to maintain stability.

6. Immediate Non-Military Requirements

While there may be continuing uncertainty regarding the ability of a MARO force to hand off future nation-building requirements, it is also likely that many non-traditional military tasks will fall to that force in the short term, certainly while the level of violence remains high. A MARO plan must account for the particular combination of humanitarian, public order, criminal justice, and governance challenges that accompany mass atrocities, and it will be best served by early integration with civilian actors and agencies in order to facilitate the transition of specific responsibilities to others.

In concrete terms, the humanitarian challenges of mass atrocity situations include not only burying the dead and helping the wounded but aiding, reuniting, and resettling internally displaced persons, managing identity and safety issues in IDP camps, and addressing the unique psychological harms that accompany mass civilian slaughter.

Judicial processes will differ from those that armed forces typically apply regarding criminal detainees or prisoners of war. In a MARO, the tasks include identification and imprisonment of alleged perpetrators, the ongoing prevention of vigilante justice, and collection and preservation of evidence of mass murder.

Restoration of credible political authority may be similarly complicated. Mass criminal activity will likely have removed legitimacy from individual leaders and tainted segments of the population by association. Reconciliation processes may need to proceed in conjunction with formal or informal

judicial remedies. Depending on the political *status quo ante* (peace agreement, representative government, *de facto* dictatorship), the restoration of government may require a dramatic break with the past.

It is also essential that any MARO force coordinate with (and learn from) organizations that may already be active on the ground in the area of conflict. There are several potential categories of actors here, with varying degrees of coordination possible. From the US perspective, one group of actors includes civilian governmental agencies able to provide assistance in key areas in which military forces are less expert, particularly providing services to displaced and traumatized civilians, implementing civil criminal justice, and facilitating political reconciliation and governance. While these agencies in this case would be easier to involve in information sharing and planning by virtue of shared status as US government actors, the ability of civilian agencies both to plan and conduct operations in their areas of assigned responsibility remains a notable weakness.

It is therefore vital to engage other categories of actors in MARO planning and operations. International and regional organizations such as UNICEF, UNDP, UNHCR, and ECHO may already be operating in country and well positioned to take on crucial tasks as killing is halted. Finally, international and local NGOs have an important role to play, although they may be less willing to coordinate closely with a MARO force, or may only do so through a civilian agency. Local NGOs may also be compromised by the same divisions that led to mass violence, and even international NGOs (or, for that matter, international and regional organizations) may find similar pressures compromising the impartiality of local staff. It is essential for the MARO force to be cognizant of these factors as it plans operations.

7. Moral Dilemmas

In a MARO, the difference between doing right and wrong will be strategically crystalline and tactically elusive. Moral dilemmas will proliferate. They are likely to be the least appreciated dimensions of MARO planning and operations, yet they may create the most significant political vulnerabilities for the intervening parties.

The categorization of persons is perhaps the *a priori* moral dilemma facing interveners. Where the distinctions between victims and perpetrators cannot be easily recognized or verified, how can interveners determine who

is which party? One can easily think of historical examples where the predominant dividing lines were unclear—Nazi Germany murdered not just Jews but also other groups; Rwandan *genocidaires* killed moderate Hutu in addition to Tutsi. Even where the distinctions can be discerned, does the intervener accept and work with the distinctions or refuse to honor them, crafting responses based solely on the actions or choices of individuals?

In practice, these choices will affect everything else the intervening force undertakes. Should the force concern itself primarily with the senior perpetrator leadership, and if so, can intelligence guide this determination? Will the force aid or abet the separation of groups of persons in safe zones or refugee camps? Will this penalize neutral parties or endanger dissenters within categories? Will the force have to work through a government or other indigenous actors with "dirty hands"? Should humanitarian assistance be prioritized by status in the conflict or provided equally to all? How can the force ensure that assistance will not fall into the wrong hands and exacerbate the conflict?

Interveners must not only anticipate these dilemmas, but prepare themselves for criticism from interested parties—to include neighboring countries, human rights groups, and diaspora communities. The potential ethical backlash could be debilitating. Instead of producing the pride and satisfaction of being recognized for humanitarian action, a MARO may cause service members to question the morality of their actions and nations to second-guess their decisions to intervene.

Doing the right thing without being prepared for tough choices and potential ethical backlash can undermine the effectiveness of the operation and dissuade parties from future humanitarian action.

8. Political Guidance

In a MARO, a high degree of politico-military interaction in the planning process is critical. MAROs entail a great degree of risk that must be understood and accepted by political leadership.

A MARO demands careful and considered political guidance. Civilian leadership often provides vague or incomplete guidance to military forces at the outset of military operations. Whether this takes the form of a UN Security Council Resolution or a statement of national purpose, civilian guidance often omits key issues or provides contradicting directions that are difficult to implement. This can place military forces in the untenable

position of filling gaps or prioritizing guidance that, in reality, is best decided by political authorities

Most of the vexing issues related to a MARO—e.g., how to identify perpetrators, whether to treat just the symptoms or also the root causes, the degree of risk to assume in moving swiftly—are properly resolved by civilian authorities. In particular, the political sensitivities and potential moral backlash require careful consideration of alternative courses of action and second-and third-order effects of military intervention.

PART II MARO PLANNING CONSIDERATIONS

A. INTRODUCTION

As discussed in Part I, MAROs have specific and even unique challenges that an effective MARO plan must take into consideration. Part II of this Handbook shows how these specificities can be integrated into a typical military planning process to understand the environment, frame the problem set, and develop a solution. While this Handbook generally conforms to the commonly used Joint Operational Planning Process (JOPP) used by US military planners, it can also serve as a reference for military planners from other nations, intergovernmental organizations, and for other interested readers.

MARO situations are likely to be complex "wicked problems" with a variety of intertwined geographic, political, military/security, economic, social, infrastructural, and informational factors, and an effective mission analysis will address all these particularities and challenges. The commander and staff need a sophisticated appreciation of these factors—particularly regarding the motivations of the main actors, which implies a need for different kinds of information, as explained in Part I—in order to frame the problem set effectively.

Planning begins either when directed by a higher authority and guidance or when a commander or staff independently decides to do so. In the former case, the mission may already be dictated from a higher headquarters plan, making the Mission Analysis relatively straightforward. In the latter, the command might assess that because of the potential risks in its area of responsibility, it either needs to prepare for a particular scenario or develop a generic MARO plan that is readily adaptable to unforeseen crises. Alternatively, a command may develop a MARO plan as a focused branch to a Major Contingency Operation.

If a MARO is conducted by a coalition or an alliance, each military

may receive specific guidance from its national authorities or combined guidance from a collective body composed of the Defense Ministers or senior military officials. UN Security Council Resolutions can include the mandates for UN forces and may include provisions for non-UN partners such as a MARO force. Unfortunately, strategic guidance from these sources may conflict, be vague, or be incomplete.

Regardless of the time available, a generic planning process consists of several steps, including: Initiation, Mission Analysis, Course of Action (COA) Development, COA Analysis and Wargaming, COA Comparison, COA Approval, and Plan or Order Development.[33] MARO plans will normally follow this process, although they may be complicated both by a lack of specific and timely guidance as well as by high-level participation in the planning process because of the politically sensitive nature and potential media glare put on a MARO, particularly with respect to COA development and selection.

A MARO intervention may be strictly limited in scope and time to halting mass atrocities, and once this is achieved the operation is terminated and the MARO Task Force (MTF) may withdraw in short order. In other situations, a longer-term perspective may be prudent to reduce the probability of future mass atrocities. The MTF may or may not be involved in any such post-intervention stabilization efforts; this Handbook presumes that at a minimum such considerations should often be accounted for in comprehensive MARO plans.

B. MISSION ANALYSIS

In this section, MARO considerations are presented within the framework of a typically used Mission Analysis outline to understand the OE and structure the problem. The Mission Analysis construct presented here includes the Strategic Situation/Background, the OE, the Endstate and Military Objectives, a consideration of Resources Available, a Critical Factors Analysis, Planning Considerations, and Mission Analysis Results, and it focuses on elements which are most salient in a MARO.

In a sudden MARO situation, a command may be told generally that it will respond, but a formally approved Strategic Guidance Statement (SGS) may be long in coming. In such cases the Mission Analysis will be vital to scope the problem and, potentially, shape the SGS's evolution. In some sit-

---

33 *Joint Publication 5-0: Joint Operation Planning* (Washington, DC: US Joint Chiefs of Staff, December 26, 2006), III-19 through III-50.

uations, the command may provide critical input into strategic guidance formulation and may even propose draft guidance such as that contained in Annex B. Because of the escalatory, fast-moving, and politically charged dynamics that are often present in an unfolding mass atrocity scenario, a MARO Mission Analysis should be revisited often and will need to be flexible enough to handle changing circumstances, uncertainties regarding policies, objectives, constraints, and force allocations, and political and legal complications such as sovereignty and host nation consent issues.

As described in Part I, MAROs require more of a focus on non-traditional and open sources of information and intelligence. While information sources for a MARO Mission Analysis can include intelligence assessments, political advisors, members of the Department of State (or comparable ministries), and other agencies, they should also include country studies and articles and reports from credible media sources, academia, and non-traditional providers such as local NGOs, international NGOs, and the diaspora community. Indeed, the most current, thoughtful, and pertinent MARO-related information may originate from these unclassified sources, although information sharing with international NGOs is often complicated by their usual preference not to be aligned with a military belligerent. However, NGOs that focus on reporting, advocacy, and policy analysis may be more directly helpful than strictly humanitarian organizations.

1. Strategic Situation/Background

It is important to understand the strategic context, setting, and background of the MARO situation. A brief historical overview is often useful, as well as a summary of relevant recent events. The crisis and any potential responses may be affected by regional and international factors such as the involvement of neighboring states, boundary disputes, and transborder tribal issues. Refugee flows arising either from the mass atrocity itself—or as a response to the planned intervention—could influence the affected country's relations with its neighbors. Major powers with significant economic interests in the area of crisis should be included in the assessment. Planners should summarize the United States' (or other relevant governmental) interests in, involvement with, and policies toward the country. If there has been involvement by the UN or regional organizations, any pertinent resolutions or peacekeeping deployments should be included. Finally, it is important to address any relevant strategic guidance that relates to the issue.

In addition to the general strategic situation assessment, in a MARO situation planners should evaluate to what extent some of the commonly identified risk factors for mass atrocity or genocide are present in the area of operation (as discussed in Part I). This is particularly true if the planning is done as part of a contingency development process, when there might be more of a need for an "early warning" analysis. However, it is also important to stay alert for further mass atrocities or genocide that may be developing either in the area of crisis or in neighboring regions.

2. Operational Environment

This section discusses the need for all actors involved in the mass atrocity situation to be identified, the dynamics analyzed, and the relevant OE considerations delineated.

A. ACTORS

When planners analyze the MARO situation, they need to be aware of its multiparty dynamics. It is not simply "enemy" and "friendly," as in the typical warfighting scenario; instead, there are four categories of actors who interact, often with unpredictable results. This complicates planning, and the capabilities, requirements, and vulnerabilities of these actors must be factored from the very start and throughout operational planning. The four categories include: perpetrators, victims, interveners, and a more nebulous group of "others."

Perpetrators

This group includes those conducting or likely to conduct the mass atrocities against civilians, and could be state or non-state actors. When the perpetrator is a state, the intervening force will be faced with issues of non-consent, delays, and the potential requirement to intervene forcibly against organized militaries. State control of a mass atrocity may be at the highest level, or it may be the result of decisions made by lower-level figures. States may use their security forces, paramilitary groups, or proxy forces to conduct mass atrocities. Alternatively, the government could be tacitly or informally supporting independent perpetrators or, once unleashed, the perpetrators could begin operating beyond the government's control or original intentions. Finally, mass atrocities could be committed by a rebel group or other non-state actor without government involvement or even in the face of

government efforts to halt the perpetrators. Particularly in failing or fragile states, non-state actors may act independently of or in opposition to the government because they have sufficient local power to do so. Non-governmental perpetrators may be identity-based, such as tribal groups; others may reflect ideological factors.

In some situations, multiple belligerents may instigate mass atrocities, even if the course of the violence against civilians is uneven or unequal among the parties. Understanding a perpetrator's motivations is essential for determining how best to counteract. Perpetrators may be motivated by identity factors, perceived historical wrongs, territorial claims, racism bred out of fear, desire to extend political control or impose a political ideology, economic issues, support for criminal enterprises, or establishment of a reign by terror.[34] A genocide or mass atrocity could be the result of a counter-guerrilla campaign: when an army cannot defeat guerrillas by conventional military means, it may shift to targeting non-combatants.[35] Conversely, rebel groups may conduct mass atrocities to intimidate populations, undermine the government's legitimacy, or provoke the government into a disproportionate response.

Some members and supporters of a group of perpetrators may not be motivated by any of these things— or they could be primarily coerced into their actions by others. The leaders of a perpetrating group may have different motivations from those that are undertaking the bulk of the killing. Children may be exploited by perpetrators in the conduct of mass atrocities and "recruited" to fight or assist. Perpetrators may conduct extensive mobilization efforts including recruiting, conscription, and indoctrination. These efforts may be facilitated in cultures where violence is extolled and peaceful livelihoods infeasible. Actual perpetrators of killings must be distinguished from civilians associated with the perpetrators (one of the "moral dilemmas" described in Part I), and consideration should be given to the psychological damage that perpetrators, particularly conscripted children, will be facing in the aftermath.

Perpetrators may adopt a range of strategies; the mass atrocities may appear to be relatively spontaneous and intensely violent, or they may evolve incrementally over an extended process that includes lesser measures such as expropriation of possessions, relocation, isolation, and the gradual reduction of the means necessary to survive.

---

34 Valentino sets out a typology of mass killing in his book *Final Solutions*, pp. 68–90.

35 Paul Huth and Benjamin Valentino, "Mass Killing of Civilians in Time of War, 1945–2000," in *Peace and Conflict 2008*, ed. J. Joseph Hewitt, Jonathan Wilkenfeld, and Ted Robert Gurr (Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2008), p. 83.

These are the civilians who are the direct or indirect target of the perpetrators' actions, or who are at potential risk. Identifying all the real and potential victims will not always be a straightforward task, and "who is a victim" may shift, depending on the perpetrators' and interveners' actions. In addition to situations in which there is one-sided violence committed against defenseless civilians, preexisting conflict may have created general conditions of mutual violence, and the current mass atrocities may simply be an extension or escalation of that dispute. Displacement or governmental negligence could cause victims to be vulnerable to a variety of indirect threats in addition to direct attacks. In addition to becoming more easily targeted if they are concentrated in specific locations or "safe havens," when displaced from their homes for extended periods they will likely become more susceptible to disease, starvation, or dehydration.[36] Women and children are likely to be affected by the crisis and killings in ways different from men. They are more vulnerable to rape, being forced into slavery, and in many societies face a grim future if they become widows or orphans.

The victim groups may have distinctive external characteristics such as racial features, language, or cultural dress. They might also be identified by other means such as identity cards. A key consideration is whether they are concentrated in selected areas, dispersed in a wide region, or intermingled with other population groups and generally integrated within the rest of the society. They may have a potential self-defense capability as well as cross-border linkages.

Victims will seek to survive through hiding in place, fleeing to perceived safe havens, or organizing resistance. Victimized groups may have, or may develop, some means of defense, and these should be addressed, including an assessment as to whether they can be expected to play a constructive or unconstructive role in the crisis resolution. Large numbers of victims may seek security or humanitarian assistance from MTF units and may establish camps at their bases.

---

36 "Of the nearly four million who have died [in the Democratic Republic of Congo] since 1998, most perished from preventable and treatable diseases hastened by the mass displacement of civilians fleeing militias. About two percent of these deaths resulted directly from violence." Victoria K. Holt and Tobias C. Berkman, *The Impossible Mandate? Military Preparedness, the Responsibility to Protect, and Modern Peace Operations* (Washington, DC: The Stimson Center, September 2006), p. 167. The authors base this comment on an International Rescue Committee–led mortality survey of 2004.

In the aftermath of an intervention, victims will probably require significant humanitarian assistance and will likely desire to return to their land, seek justice and/or retribution against the perpetrators, and gain knowledge of what happened to family members or acquaintances who may have disappeared during the crisis. In many cases, perpetrators will target leaders, teachers, doctors, and other members of the "intelligentsia," which could make it particularly difficult for victim groups to self-organize after the violence is stopped. This in turn could impair the MTF's ability to coordinate with victims, and it may need to identify suitable representatives.

Finally, in the same way that today's victims may have been perpetrators themselves in a previous era, victims and perpetrators may change roles during a conflict—atrocities committed by one side could inspire retaliatory atrocities by another, particularly if the MARO intervention significantly weakens the perpetrators.

Interveners

This category includes external military forces that have a role related to the intervention, potentially as independent actors. In addition to the MTF, however it may be constituted, a UN peacekeeping force may already be present, subordinate to a UN Special Representative of the Secretary General (SRSG). UN forces will be operating in accordance with UN Security Council Resolutions under a Chapter VI (Pacific Settlement of Disputes) or Chapter VII (Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace and Acts of Aggression) mandate. Regional organizations such as NATO or the AU may have yet another peacekeeping force. This could create unity-of-effort challenges, because the forces will all have separate chains of command. Additionally, a country may have units in the MTF as well as units in one of the other peacekeeping forces, and may retain *de facto* control over all these units. Regular or irregular forces from neighboring countries may also be conducting operations in the crisis area for ostensibly interventionist reasons, possibly in support of the victims, but potentially in cooperation with the perpetrators. These other intervening forces may be viewed as formal or informal partners with which to coordinate operations or which may require MTF support, although in some situations their presence may complicate matters and/or they may become perpetrators themselves. It would also be prudent to account for any peacekeeping forces in adjacent countries.

The "other actors" category may be further divided into three subgroups: bystanders, negative influences, and positive influences. It can include heretofore uninvolved populations in the country, neighboring populations or leaders, regional organizations, UN agencies or political missions, some local and international NGOs, and portions of the media. The key to the "others" category analysis is to understand the likelihood of these actors turning into perpetrators, victims, interveners, or to remain as neutral/passive bystanders. In many cases, their actions may be decisive in the crisis's eventual outcome, and one goal of a MARO is to encourage constructive contributions from these other actors, while discouraging them from playing a negative role.

Bystanders will often be motivated by perceived self-interest and be risk-averse. Indigenous bystanders are sometimes referred to as the "soft middle;" they may be swayed or coerced by perpetrators into complicity with the mass atrocities, and some could become targets themselves. Alternatively, some may be persuaded to support the victims or the interveners, particularly if they are assured of the intervention's legitimacy, capability, and their own protection. Key international bystanders that could potentially facilitate or impede a MARO may include regional countries, global powers, and international government organizations (IGOs). In some fragile state situations in which the government is not directly complicit in mass atrocities, it may in effect assume a bystander role because it is unwilling or unable to confront the perpetrators for a variety of political or other reasons.

Non-military actors, such as UN agencies, NGOs, and parts of the media, can have a direct and significant influence that supports the intervention. However, the ability of many NGOs to interact with an intervening military force is likely to be limited by their need to preserve "humanitarian space," which generally motivates them to keep a distance and distinction between themselves and a military force and its actions in order to maintain access to vulnerable populations and adhere to their mandate of impartial assistance where it is most needed.[37] The perceived difference in desired endstates of

---

37 In order to lay out and make explicit parameters of military-humanitarian relations in the field, various iterations of guidelines for civil-military relations in conflict situations, complex emergencies, and humanitarian crises, both general and context-specific, have been drawn up by the UN and others. One such document is the June 2004 IASC Reference Paper, "Civil-Military Relationship in Complex Emergencies." Another is the USIP-facilitated "Guidelines for Relations between US Armed Forces and Non-Governmental Humanitarian Organizations in Hostile or Potentially Hostile Environments" (July 2007), endorsed by Interaction and the US Government.

humanitarian NGOs and a MARO intervening force may affect the ability of the two groups to cooperate closely. Military actions are driven by political objectives, and the fact that a MARO's endstate appears to be humanitarian in nature will not necessarily be accepted at face value by all NGOs, particularly as the means to achieve that endstate may be antithetical to the particular NGO. Nevertheless, mass atrocity or genocide is one of the few extreme situations where these same humanitarian NGOs may be supportive of a military intervention, and decide to overrule their general opposition to coordination with a military force.

As the MTF's goal should be to achieve "unity of effort" within the MARO OE, it is only when the MTF and the NGOs understand each other's missions/endstates and each other's operating rules/constraints/restraints that they can operate optimally within the MARO OE. Generally, NGOs will be more comfortable dealing with civilian agencies such as those from the United Nations, USAID, or perhaps Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) or Field Advance Civilian Teams (FACTs)—although even these relationships may be limited. Nevertheless, these entities may be effective intermediaries between the MTF and NGOs.

The "other actors" category also includes those who have a negative influence on the situation, including supporters of the perpetrators or criminal groups that may be exploiting the chaotic conditions. Other countries could be negative influences by providing diplomatic, military, or economic support to the perpetrators or by opposing the intervention. China, for example, is often criticized for supporting the Sudanese government while atrocities were being committed in Darfur.

As mentioned earlier, the "other actors" are not just peripheral players. One key aspect of a MARO may be transforming neutral/passive "bystanders" into positive influences.

B. AREA OF OPERATIONS / INFLUENCE / INTEREST

A graphical display should depict the MARO force's Area of Operations (AO), including operational boundaries and areas of particular focus. If ground forces are limited to a certain region, the boundaries should nonetheless account for air and maritime operations as well. Conventional land forces may restrict their MARO efforts to limited areas, but air and Special Operations Forces (SOF) assets could operate against perpetrators in more distant locations.

There is a high likelihood that a MARO situation and AO will be trans-border—either because of refugee flows, because perpetrators are operating from safe havens across the border, or due to the location of MTF bases. Any cross-border operations may create complications with respect to the neighboring nations' sovereignty. Furthermore, they would complicate "whole of government" coordination that would otherwise be accomplished through a single country team.

The map should also include the Area of Influence—places that will be directly affected by the operation or can directly affect the operation. The Area of Interest will likely be much larger, likely including major powers and MARO force intervener homelands.

C. ANALYSIS OF OPERATIONAL ENVIRONMENT

The OE can be divided into seven categories for convenient yet comprehensive analysis—and within this analysis planners should consider how these variables affect each of the four groups of actors identified previously. Within each category the related challenge will be to identify the significant MARO-related considerations, as it would undoubtedly be possible to write volumes on each. Planners should identify the key factors and tensions that are most likely to affect any potential operational approach and that offer insight into the specific tactics that can stop the killing effectively.

Many considerations (e.g., police or crime) could conceivably be included in more than one category; where they are covered is not as important as the fact that they are covered somewhere. It is helpful in different categories to identify any "core grievances" ("the perception, by various groups in a society, that their needs for physical security, livelihood, interests or values are threatened by one or more other groups and/or institutions") and "drivers of conflict" ("[t]he dynamic situation resulting from Key Actors' mobilization of social groups around Core Grievances").[38] Grievances relate to the fundamental causes of conflict, while drivers are more related to symptoms. Significant linkages across categories should be identified; some will be self-evident and others less so. For example, in some

---

[38] Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization, *Interagency Conflict Assessment Framework (ICAF)* (Washington DC: US Department of State), 8 and 10, available at http://www.crs.state.gov/index.cfm?fuseaction= public.display&shortcut=C6WW. The ICAF is a useful four-step process including: 1—Evaluate the Context of the Conflict; 2—Understand Core Grievances and Social/Institutional Resilience; 3—Identify Drivers of Conflict and Mitigating Factors; Describe Opportunities for Increasing or Decreasing Conflict. It characterizes grievances as "potential energy" and drivers of conflict as "active energy." ICAF considerations can be incorporated within the traditional OE analysis or prepared separately.

areas elected or appointed government officials may have marginal influence, while any real authority is held by warlords, sheiks, or criminal groups. Finally, it is important to provide insight regarding change dynamics during the operation, that is, how key considerations are likely to evolve.

Geographic

The region's physical features, such as rivers, mountains, and deserts, can significantly affect both the MARO crisis and the MTF operations. Perpetrators may use restrictive terrain such as jungles to facilitate or conceal mass atrocities. Victims' survival can be hindered by mountains, deserts, and cold climates. Some geographical particularities can either be at the root cause of or serve as flashpoints for conflict. For example, river areas may be primary sources of water and fertile agricultural land, as well as concentration points for population, and hence be a source of conflict or violence flashpoint. Mountains may divide nations into dissimilar regions and make it difficult for a central government to exert control. Environmental factors, such as desertification, drought, or storms, may provide additional grounds for conflict; one factor in the Darfur conflict has been the desertification that pushed nomadic tribes into areas occupied by other tribes. Major population centers should be noted, with particular emphasis on the anticipated AO. The geography will affect ISR requirements, force mix, and mobility requirements, as well as communications and logistics support.

Political

MARO situations, like other conflicts, are inherently political. National, transnational, and subnational political dynamics all may impact both the crisis and any resolution efforts, and can give the planner insight toward the main aims of a perpetrator's actions. Key elements include the country's political structure, political doctrine, centers of political power, level of competence, extent of control, and any factions that complicate the problem or that can be exploited to achieve a solution. The country may be a failed or fragile state with limited central government control, or it may have a totalitarian regime with virtually absolute power. Other potential issues include levels of corruption, key charismatic leaders, secessionist tendencies of factions, and existent peace agreements. It is important to understand who is politically dominant and who is subordinate, and who stands to gain from the atrocities.

Subnational political considerations may also be significant, particularly in the areas where a MARO is likely to occur. The role of provincial or state governments should be explained, as well as their latitude and the identity of any key political figures. Also relevant may be an explanation of the justice system, particularly if courts and prisons are used as instruments to support mass atrocities.

Regional and international political analysis is also important. Refugees or rebel groups from one country may be located in another country. The country's role in and relationship with any regional organizations should be noted. The potential response of regional countries to the MARO force's operations as well as any second-order effects should be assessed. There may be strongly expressed international support for or opposition to the intervention, and potential political fallout. This may depend on whether the intervention has been authorized by a UN Security Council resolution. The International Criminal Court (ICC) may become involved in the situation, which could seriously impact an intervention, positively or negatively. The MTF may be requested to make apprehensions or collect evidence and groups under investigation may become more resistant or more compliant.

Military/Security

The actual perpetrators may be regular military units operating under direction of the state, rogue military units operating more or less independently, temporary paramilitary units, police units, internal security forces, or other armed groups such as rebels, militias, gangs, or private armies. Other armed factions may be aligned with victim groups (who may have developed their own self-defense militias) or uninvolved in the mass atrocity situation.

The MTF needs an appreciation of all armed entities; while particular groups may not actually be involved in mass atrocities, they could act as adversaries or potential partners during a MARO intervention. Important information will include organization (order of battle), disposition, capabilities, vulnerabilities, objectives, leadership, morale, discipline, readiness, and possible courses of action if a MARO does or does not occur. The assessment should also address available weapons sytems such as ships, armor, artillery, air defenses, maritime defense, and aircraft including helicopters. In some situations perpetrators may have weapons of mass destruction (WMD—especially chemical weapons) that might be employed against victims or in retaliation for an intervention. It may be useful to identify arms suppliers to the belligerents. An explanation of how law and order are main-

tained at the local levels, a description of the composition and actions of police forces, and an assessment as to whether police forces can be responsible actors may be appropriate, as well. Security forces, including secret police, may be the primary orchestrators of mass atrocities, and in some countries rival organizations may compete with the military and with each other for the leader's favor. This may accelerate tendencies toward mass atrocities or, alternatively, create vulnerable divisions that the MARO force can exploit.

The assessment should include potential actors such as UN or regional peacekeeping forces in the country in question or its neighbors, as well as an overview of the military capabilities of these neighboring countries as they potentially relate to a MARO intervention.

Economic

The assessment should identify economic grievances and drivers of conflict that impact upon the operation; mass atrocity situations can develop over a struggle for control and access to natural and strategic resources, or because the majority resents an economically advantaged minority. The analysis should include key considerations with respect to agriculture, manufacturing, trade, gross domestic product, natural resources, income distribution, poverty, unemployment, corruption, black marketing, narcotics trafficking, human trafficking, and humanitarian assistance needs. If not controlled, humanitarian assistance supplies during and after an intervention may be at risk for appropriation by criminals, military forces, or other armed groups and fuel black market activities. The assessment should identify key trading and investment partners, their roles in the situation, and their support for and potential leverage over the government. Economic sanctions may be considered as a means of prevention/response, or may already be in place.

Social

Social cleavages often exist in mass atrocity situations—although contrary to conventional wisdom, religious or ethnic diversity in itself often does not create a greater likelihood for genocide or mass atrocity.[39] Usually of more relevance is the *manipulation* of differences related to tribal, ethnic, religious, cultural, linguistic, or regional differences by perpetrators to convince those within the perpetrating group and potentially the "other" inter-

---

[39] GPTF, "Preventing Genocide," p. 24.

nal and external bystander group to take part in mass atrocities; one potential focus for the MARO force is to think about how this manipulation could be subverted.

Planners should identify refugee and IDP camps, if they have already been formally or spontaneously set up, and planners should note their populations, conditions, and who controls them. In the early stages of a mass atrocity situation, flows and encampments of displaced persons may not be evident or easily recognizable. Refugee and IDP camps could be internally run by gangs to the detriment of the refugees and IDPs, or could serve as safe havens for insurgents (or others) that could incite government action against the camps. Additionally, the camps could provide lucrative targets for those intending to commit mass atrocities. Another potentially significant societal characteristic might be xenophobia, which could galvanize national resistance against any outsiders, however well intentioned an intervention might be.

Social issues such as crime, drug use, child-soldiers, and human trafficking may have direct linkages to the MARO situation. Finally, the analysis should include any significant health issues such as diseases, which, in addition to affecting the population, could affect the MTF.

Infrastructure

This analysis should address infrastructure that is relevant to support the MTF and related humanitarian operations and logistics. Key considerations include power generation and distribution, road and rail networks, ports, airfields, medical systems, water sources, and communications systems. It may be useful to prioritize new infrastructure that needs to be created or old infrastructure requiring replacement, in order to assist the MTF in its intervention in the immediate crisis. Generally, port capacities, airfield capacities, and rail capacities are of particular importance to support deployment and sustainment of the operation, and are also significant for operations of other actors such as NGOs.

Informational

An analysis of the way information is handled both internationally and locally/nationally is critical to understanding the dynamics of a mass atrocity, to plan a response, and to decide how the intervener can best use media and information to its advantage.

International media reports about an unfolding mass atrocity are likely

to be a catalyzing agent for response, and may powerfully shape the way in which various elements of an operation are perceived and prioritized. The ways in which perpetrators, victims, or others act and respond is likely to be affected by how they perceive the international community and other groups are acting and responding—and this they will learn from both the international and the local media. As discussed in the earlier section on "the power of witness," perpetrators are less likely to conduct mass killings in the direct presence of international observers or peacekeepers, and they are similarly less likely to do so in the presence of foreign media.

Perpetrators also will attempt to control, or decisively shape, the information environment (both international and local), and utilize it as a capability to conduct a mass atrocity. As we have seen in situations such as Rwanda, the local/national media—whether it is radio, TV, word-of-mouth, village loudspeakers, or the Internet—can be an important part of a perpetrator's genocidal campaign. Victim groups can also use media to campaign for a response or retribution, and both groups can use media to recruit from diasporas or other outside groups. Informational analysis should include details about key media outlets, and whether they are open or restricted, balanced or partisan. The language and rhetoric advanced by perpetrators and victim groups should be closely monitored by the US (or other relevant) Country Team, as well as by the MTF, with a focus on identifying hate media, inflammatory speeches, and the dehumanization of victim groups; the potential for dissuading or blocking inflammatory information and promoting other messages should be examined. In addition, the planners should consider whether additional surveillance and reconnaissance elements are needed. The identification of key national, regional, and international audiences and appropriate themes will be required to support the strategic communications plan.

3. Endstates and Military Objectives

Distillation of strategic guidance sources discussed above, and the MTF's staff's own analysis, will help identify the operation's endstates and objectives. The MARO force commander should approve this assessment and confirm it with the higher authority.

As the main mission of a MARO (as opposed to other operations in which mass atrocity prevention is not the primary purpose) is to halt violence against civilians, the endstate in a MARO situation might resemble:

Endstate

- Widespread mass atrocity is stopped (or) prevented and is unlikely to occur in the future.

The military objectives (sometimes called "operational objectives") should be focused specifically on what the MTF could achieve, and should look for a division of responsibility with relevant civilian agencies, such as the US government, the UN, the host nation (HN), or a follow-on force with greater peacekeeping and stability capacities. The MTF might be incorporated into this follow-on force.

Military Objectives

- Vulnerable populations are secure from atrocities.
- Leadership of perpetrators is identified, captured, and detained.
- Humanitarian assistance is enabled where needed.
- Transition to appropriate civil entity that will promote good governance, permanent security, and social well-being is accomplished.

These objectives will not apply in all cases. For example, apprehension of the perpetrator leadership may be beyond the scope of the mission, and the MARO may be a short-duration raid-like operation with minimal involvement in subsequent affairs. It may be impossible to rescue all victims, and the scope of a particular mission may be limited to objectives that are practicable. Most of the discussion in this Handbook is presented with the assumption that a MARO will likely be incorporated within a broader effort and that a MARO plan should account for a comprehensive approach with an appreciation of what might occur before or after the intervention. Higher authorities should review and approve these objectives.

4. Resources Available

This section of the analysis should identify forces to be devoted to the effort, including any supporting or allied assets; the description should distinguish between those expected to be committed and those that are conceivably available. It should also include an estimate as to when the forces will be available for employment. Any shortfalls should be identified as they become apparent. Land forces will be instrumental for protecting vulnerable populations, defeating perpetrators that threaten civilians or the MTF, securing territory, conducting stability operations (including

security force assistance to the HN or partnered forces), operations against perpetrators, and some forcible entry. Maritime forces can secure shipping lanes, interdict support to perpetrators, conduct strikes, deliver humanitarian assistance, conduct forcible entry, support infrastructure development in ports, provide sea bases, and conduct ISR missions. Air forces can conduct ISR, secure air space, deliver humanitarian assistance, transport troops and other resources, and conduct strikes. SOF can conduct short-notice operations, reconnaissance and direct action against perpetrators, and provide security force assistance to intervening partners as well as to HN elements. SOF also conducts Psychological Operations (PSYOP) to influence perpetrators, victims, and other actors and provides Civil Affairs forces to assist with stability tasks, although most Civil Affairs and PSYOP assets may augment ground forces that are likely to provide most of the in-country presence.

It would also be appropriate to identify significant non-military organizations that will contribute to the effort, particularly the civilian authorities who should be integrated with the MTF during the early stages of an intervention and who will assume primary responsibility for any reconstruction and stabilization that might be directed once the MTF has established adequate levels of security. These civilian authorities may be from the US government (USG), the coalition at large, the UN, regional organizations, or the HN. Their organization and plans will likely be *ad hoc,* but the MTF will need to push this issue even as it focuses on the early portions of the intervention.

During the Mission Analysis, it is important to develop the MTF's organization and Command Relationships. This includes identifying the subordinate commands that will be required, and the actual units that will fulfill the roles. Relationships with interagency, coalition, and partners such as the UN should also be explained. While the precise task organization will depend on the eventual plan, it is advantageous to determine the force's structure as early as possible. Figure 3 depicts a notional MTF organization. The land force is scalable from limited (2,000–5,000) brigade-sized interventions to division-sized (15,000–25,000) or larger operations. While the land force commander may at times have responsibility for the overall mission, it is normally preferable to have a higher commander who orchestrates the overall effort (including supporting air, maritime, special operations, and logistical forces), provides "top cover" for the ground force, and focuses externally on matters relating to diplomacy, policy, interagency coordination, and strategic guidance.

National Authority[1]

Higher Command[2]

Military Partners[3] — COORDINATION — **MARO Task Force** — COORDINATION — **Civilian Agencies[4]**

Land Component[5]	Air Component	Maritime Component[10]	Spec Ops Component	Logistics Component
• Brigades or Battalions[6] • Advisor Teams[7] • Enablers[8] • Special TFs[9]	• Strike Assets • Lift Assets • ISR Assets • UAS • Base Ops	• Strike • Littoral • Sea Control • Shipping • Port Ops[11]	• SOTF(s) • Ranger Units • Other Air, Land, Sea SOF	• Theater Logistics • Contracting • Base Ops

NOTES

[1] President/SecDef for US forces; may be a consultative body for alliances or coalitions.

[2] Geographic Combatant Command, Formal Alliance, or a coalition military committee.

[3] Coalition members in a parallel coalition, UN forces, or host nation security forces.

[4] Country Team, SRSG, or host nation government.

[5] Commander of ground force (up to 5,000 troops for a brigade, up to 25,000 troops for a division). Marine forces normally included when ashore.

[6] Units may be sub-organized on a regional basis.

[7] Advisory teams may support coalition partners or indigenous forces. All or part of the advisory responsibilities may reside with other components or the MTF.

[8] May include civil affairs, military police, PSYOP, rotary aviation, engineer, medical, tactical logistics, armor/mechanized/motorized units, etc.

[9] e.g., Investigations, Consequence Management.

[10] Marine forces normally included when afloat.

[11] Port Operations may be responsibility of Logistics Component.

FIGURE 3   Sample MARO Task Force Organization

5. Critical Factors Analysis

A Critical Factors Analysis includes the center of gravity (COG) and its linked critical capabilities, critical requirements, and critical vulnerabilities. A key feature of most plans is using this analysis to exploit adversary critical vulnerabilities, while remedying one's own. MARO situations are distinct from conventional "friendly versus enemy" analyses because of the multiple categories of actors (perpetrators, victims, interveners, and others), and the critical vulnerabilities of these latter two categories become important considerations. The analysis can become more complicated when multiple entities are perpetrators, or if victim groups are able to acquire sufficient power with which to seek revenge. Perpetrators may view interveners as an adversary to resist, and previously neutral actors may also oppose an intervention for a variety of reasons. Normally, separate Critical Factors Analyses are done at the strategic and operational levels. In some cases it may be more efficient to combine these into a single analysis.

Critical Factors[40]

Center of Gravity: The source of power that provides moral or physical strength, freedom of action, or will to act.

Critical Capability: A means that is considered a crucial enabler for a COG to function as such and is essential to the accomplishment of the specified or assumed objective(s).

Critical Requirement: An essential condition, resource, and means for a critical capability to be fully operational. (In a MARO, this concept can be expanded to account for needs from the actor's perspective; this permits an appreciation of the actor's motivations.)

Critical Vulnerability: An aspect of a critical requirement that is deficient or vulnerable to direct or indirect attack and that will create decisive or significant effects.

It is useful to identify the "triggers" that influence each of the actors. Critical Factors will evolve over time, and it is beneficial to reconsider them periodically, particularly when the situation has changed significantly. Annex C contains an example of a four-actor Critical Factors Analysis.

---

40 *Joint Publication 3-0: Doctrine for Joint Operations* (Washington, DC: U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, September 10, 2001), IV-10, 11.

6. Planning Considerations

A. FACTS

As the entire Mission Analysis contains a myriad of facts, this section may be used for any important aspects not covered elsewhere in the analysis. This is a good place for staff members to highlight any significant items in their functional areas. If not addressed previously, non-military resources that support the mission could be summarized here.

B. ASSUMPTIONS

Assumptions should be limited to those required to continue planning. Key MARO assumptions might relate to timelines, force levels, caveats held by coalition partners, involvement of the MTF in post-conflict reconstruction and stabilization, and prepositioning and regional access. Also of importance are assumptions regarding the levels of collaboration or cooperation that can be expected of other actors—international non-governmental organizations (INGOs), other international forces (such as a UN peacekeeping operation), and the host government. In the absence of clear guidance, assumptions may also need to be made regarding whether to target, pursue, or prosecute perpetrators, which potentially could mean that the MTF would need to attack the HN military or government. Many of the assumptions that are made for a hypothetical contingency plan would be clarified when a crisis presents an actual situation, and the plan should be modified accordingly. Annex D contains a sample set of topics for developing assumptions.

C. LIMITATIONS

This section outlines the constraints (things that the intervening force must do) and the restraints (things that the intervening force must not do). These may include actions with respect to perpetrators of mass atrocities or combat operations against the HN military or government. Any known caveats imposed by contributing nations with respect to the employment of their forces should be noted, as well as restraints on out-of-country forces. For example, a neighboring country may permit humanitarian flights to originate from its territory, but may prohibit combat sorties from doing so. This section should identify any restrictions the HN government has imposed that will be respected by the MARO force, or any other considerations with respect to HN sovereignty. For example, the MTF members may or may not abide by HN customs and immigration procedures. Key elements of

the MARO force's rules of engagement should be addressed. Any impact of political boundaries should be discussed, with respect to such issues as hot pursuit, strikes or raids, or HA to refugees who have fled the country.

D. TASKS

Any specified and implied tasks for the MTF should be identified, with emphasis on the essential tasks that will determine mission success. As described in Part I, essential tasks will likely include a mix of offense, defense, and stability actions. Force will likely be needed to halt mass atrocities, and a related mix of humanitarian, judicial, public order, and governance tasks will also likely need to be carried out. Annex E provides a list of some likely relevant tasks.

7. Mission Analysis Results

A. MISSION STATEMENT

The MARO Task Force's mission should reflect all essential tasks and be a clear statement in terms of who, what, when, where, and why. A representative mission statement might look like the following:

SAMPLE MISSION STATEMENT

On order, MARO Task Force conducts full spectrum operations in Country X to stop the violence against civilians, protect the civilian population, and support international efforts to establish long-term security, good governance, and development.

B. DRAFT COMMANDER'S INTENT

While individual commanders may prefer a different format, the following example matches that in current joint doctrine:[41]

SAMPLE COMMANDER'S INTENT

Purpose: To protect vulnerable civilians in Country X from atrocities.

Endstate: Mass atrocities have been stopped (or prevented) and are unlikely to occur in the future. Responsibility has been successfully transferred to appropriate civil authorities.

....

41   As of this writing, the suggested format in the latest draft of the forthcoming *JP 5-0* contains "Purpose, Method, Endstate."

Key Tasks:

- Rapidly deploy capable force to Country X.
- Conduct offensive, defensive, and stability operations to secure vulnerable civilians and halt perpetrators.
- Coordinate with and support interagency and international partners.
- In conjunction with international partners, provide humanitarian assistance.
- Transition responsibility for reconstruction and stabilization to designated civilian authorities, or other force.

C. COMMANDER'S CRITICAL INFORMATION REQUIREMENTS (CCIR)

This section should include the key (approximately 8–12) developments that could significantly affect the mission. Example Priority Intelligence Requirements (PIR) and Friendly Force/Intervener and Other Actors Information Requirements (FFIR) are as follows:

SAMPLE CCIR

Priority Intelligence Requirements (PIR):

- What are the locations, compositions, activities, capabilities, weaknesses, and intentions of perpetrators or other adversaries?
- What support is being provided to perpetrators or other adversaries, and who is providing it?
- Have there been any new mass atrocity incidents or significant acts of violence against civilians?
- Has the HN government had a change in its composition or policies?
- Are new adversarial groups forming and, if so, why?

Friendly Force/Intervener and Other Actor Information Requirements (FFIR):

- Have there been any relevant policy changes by the US, the UN, regional organizations, or other key countries?
- Are there any significant changes in the capability of the MARO force or its partners?
- What significant problems and successes are the MARO force and its partners experiencing?
- What are the future plans of the MARO force subordinates, supporting commands, and partners?
- What additional resources are required?

D. RISK ASSESSMENT

This section is a US-focused draft set of the major challenges to the mission that are anticipated, and how these risks might be mitigated. Some risks inherent in a MARO may include:

The intervention may cause resistance and its lack of impartiality could place the MTF in danger. MTF operations could be opposed by perpetrators (potentially including the HN government and its military, which may initially agree to the mission, but then oppose it). The intervention could also serve as a rallying point for international terrorist groups. In addition, the MTF may be acting for what it considers impartial reasons, but the perpetrators of violence and victims will perceive an intervening force as anything but impartial, even when more than one party is restrained from acting. The MTF could become the target of numerous factions that are frustrated by their perception of the situation, particularly if their expectations are not met. Mitigation approaches include strategic communication to influence the population, perpetrators, and other actors favorably regarding the intervener's actions. When possible and appropriate, the intervention should obtain the early involvement of responsible HN actors in decision-making and operations and enable more impartial providers of assistance, such as humanitarian NGOs.

Inadequate resources may be committed to the intervention. Force levels could be too few to establish adequate security throughout the Area of Operations (AO), jeopardizing the mission to protect civilians, and placing the MTF at extreme risk. In addition to the human suffering resulting from mission failure, US credibility could be severely damaged and other perpetrators encouraged. Negative effects from this risk can be mitigated by prioritizing areas for operations, adopting a sequential "shape-clear-hold-build" approach. The US and other countries may be more focused on other issues, thus reducing the will or resources required to support an extended effort. Seizing the initiative quickly with successful operations ("quick wins") may generate timely momentum that offsets the limited number of available forces. HN capacities in essential functions should be developed, and these capacities factored into the overall effort as early as possible. When practicable, close coordination should be established with partners such as IGOs and NGOs to achieve unity of effort.

Deployment may move too slowly to stop atrocities. The escalatory dynamics of atrocities can mean that they occur in extremely short periods of time, and that once perpetrators are aware of a pending intervention, they may speed up their actions. In the best of circumstances, significant time will be required to identify, mobilize, train, equip, deploy, and integrate the entire force. This risk can be mitigated by the identification of rapidly deployable forces, potentially including SOF, maritime forces, airborne units, air power, ISR, and regional forces. Deployment times may be shortened by early planning, identification and preparation of deploying forces, dedicating airlift and sealift, and by conducting part of the required training and

prepositioning equipment in the theater of operations. Shows of force and strong diplomatic and informational efforts may deter perpetrators from carrying out contemplated atrocities.

Intervention may become a "quagmire." An intervention originally for limited purposes could face escalating or protracted resistance because of changing conditions, inadequate resources committed, faulty planning for post-intervention efforts, or the intractable nature of the country's problems. This risk may be mitigated by a clear and adaptive understanding of the situation's dynamics, effective expectation management, sound planning, a strong and capable coalition, and effective strategic communication to gain cooperation from other actors and to convert some perpetrators into responsible partners.

HN government may collapse. If the intervention unleashes centrifugal forces in the country, it could trigger the inadvertent collapse of the HN government, particularly if the MTF undertakes any military operations against the government or its security forces. This would necessitate the creation of a new HN partner with which to achieve long-term stability, and may expand the scope of any required stability operations. Depending on the situation, it may be prudent for a MARO to have a branch plan for governmental collapse.

E. PLANNING TIMELINE

The Mission Analysis should include a projected timeline for mission planning (e.g., decision briefs and backbriefs, including decisions to be made at higher levels), deployment, operations, key events, and mission completion. The timeline may also identify windows of opportunity or vulnerability that relate to a potential MARO situation, as well as potential interruption points where coercive or deterrent actions can be taken to derail the perpetrators' planning and preparation, or otherwise reduce the chances of a mass atrocity escalatory path. For example, an upcoming election may yield contested results and, as occurred in Kenya in 2007–2008, trigger vicious conflict. Interruption points are closely tied to indicators and warnings (I&W), and proactive deterrent measures in such cases may mitigate the possibility of mass atrocities.[42]

---

42 Some potential interruption points may at first glance appear as legitimate actions. For example, in Rwanda voter registration lists were widely distributed in order to verify the transparency and legitimacy of the registration rolls. However, this gave the perpetrators planning the genocide a ready-made list of victims. Other potential interruption points include the gathering of weapons, the establishment of paramilitary groups or militias, or the arming of sub-organizations of political parties.

C. COURSES OF ACTION

It is generally good practice to keep options open when planning and conducting military operations; this particularly applies to MARO situations, which will have complex dynamics and significant political overtones. At some point, however, subordinate commands will need specificity as to the actual tasks they are expected to accomplish. The outlines of some COAs may begin to emerge during Mission Analysis, and in an extremely time-compressed planning situation the Commander may direct that one satisfactory COA be developed in conjunction with Mission Analysis.

During a MARO situation, political decisions regarding whether to respond, and how, will be the most important issue. Policymakers will usually want to explore options along the spectrum of "doing nothing" and full-scale intervention. The following table shown in Fig. 4, presented in the GPTF document, shows this spectrum and some sample actions that would fit into those categories.[43]

The general thrust of a MARO, and this Handbook, is focused on planning for an intervention once a mass atrocity has begun. Nevertheless, as discussed in Part I, prior to the actual intervention political authorities may consider the use of surveillance or other options to interrupt the escalation of violence. In addition, during the actual "response" to stop atrocities, there may still be elements of "deterrence" or "prevention" of further atrocities in other locations in the AO. Therefore, this section first discusses the use of FDOs, which might be the initial steps before the later segments of a MARO operation, and then addresses distinct aproaches that can help formulate COAs for the actual intervention.

1. Flexible Deterrent Options

FDOs include Diplomatic, Informational, Military, and Economic (DIME) actions, and are primarily intended to dissuade an adversary from taking an undesired action. They may also go further to compel the adversary to stop or limit his actions. This Handbook retains the term "Flexible Deterrent Options" when discussing actions prior to the main MARO intervention, even though some of these actions may not simply "deter," but could also "prevent" or "compel." There may be a gray area between FDOs and an intervention, and a MARO could evolve incrementally. Military FDOs are

---

43 GPTF, "Preventing Genocide," p. 83.

PREVENTION	DEFENSE — Focus on physical protection for civilian population		OFFENSE — Focus on halting actions of belligerents		RESTORE ORDER, TRANSITION TO SUSTAINED PEACE
	PRESENCE Deter violence through military presence or threat	**PHYSICAL (STATIC) PROTECTION** Defensively protect vulnerable civilians in fixed locations	**COERCE/COMPEL** Disrupt means and capabilities of perpetrators	**DEFEAT** Militarily defeat perpetrators	
Peacekeeping and monitoring	Patrol on land, at sea	Protect villages, stadiums, churches, etc.	Disrupt supply lines	Deployment of ground troops	Assist host government/transitional authority in restoring order
Increase intelligence collection surveillance	Conduct military exercises	Protect IDP/refugee camps	Control borders, roads	Air campaign	Support arrest, detention, and prosecution of war criminals
Build capacity of legitimate security forces	Use satellites/unmanned aerial vehicles to gather information on potential atrocities	Establish interpositionary operations	Enforce no-fly zone		Support for governance and rule of law
	Position military assets in deterrent posture; for example, off-shore or in neighboring territory	Protect humanitarian corridors	Impose arms embargo/cut off military assistance		DDR and SSR programs
			Jam media, hate radio, and other communications		
			Precision targeting		

FIGURE 4   "Graduated Military Options for Genocide Prevention and Response," GPTF

most effective when they are done in combination and concert with non-military measures.[44] Military FDOs could be employed during any phase of the intervention and may include shows of force, preparations for future operations, or actual operational missions. They may be lethal or non-lethal and may be positive or threatening in nature. National authorities can be presented with a menu of FDOs to choose from, along with any associated risks. Combatant Command or relevant MARO force commanders will likely be required to provide input and recommendations regarding the use of military FDOs.

FDO objectives may include exposing perpetrator actions to international scrutiny, establishing credibility of a potential intervention, building capability for a potential intervention, protecting potential victims, dissuading or punishing perpetrators, isolating the perpetrators, or building and demonstrating international resolve. One of the main potential risks of employing FDOs in situations of potential mass atrocity is that a particular FDO could ignite a volatile situation, leading perpetrators to believe that a perceived window of opportunity is closing. Appropriate media coverage of FDOs would be critical in leveraging their potential deterrent power, and can increase the "power of witness" that exposes a perpetrator's actions and motivates him to behave responsibly.

FDOs may be grouped as low-, mid-, or high-level, generally depending on the resources required, risk involved, or degree of intrusion on Country X's sovereignty. Low-level measures include increasing or decreasing military training and assistance, supporting potential coalition partners in the affected region, activating the MTF and/or subordinate headquarters, heightening alert statuses of designated units, beginning deployment preparations of units to ready for rapid response, conducting exercises at various levels, or reframing previously scheduled exercises to fit a MARO context to provide more relevance. Maritime forces that may already be present in the region could operate close to the affected country's territorial waters and through any regional chokepoints to assert freedom of navigation.

A second category of FDOs requires a higher level of resources or effort, may encroach upon the target nation's sovereignty to a higher degree, and potentially has a higher degree of risk. This could include increased

----

44 Military FDOs usually improve in-theater capability, although, strictly speaking, to be an FDO a measure must be visible to the adversary. Some measures to improve capability might be masked to the adversary and technically would be Force Module Packages (FMPs), even though they will also commonly be referred to as FDOs.

surveillance and other ISR activity, such as using Joint Surveillance Target Attack Radar Systems (JSTARs) and unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) and other collection means, to monitor perpetrator behavior, deter undesired actions, or gather evidence for any future judicial process. It could also include regional port visits by naval vessels; reinforcement of current military presence in the region with additional US or coalition air, maritime, or land power; intensive PSYOP; establishment of regional basing arrangements in neighboring countries and prepositioning of assets; shows of force; and early deployment of selected forces.

Finally, the third category of FDOs involves a higher degree of risk, greater resource commitment, or significantly encroaches upon a country's sovereignty. This includes no-fly zones; mine-clearing operations on land and sea to prepare for subsequent maneuver; non-combatant evacuation operations; HA operations including air-drops; electronic warfare; unconventional warfare with SOF (including organizing resistance); and strikes or raids against key military targets.

Sample FDOs are discussed in greater detail in Annex G. FDO employment may contain risks that generally include:

Ineffectiveness. The FDOs may be too benign to achieve the desired results. If the intent is to apply graduated measures and incrementally expand pressure on perpetrators, this could provide a lengthy window of opportunity for mass atrocities to occur.

Unintended escalation. FDOs may ignite a volatile situation. Perpetrators may accelerate their conduct of atrocities because they may perceive a window of opportunity that is closing. FDOs may inspire indigenous opposition groups to increase any activities that may have been contributing to the situation and prompt a harsh governmental response or manipulate an intervention by external parties. Perpetrators may also attempt to retaliate outside of Country X against interveners or others.

Collateral damage. Lethal means in particular could result in unintended casualties. Even a force on a relatively benign mission, but on a heightened force protection status, may engage innocents without being aware of their status or intentions. FDOs may result in other undesired second-order effects.

Anti-Americanism or anti-coalition sentiment. Any increased use of military force may generate some concern in the region or elsewhere. Some will instinctively be suspicious of US motives, and FDOs may distract attention from the mass atrocity situation, or provide an excuse for inaction by other international partners.

Military losses. FDOs may result in casualties or equipment loss because of accidents or hostile contact. In an extreme situation, a committed force could be at risk if placed in a situation beyond its capability to handle.

Increased resistance because of pride or nationalism. Use of FDOs may galvanize anti-intervener opposition in Country X, resulting in the government becoming more intransigent or motivating other neutral actors to side against foreign interference.

Military FDOs will be more effective when combined with diplomatic, informational, and economic actions. While these measures will be decided on by higher authorities, the advice of the MTF or the Geographic Combatant Command (GCC) may be solicited; in any event, the commander will need an appreciation of the non-military actions that surround any military FDOs. Some measures may have a direct effect on the military's posture, and the military can support many of these actions with its operations and engagements.

Diplomatic measures can comprise a combination of inducements and threats, and may include: negotiation; coalition building; consensus building; restricting diplomatic activities; coordination with IGOs and NGOs; recalling the Ambassador; breaking diplomatic relations; diplomatic recognition of opposition groups; extradition; obtaining stationing and overflight rights; pursuing UNSC resolutions; complying with treaties; enforcing international law; reducing embassy and consular presence; NEO; issuing travel advisories; and highlighting the situation in speeches and interviews given by senior policymakers.

Informational deterrent options generally are intended to heighten awareness of the situation, gain support for US policy, and convince perpetrators that they are being watched, thus capitalizing on the "power of witness." These measures may include: public policy statements; public affairs and press releases; diplomatic demarches; release of relevant electronic media and film; editorials and articles in periodicals; conducting and participating in conferences regarding the situation; exchange of information with other states, IGOs, and NGOs; and citing credible information from non-governmental sources. Military "Information Operations" will closely overlap with this dimension, as well.

Economic deterrent options can provide a combination of inducements and sanctions to influence potential perpetrators. Economic sanctions may require an extended time period to take effect and some may ultimately have a worse impact on innocent civilians than on the country's elite or potential perpetrators. Economic measures may include: altering trade policy with trade sanctions or trade promotion; embargoes; foreign aid; technology controls; debt forgiveness; freezing or seizing monetary assets; adjusting exchange rates; or advocating programs with the International Monetary Fund or World Bank.

2. Direct Military Intervention

Once the decision has been made to intervene, the MTF commander will likely experience a situation in which mandates or strategic guidance are incomplete, vague, or still being drafted; conversely, what would normally be an internal military decision-making process may be scrutinized by and vetted through higher authorities such as the Office of the Secretary of Defense or the Country Reconstruction and Stabilization Group (CRSG).[45] The resulting operations will receive close oversight, as well. In most tactical situations, a command will receive a fairly clear-cut mission from its higher headquarters, such as to seize an objective or to defend a sector; the command then internally develops COAs with a relatively fixed set of tasks, resources, and other mission parameters. A MARO force, however, may find that these parameters are all ill-defined or negotiable; moreover, the actual decision to pursue some COAs would have to be made externally at the highest political levels.

Broadly speaking, the emphasis of a MARO COA may derive from seven major different approaches. They are not necessarily mutually exclusive, and actual COAs will likely combine different features from multiple approaches.

APPROACH 1 • SATURATION

The emphasis of this approach is to establish control and provide security over a large region with dispersed ground units.

DESCRIPTION. Once established within Country X, land forces are assigned unit sectors and given the mission to halt mass atrocities, neutralize or defeat perpetrators, and secure vulnerable populations in their sectors. Unit sectors normally should coincide with the host nation's political boundaries (e.g., provinces, districts, and subdistricts) to facilitate civil-military coordination. Operations include frequent presence patrols to prevent actions by perpetrators, protection of population concentrations and key infrastructure, and offensive operations against organized resistance. Units remain in assigned areas to gain local expertise and to establish effective two-way information with the respective populations. Significant numbers of mobile Quick Reaction Forces (QRFs) are created at all levels to respond throughout assigned sectors. Units operate from large fixed bases, establish small outposts through-

---

45   The CRSG is part of a broader Washington policy process known as the Interagency Management System (IMS), which is triggered to take a "whole of government" approach to a crisis.
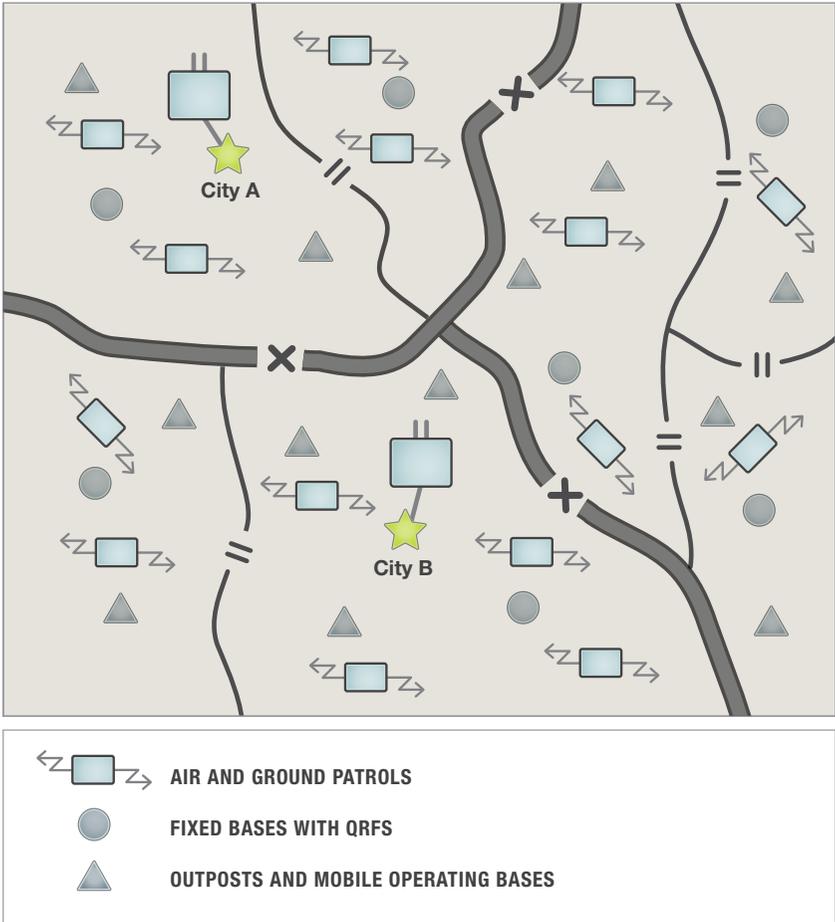
FIGURE 5   Saturation Approach

out the area, or establish platoon- and company-sized "mobile operating bases" that displace frequently. Once security is established in sectors, creating a safe environment in which other legitimate actors can operate, responsibility for reconstruction and stabilization can be transferred to other authorities. A general paradigm for this approach was the occupation of Iraq after the 2003 invasion.

CIRCUMSTANCES. This approach may be appropriate when opposition is limited, when the MTF has a large number of troops, when other trusted partners are available (including reliable HN military and police organizations), when vulnerable populations are spread over large areas, and when rival groups are intermingled. It may be employed at a small scale in conjunction with other approaches in order to establish security with MTF presence in critical areas.

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES. Positive aspects of this approach are that the MTF can focus on the entire conflict area, securing it quickly, with adequate operational flexibility in the area. This provides the requisite secure environment for civilians while enabling humanitarian access for other actors. Widespread presence and control can help prevent perpetrators and spoilers from organizing and operating. Integration with responsible indigenous security forces can enhance the operation's legitimacy and facilitate transition to other authorities.

Negative aspects of the Saturation Approach are that it will require rapid deployment of a sizeable force, may take a long time, and will likely require significant monetary, personnel, and matériel resources. An elaborate logistical network will be required to support the widely dispersed ground forces, and other requirements (such as interpreters) will also be extensive. Command and control (C2) will be complex, as numerous units will simultaneously be conducting operations in unique situations. Force protection challenges may be significant as small MTF units could be vulnerable while on patrol and in small bases. Because of its size and widespread presence, the MTF may generate greater nationalist resistance in Country X as well as some opposition from the international community. Dispersed MTF units could also be targeted by numerous frustrated actors whose expectations are not being met.

This approach focuses on selected key locations that are initially secured, with control gradually expanded to other areas.

DESCRIPTION. Rather than attempt to control the entire area of conflict from the outset, which could require a large effort, land forces initially secure a few key areas and gradually expand control throughout other portions of the AO. This approach is sometimes labeled "clear-hold-build" and is modeled on classic counterinsurgency techniques commonly attributed to Galula.[46] In this construct, "mobile" forces would be used less as QRFs, and more as offensive forces to attack perpetrators in order to clear and secure new areas, thus expanding the MTF's control. "Static" forces then maintain the secure, stable environment in which to establish governance, meet humanitarian needs, and foster development. Ideally, indigenous security forces are incorporated early and their police forces ultimately assume primacy in these locations.

CIRCUMSTANCES. This approach may be appropriate when it is unlikely that the MTF will be able to establish quick dominance over potential adversaries, either because of limited friendly forces, a large and capable perpetrator, or an extensive area of operations. It might be suitable when most potential victims are concentrated in a few areas, when there is limited responsible indigenous security capacity, or as an initial effort until more friendly capacity is available (e.g., other coalition partners who may require a much longer time to deploy).

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES. Positive aspects of this approach are that it permits the deliberate and progressive establishment of security while reducing the risk of setbacks. C2 and logistics will likely be less challenging than with the Saturation Approach, although any separation of units may still complicate these functional areas. Operations can be easily focused, enabling the massing of combat power and other effects. This approach may require less resources for the MARO effort than does the previous method, and if an effort to build indigenous capacity is required it may do so in an incremental, systematic fashion.

....

46 David Galula, *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice* (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 1964, reprint 2006).
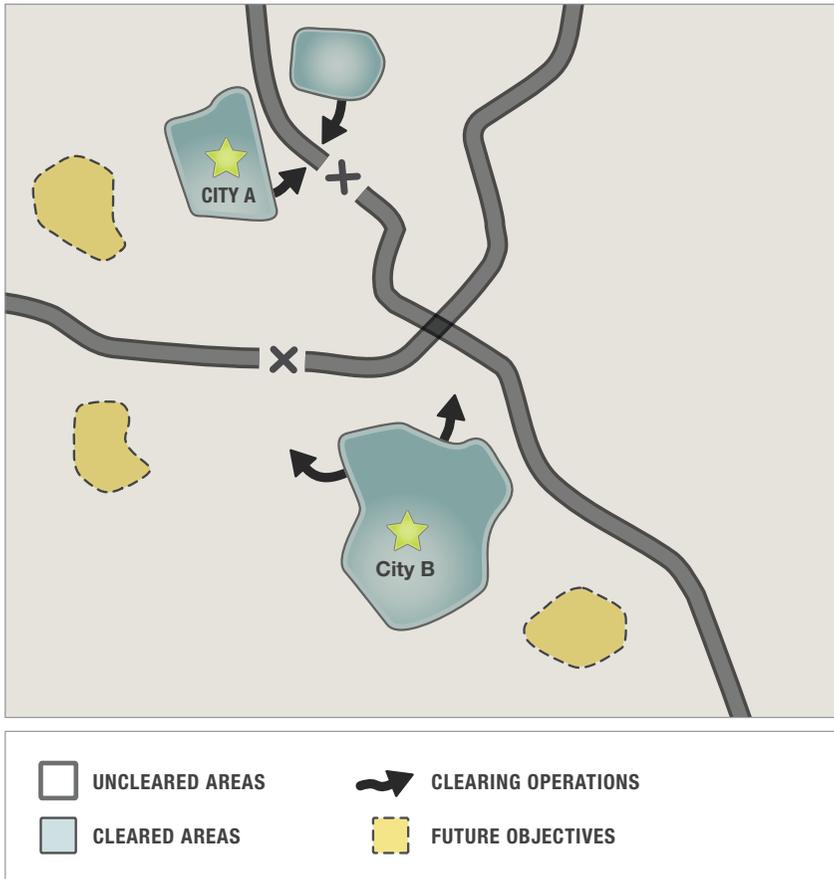
FIGURE 6   "Oil Spot" Approach

A significant negative consideration is that atrocities can continue in areas where the MTF has not established a presence. In effect, uncleared areas are ceded to perpetrators, spoilers, and other potential adversaries who may use them as sanctuaries from which to conduct their own operations. Large swaths of uncleared territory may limit NGO access to populations and could result in vulnerable lines of communication. It may require an extended commitment, particularly against an adaptive, persistent, or strong perpetrator.

APPROACH 3 • SEPARATION

In this approach a buffer zone is established between perpetrators and victims.

DESCRIPTION. MTF forces are deployed along a belt to prevent perpetrators from attacking victims. The separation may be implemented in conjunction with a political agreement, or may be imposed without the perpetrators' concurrence. It may be similar in appearance to traditional peacekeeping missions, or analogous to situations such as the Demilitarized Zone between North and South Korea. As portrayed in Figure 7, the MTF deploys along the boundary between Region A (consisting mostly of perpetrators) and Region B (where victims are primarily located). The MTF establishes outposts, conducts patrols, maintains responsive QRFs, and employs joint fires against remote adversarial targets as required to support the MTF's mission and enforce perpetrator compliance. A DMZ is negotiated or declared to ensure perpetrators maintain adequate distance from the MTF; depending on the circumstances MTF units may patrol this area as well. In some situations controlled crossing lanes may be established, and when possible a Coordination Center is created for the MTF or other authorities to resolve issues and conduct negotiations with representatives from Region B. Once the situation is sufficiently stabilized with mechanisms in place, the mission could conceivably be handed off to other entities such as IGO peacekeeping forces.

CIRCUMSTANCES. The Separation Approach may be effective in quickly stopping the violence when a relatively small ground force is available, when it does not have to secure an excessively long frontier, and when perpetrators and victims tend to be in distinctly different areas. It may be a suitable

FIGURE 7   Separation Approach

initial approach until sufficient forces are available to expand operations into other areas. To the extent that the UN mandates are relevant to the intervention, this limited approach may be acceptable to the Security Council and other international actors.

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES. Positive aspects of this approach are that the MTF's tasks and areas are limited, thus avoiding the risk of it being stretched too thinly. The Separation Approach would likely require a relatively small force and is narrowly focused on preventing perpetrator access to potential victims, which reduces the diversion of resources to other efforts such as those associated with "nation building." It is also potentially less intrusive on Country X than the previous two approaches and is likely to be tolerated better, both domestically and within the international community.

Negative aspects include the consideration that, since the MTF will occupy limited areas and will have weak influence in other places, all potential atrocities may not be stopped. The approach has marginal impact with respect to the establishment of good governance that might be dependent upon an extended secure environment. This approach is unlikely to bring perpetrators to justice, at least in the short term, and perpetrators may build their strength in their own areas in order to conduct operations in the future. Additionally, MARO forces may find themselves caught between several aggrieved armed factions. Finally, the separation could evolve into an undesired permanent territorial division, along with an extended peacekeeping operation.

APPROACH 4 • SAFE AREAS[47]

This approach uses MARO land forces to secure IDP camps and other areas with high densities of vulnerable populations.

DESCRIPTION. MTF units deploy around population concentrations that are likely to be targeted by perpetrators, including IDP camps and urban centers that are in close proximity to perpetrators. The MTF provides local security for such locations as appropriate, and if capable expands its presence throughout larger sectors. Migration to these safe havens by other civilians

----

47   For a discussion of "safe areas," "safe havens," and "safe humanitarian zones" see Victoria K. Holt and Joshua G. Smith, *Halting Widespread or Systematic Attacks on Civilians: Military Strategies & Operational Concepts* (Washington, DC: The Henry L. Stimson Center, 2008), pp. 26–28.

would be anticipated and even encouraged, which may require that the MTF also provide security and support along likely migration routes. As IDPs collect around MARO forces for protection, these units must be prepared to provide or enable security (with such measures as lighting and patrols), HA, and IDP camp administration. In some situations, safe havens may be established in neighboring countries. Land forces will adopt a largely defensive posture, focusing on providing local defense and patrolling to remove threats of direct and indirect fires. ISR assets and joint fires are focused on perpetrators that may be gathering to attack MTF units or the safe areas, and may also retaliate for perpetrator attacks that have already occurred.

CIRCUMSTANCES. This may be an appropriate approach when violence against particular victim concentrations is imminent and when the MTF's land force strength is limited. In extreme situations, it might serve as a way to save some lives, when a wider protection effort is not possible. It may also be used as a precursor to other approaches in the early stages of a MARO effort, or as a supplemental approach. For example, selected safe areas could be established within the context of a broader Saturation Approach, or as an initial step until sufficient forces are available to expand operations.

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES. Positive aspects of this approach are that the MARO force provides rapid and direct protection for large numbers of vulnerable civilians, which is the main objective of the operation. It will require a relatively small force, concentrated in a few areas. It also can facilitate concentrated HA efforts. The size and character of the intervention would make it reasonably palatable to Country X and many in the international community.

Negative aspects are that the MARO force only secures major concentrations of vulnerable civilians and is unlikely to prevent atrocities committed elsewhere. It increases and appears to legitimize long-term refugee/IDP relocation, which reduces prospects for eventual resolution of the conflict; to a degree, it rewards the perpetrators' ethnic cleansing operations. Large concentrations of refugees and IDPs could be convenient targets for future atrocities, particularly since perpetrator groups may not be under any direct pressure and, as occurred at Srebrenica in 1995, could deliberately prepare an operation to overmatch intervening forces
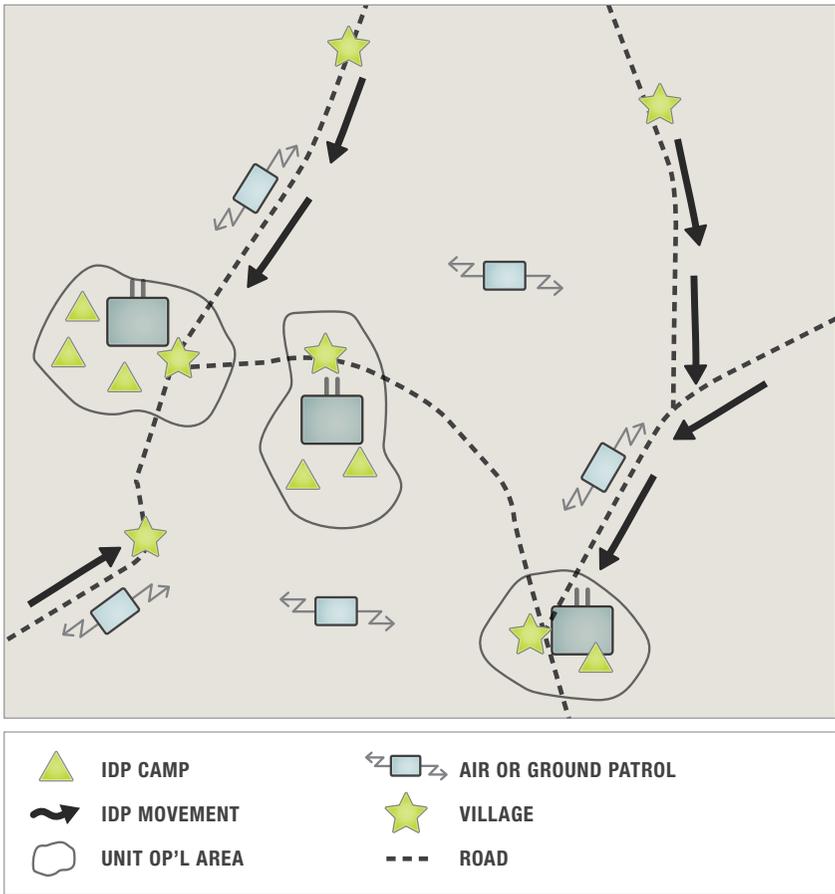
FIGURE 8   Safe Areas Approach

and attack concentrations of victims. This method could create difficult health and other social issues, and can create sanctuaries for anti-government belligerents who might further exacerbate the crisis. While this approach may facilitate logistics because the MTF units are concentrated in a few locations, lines of communication through unsecured areas may be vulnerable, and resources to build and sustain IDP camps will have to be provided by the MTF or NGOs.

APPROACH 5 • PARTNER ENABLING

This approach entails the MTF taking a supporting role to other actors who conduct most of the MARO effort.

DESCRIPTION. US forces may perform a supporting role to a robust UN or regional force, to a coalition under the leadership of another country, security force assistance to indigenous military and police forces, or support to victim groups in order to develop their own self-defense capability. Such support may include advisors; equipment; logistical support such as deployment or medical assets; specialized enablers such as ISR, communications, SOF, aviation, precision strike, and engineering; or a US focus on the aerospace, maritime, and cyber domains, while other partners provide the bulk of the land forces. One version of this approach was the International Force in East Timor (INTERFET) intervention in 1999–2000, which was successfully orchestrated by Australia. Another model was the SOF and aerospace support provided to the Northern Alliance in the early stages of Operation Enduring Freedom. Some contributing nations, and even the victim groups, may be able to provide sufficient units and personnel to create a sizeable force, but without the requisite training and expertise. In these cases, US advisors assigned to partnered units may provide an adequate overall mix of numbers and skill. This advisory effort could be further supplemented with necessary equipment, supplies, and more advanced capabilities provided by selected US units. The supported partners could in turn employ any of the other approaches discussed in this section, and usually would be the primary decision-makers regarding the intervention.

CIRCUMSTANCES. Such an approach may at times be appropriate when significant US involvement may be counterproductive, to mitigate US strategic

overstretch, or if other forces potentially would be more effective. Since this approach is radically different from others with respect to the level of US involvement and control, it would be a choice by the nation's leadership rather than the relevant Combatant Commander. It can, however, be an important supporting effort for any of the other approaches when the MTF has coalition partners, particularly those with limited training, experience, or technical capability. It is also relevant in terms of any building of indigenous capacity to contribute to the MARO effort and eventually assume responsibility.

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES. A major positive aspect is that the MARO burden is primarily carried by other countries, which places less strain on the US with other major global commitments. Another potentially beneficial feature is the low level of US involvement, which may be preferred in Country X, in the region, and by some members of the international community. UN, regional, or indigenous control may be perceived as having greater legitimacy than a US-led coalition. Perhaps most important, this approach can help develop sufficient responsible indigenous military and police capacity that is ultimately vital to resolve the MARO situation.

Negative considerations include that the US will likely relinquish leadership of the effort and control of operations. Actual intervening forces may be less capable or responsive than those of the US, or their caveats may be such that the intervention is insufficient. Additionally, despite US assistance efforts, poorly trained and ill-disciplined forces from coalition partners or from victim groups may engage in misconduct that undermines the effort. Resources (such as money, weapons, or fuel) that are provided to inept or corrupt partners could be diverted and may even wind up supporting perpetrators. Finally, assets that are devoted to this approach may not be available for other activities. That is, an MTF unit could advise a much larger partnered force, protect civilians, attack perpetrators, or secure a large area; it may be too great a challenge to accomplish all of these tasks.

This approach has minimal in-country presence and relies instead on aero-space, SOF, and/or maritime forces to influence perpetrators.

DESCRIPTION.   This approach posits the use of air, maritime, and cyber power to strike perpetrators or isolate them with blockades and no-fly zones. Strikes could be conducted against perpetrators committing atrocities, to preempt such actions, as punishment to deter future actions, or against perpetrator capabilities to prevent their future actions or to facilitate future MTF operations. When appropriate, SOF elements may conduct strategic reconnaissance, direct action, or unconventional warfare. Effective contain-ment will likely require diplomatic and informational efforts to prescribe clear limits to perpetrators and influence their behavior. In some ways this approach would be similar to the post-Desert Storm containment of Iraq from 1991 to 2003, or the eventual use of airstrikes in the Former Republic of Yugoslavia in 1995 and 1999.

CIRCUMSTANCES. This approach may be particularly appropriate if Country X is a militarily powerful adversary, in which case an intervention with ground forces could result in intense conflict and high costs to the inter-veners as well as to the country's population. It may be effective when per-petrator forces are readily identifiable and targetable, when perpetrator decision-making is relatively centralized and can control subordinate actions, and when MTF strike forces can obtain access via regional bases, overflight rights, and proximate maritime areas. This approach can supplement other approaches that are more defensive in nature, such as the Separation or Safe Areas Approaches. Depending on the ability to get aerospace, maritime, and SOF forces into position quickly, it may be a suitable way to seize the initiative for any course of action in which ground forces will subsequently be deployed. When a nation's government is orchestrating the mass atrocities, the MTF's political authority will likely have to approve such an approach.

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES.   A positive aspect is that this approach capitalizes on US strengths such as stand-off, strike capability, ISR, aero-space power, and maritime power. In most situations it provides a quick way for the MTF to take strong action against the perpetrators, and the approach creates strong incentives for "rational" perpetrator leaders to refrain from

REGION B
(PRIMARILY VICTIMS
DECLARED EXCLUSION ZONE
FOR PERPETRATORS)

REGION C
(FRIENDLY)

SOF

SOF

SOF

REGION A
(PRIMARILY PERPETRATORS)

CSG

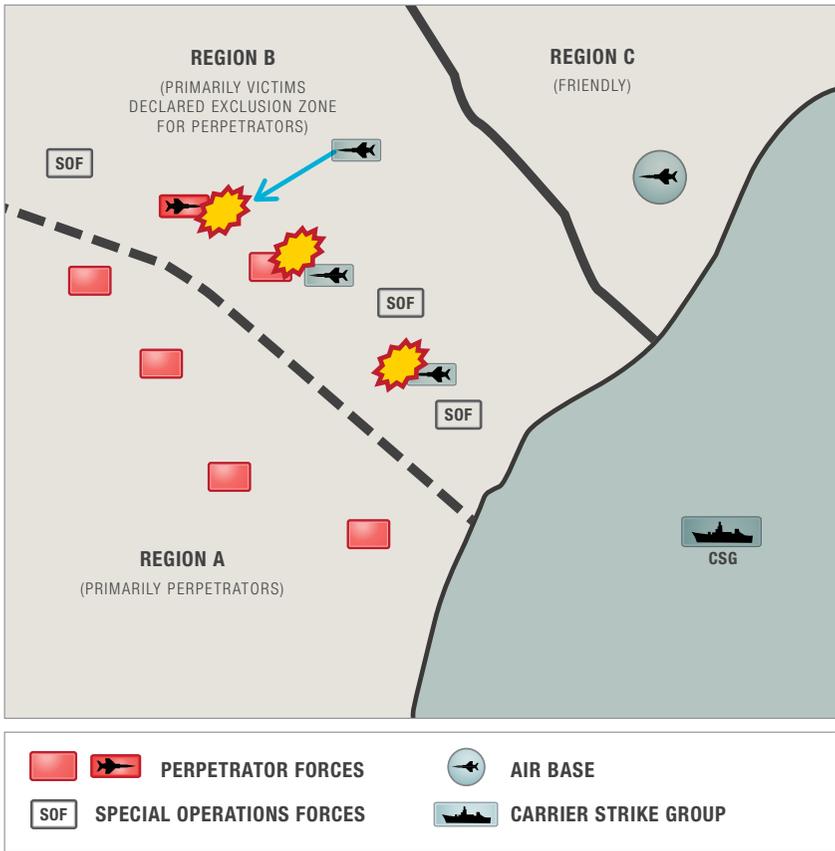|		
🟥 �	**PERPETRATOR FORCES**	✈ **AIR BASE**
SOF	**SPECIAL OPERATIONS FORCES**	⚓ **CARRIER STRIKE GROUP**

F I G U R E 9   Containment Approach

unacceptable behavior. Additionally, this method will likely entail less risk to the MTF than would other approaches.

Negative aspects are that the MARO force is unable to provide direct protection to vulnerable civilians, which may result in significant mass atrocities if the regime is unable to control all perpetrators or determines it has nothing to lose and accelerates its efforts against victims. Depending on their other capabilities (e.g., missiles, WMD, or links to terrorist groups) perpetrator leaders may attempt to retaliate against the US or its partners beyond Country X's borders. The approach is also limited if perpetrators are not easily targetable, such as when they are not formed military units, when they are in close proximity to victims, or when they are in urban or other rugged terrain that provides concealment. Collateral damage is possible, either against victims or other actors. Finally, such a "kinetic" approach could galvanize opposition to the MARO effort; this opposition may grow in Country X, in the US, and internationally.

APPROACH 7 • DEFEAT PERPETRATORS

This approach is offensively oriented and focuses on attacking the perpetrators' leadership and forces to eliminate their capability to commit mass atrocities.

DESCRIPTION. The MARO force initially attacks the perpetrators' key capabilities with intense fires, unconventional warfare, and PSYOP to disrupt their C2 and ability to operate. This would be followed by ground units conducting forcible entry or attacking from a neighboring country. The MTF conducts operations throughout the area necessary to destroy or neutralize the perpetrators' leadership at all levels, defeat their forces, and secure vulnerable populations. Operations will also be conducted in areas outside of those in which victims are located. In some scenarios, if necessary, the MTF will cause the government to collapse. Once the perpetrators' leadership and organized forces are defeated, the MTF will either retain control throughout the country or withdraw to locations in which victims are predominantly located. Land forces defeat remaining resistance, establish a Transitional Military Authority (TMA), and set conditions for transition to civil governance. Early emphasis is placed on turning portions of Country X's military and police into constructive partners for both government replacement and subsequent stabilization.
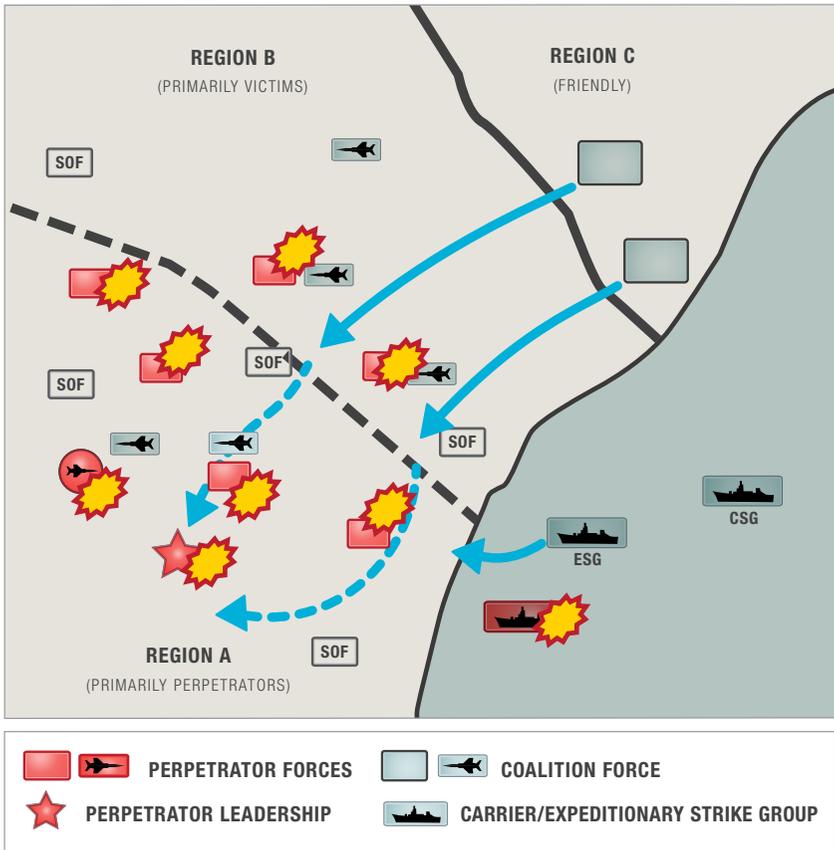
FIGURE 10   Defeat Perpetrators Approach

APPROACH	CHARACTERISTICS	CONSIDERATIONS
Approach 1 **SATURATION**	• Wide area control • Unit sectors • Mobile patrols • QRFs • Outposts • Mobile Operating Bases • Similar to COIN in Iraq	• Requires adequate forces, extensive logistics and weak adversary • Suitable when victim population is widely dispersed • Extensive stability operations necessary
Approach 2 **"OIL SPOT"**	• Clear-hold-build • Focused, systematic advance within capabilities • "Mobile" forces clear; "static" forces maintain security • Based upon classic Galula COIN approach	• Fewer forces required than Saturation Approach • Suitable with strong perpetrators and concentrated victim populations • Cedes territory to perpetrators • Extended commitment
Approach 3 **SEPARATION**	• Controlled buffer zone between perpetrators and victims • Outposts, patrols, QRFs • Supporting fires as required • Similar to traditional peacekeeping or DMZ operations	• Limited forces required • Suitable when perpetrators and victims are separated • Cedes territory to perpetrators • Forces may be caught between belligerent groups • Potential long-term division
Approach 4 **SAFE AREAS**	• Protect IDP camps • Secure areas of victim concentration • Defensive posture • Security on migration routes • Expect increased numbers of civilians who seek protection	• Limited forces required • Suitable when victims are concentrated • Cedes territory to perpetrators • Large humanitarian assistance burden • May "reward" perpetrators
Approach 5 **PARTNER ENABLING**	• Most ground forces from coalition partners or victim groups • US provides security force assistance, equipment, or key enablers (deployment, air, SOF) • East Timor or Northern Alliance examples	• Partners bear most burdens • Minimizes US footprint • Helps build indigenous capability • Partners may be less capable than US forces • US relinquishes control of effort
Approach 6 **CONTAINMENT**	• Reliance on air, maritime, cyber power and SOF • No-fly zones, blockades, strikes • Integrated with diplomatic and informational efforts • Similar to Iraq containment in 1990s	• Capitalizes on US military strengths (air, sea) • Limited in-country presence • Does not provide direct protection to victims • Risk of collateral damage • Precursor to other approaches
Approach 7 **DEFEAT PERPETRATORS**	• Offensive focus against perpetrators • Defeat perpetrator leadership and military capability • Regime change or collapse if necessary • Iraq 2003 model	• Large force required • May be required for long-term resolution • Extensive reconstruction and stabilization effort required • High casualties and collateral damage

FIGURE 11   Summary of MARO Intervention Approaches

CIRCUMSTANCES. This approach may be appropriate when less intensive approaches have proven ineffective or are unlikely to succeed. It may be required when perpetrators have strong military capabilities and when victims are widely dispersed throughout the country. Its characteristics and potential level of required resources will require discussion with and the approval of US national leadership and significant diplomatic shaping. The possibility of this approach, if credible, may make it useful as an implicit or explicit threat that would enhance the effectiveness of other approaches.

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES. A positive aspect is that the approach attacks or eliminates what may be the COG of a mass atrocity situation. It may serve as a helpful precedent that deters potential mass atrocities from occurring in other countries. By decisively defeating the perpetrators, it may help achieve long-term conflict resolution.

Negative considerations are that such actions may generate resistance within Country X and in the international community and could result in increased levels of conflict and chaos in the country. The MARO force would be required to conduct extensive operations in the entire country, and collateral damage would likely be high. It would require extensive resources, may result in high casualties and widespread human suffering throughout Country X, and could negatively affect the regional balance of power. This approach could require a major nation-wide rebuilding effort.

Figure 11 summarizes the seven approaches described here. Of course, an eighth approach is simply to do nothing (or to conduct mild, *pro-forma* suasion efforts). For a variety of reasons policymakers may opt for this method, as has been demonstrated throughout history.

D. PLAN DESIGN AND IMPLEMENTATION

Once a COA with any necessary modifications is selected, it is expanded into a Concept of Operations (CONOPS), which is further developed into a base plan. Depending on time available and other planning priorities, the MARO plan may remain at the Commander's Estimate/CONOPS stage (Level 1), may consist of the completed base plan (Level 2), may be supplemented by selected annexes (Level 3), or may be developed into a complete plan with all annexes (Level 4). Even though COA wargames would have taken place earlier in the planning process, when finalizing the plan it is helpful to conduct a more detailed "synchronization wargame" to wire all key aspects of the plan together.

1. Lines of Effort

An effective set of LOEs includes all the major functions that are necessary and collectively sufficient to achieve success. LOEs are also often mutually supporting; success in one can enable progress in another. These are also referred to as "Lines of Operation," "Logical Lines of Operation," or "Major Mission Elements."[48] They should be explained and short-, intermediate-, and long-term goals identified. It is often useful to develop a set of LOEs for the overall plan and additional subsets that apply to the individual phases. Given an understanding that responsibilities will likely be divided among the interagency community and internationally, a MARO plan will be more effective if it can be integrated with other partners.[49] Figure 12 portrays a sample MARO plan design that is structured around eight LOEs. The first five apply directly to the military intervention, while the remaining three are reconstruction and stabilization functional areas that are familiar to the interagency and international community.

LOE 1: Situation Understanding. This LOE incorporates general situational awareness, I&W, ISR, and assessments (including metrics). Supporting efforts include understanding the relevant dynamics in the country and region, developing the I&W that may indicate an impending MARO situation, allocating collection assets against information requirements, and monitoring all useful sources of information to maintain awareness and conduct predictive analysis regarding the country.

The MTF will require accurate information regarding the status of vulnerable populations and the capabilities and intentions of perpetrators and other potential adversaries. Stabilization efforts will require an appreciation of the capabilities and limitations of partners, including HN actors. Throughout the operation, the MTF will need to understand how the situation is changing and be aware of new vulnerabilities and opportunities. The MTF will also need to assess its progress to make any necessary adjustments. An assessment architecture for measuring effectiveness may be developed, although overly machined assessment frameworks can become counterproductive bureaucratic burdens. Suitable measures of

---

48 US Army doctrine uses "Lines of Effort," joint doctrine uses "Logical Lines of Operation," and S/CRS uses "Major Mission Elements." Army and current joint doctrine both use "Lines of Operation" in a geographical sense, and this term is commonly used by practitioners in a conceptual context as well.

49 These LOEs are based on endstates identified in *Guiding Principles for Stabilization and Reconstruction,* supplemented with other LOEs that also pertain to MARO.

FIGURE 12   Sample MARO Plan Framework

FIGURE 12   Sample MARO Plan Framework

MILITARY OBJECTIVES

1. Vulnerable populations are secure from atrocities.

2. Leadership of perpetrators is identified, captured, and detained.

3. Humanitarian assistance is enabled where needed.

4. Transition to appropriate civil entity that will promote good governance, permanent security, and social well-being is accomplished.

Situation Understanding
Indicators & Warnings Developed and Monitored | Metrics Developed and Actions Assessed | Change Dynamics Identified during Operation

Strategic Comm & Diplomacy
Gain UN & IGO Support | Country X Incentives and Pressures | Build Strong Coalition | Spoilers Deterred and Isolated | Int'l Community Supports MTF

Unity of Effort
Cooperation between MTF and Other Partners | Effective Interagency Coordination | MTF Synchronized with TCA | NGO Activities Enabled | Country X Agencies Act Constructively

Military Operations
Military FDOs Support Diplomacy | Aerospace, Maritime, Cyber Supremacy | Freedom of Land Maneuver | Victims Protected | Perpetrators Defeated | Effective Stability Operations

Force Generation & Sustainment
Bases Established | Deployments Timely and Adequate | Infrastructure and LOCs Developed and Secured | MTF Adequately Sustained | Indigenous Security Forces

Safe & Secure Environment
Vulnerable Populations Protected | Threats Neutralized | Disarmament, Demobilization, & Reintegration | Develop Security Forces | Secure Borders

Governance & Rule of Law
Effective Interim Governance by TMA, TCA | Effective Institutions Established | Perpetrators Brought to Justice | Minority Rights Protected | Representation and Participation | Grievances Redressed

Soc & Econ Well-Being
Emergency Assistance Distributed | NGOs Enabled | Essential Services Provided | Critical Infrastructure Reconstructed | Refugees/IDPs Resettled | Economy Developed

effectiveness may relate to:[50]

- Violent incident trends.
- Indicators of HN government cooperation or lack thereof.
- NGO accomplishments.
- Status of victims, refugees, and IDPs.

LOE 2: Strategic Communication and Diplomacy. This LOE focuses on influencing perpetrators and gaining support from other actors for the MTF's actions. Strategic communications and diplomatic efforts are critical to influence perpetrators, secure international support for an effective intervention, and sustain reconstruction and stabilization efforts necessary to prevent future mass atrocities. Although orchestrated by national leadership and the Department of State, this LOE is supported by the MTF with measures such as press conferences, embedded media, and meetings with indigenous leaders and is instrumental in the MTF's success. MTF leaders will also be required to exercise "diplomacy" at local levels. Short-term efforts include dissuading HN leaders, organizations, and populations from conducting mass atrocities, while emphasizing the importance of good governance, human rights, and acting as a responsible member of the international community. Diplomatic efforts use a combination of pressure, inducements, and mediation. If necessary, early diplomacy secures international support for mass atrocity prevention and response, obtains appropriate resolutions from the UN, and isolates Country X. International, regional, and domestic audiences are informed of the critical situation and the legitimacy of the MTF's operations. Mid-term efforts include sustaining support for the intervention, expanding support from Country X moderates and international bystanders, and reducing perpetrator motivations to continue committing the atrocities or otherwise resist the MTF. Long-term goals include securing international sustained support for the rebuilding effort and fostering reconciliation in Country X to maintain a lasting and stable peace.

LOE 3: Unity of Effort. This LOE addresses interorganizational coordination with other US governmental agencies, coalition partners, legitimate HN representatives, IGOs, NGOs, and the private sector. Simply stated, instead

---

50   See Michael Dziedzic, Barbara Sotirin, and John Agoglia, *Measuring Progress in Conflict Environments (MPICE): A Metrics Framework for Assessing Conflict Transformation and Stabilization,* August 2008 draft, available at http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?AD=ADA488249&Location=U2&doc=GetTRDoc.pdf (accessed April 15, 2010).

of a single MARO force commander ensuring unity of effort, MARO requires cooperation, coordination, and consensus among all participants. Understanding the MARO participants—missions, their endstates, their requirement for freedom of movement, and the rules participants operate by (e.g., rule of law, code of conduct, rules of engagement, escalation of force, etc.)—will allow MTF planners to achieve better unity of effort.

MARO plans require a "comprehensive approach"[51] from the outset, integrating a complex set of actors, goals, and actions. In addition to the USG "whole of government" efforts which involve the US interagency community, relevant participants in the effort may include coalition partners, HN government military and non-military organizations at the national, regional, or local levels (depending on their level of responsibility for the mass atrocity), IGOs such as the UN, and regional entities such as the AU or NATO. Important players also include INGOs, who are often the first on the ground or already present and are a critical source of information (although the level of cooperation from many INGOs may be limited because of concerns of impartiality and preservation of humanitarian space), as well as a variety of private individuals and organizations including influential business or societal figures such as academics, elders, or tribal leaders. Many of these partners can be vital contributors to a plan's success, although domestic NGOs may be compromised by the same divisions that led to mass violence, and even INGOs may find similar pressures compromising the impartiality of local staff. In most cases, civil-military-police integration with international and indigenous organizations will also be essential. In some situations the most that can be expected is the sharing of information; in others, operations can be de-conflicted or coordinated via collaborative processes.

Currently within the US government, the Department of State Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization (S/CRS) is the primary point of contact for interagency ("whole of government") training, assessments, plans, and associated planning processes that pertain to MARO.[52] S/CRS coordinates with other agencies, particularly other offices in the Department of State, USAID, and the National Security Council (NSC), which

---

51 This term is defined in Field Manual 3-07 Stability Operations (Washington, DC: Headquarters Department of the Army, October 6, 2008), pp. 1–4, as "an approach that integrates the cooperative efforts of the departments and agencies of the United States Government, intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations, multinational partners, and private sector entities to achieve unity of effort to a shared goal."

52 See Nina M. Serafino, "Peacekeeping/Stabilization and Conflict Transitions: Background and Congressional Action on the Civilian Response/Reserve Corps and other Civilian Stabilization and Reconstruction Capabilities" (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, January 28, 2010), esp. n. 30 on p. 12.

chairs Interagency Policy Committees (IPCs) that are responsible for coordinating national security policy.[53] During a crisis, the Interagency Management System (IMS) may be activated including the formation of a Country Reconstruction and Stabilization Group (CRSG) which is cochaired by the appropriate Regional Assistant Secretary of State, the S/CRS Coordinator, and the appropriate NSC Senior Director. Other IMS structures include the Integration Planning Cell (IPC), the Advance Civilian Team (ACT), and, potentially, Field Advance Civilian Teams (FACTs).[54] For any government effort, joint training, exercises, and similar types of habitual engagement among civilian and military actors help to build common operating assumptions and procedural familiarity.

In MARO situations, US interagency participation in the MTF's Operational Planning Teams (OPTs) is particularly critical and input may be provided by a Combatant Command's Joint Interagency Coordination Group (JIACG), an Integration Planning Cell (IPC) that will assist the Geographic Combatant Command, or the Country Team, which may be augmented by planners from an ACT during a crisis. Early in planning, it will be useful to conduct a "stakeholder analysis" to identify relevant actors who should be involved or consulted. Inclusive participation by non-military representatives can create security clearance challenges, which are already formidable when foreign militaries are involved. The options are to conduct unclassified planning sessions, conduct separate sessions including periodic conferences with external stakeholders, or possibly obtain interim access for the participants. Civil-Military Operations Centers (CMOCs) or their equivalents may be established at multiple command levels to facilitate unity of effort at different echelons.

Short-term goals for achieving unity of effort include developing a coordinated and agreed-on plan with interagency and coalition partners, with particular emphasis on interim Transitional Civilian Authority (TCA) governance and transfers of responsibility. Mid-term goals (Phases I–III) include effective integration of liaison officers, augmentees, and planning teams, and unity of action with all relevant organizations. Long-term goals include transition to and effective support for interagency, intergovernmental, or HN authorities. Transitions that occur between military forces and civilian authorities will be more successful when conducted between familiar partners, rather than with *ad hoc* strangers.

---

53 Presidential Policy Directive-1 (PDD-1), February 13, 2009, pp. 4–5.

54 See Appendix B of *Field Manual 3-07 Stability Operations* (Washington, DC: Headquarters Department of the Army, 6 October 2008) for a summary of the IMS.

LOE 4: Military Operations. This LOE addresses all military actions including offensive, defensive, and stability operations related to mass atrocity prevention and response. Short-term goals include the successful implementation of military FDOs to support early crisis resolution and, if necessary, the successful conduct of offensive and defensive operations to establish a foothold in Country X, achieve credibility, provide immediate protection to vulnerable civilians, and deter or defeat perpetrators of mass atrocities. MTF units will need to respond to mass atrocity incidents, including initial response, consequence management, mass casualty treatment, collection of evidence, and subsequent information operations. Mid-term goals include the successful use of full-spectrum operations to establish a secure environment throughout the AO, including any necessary defeat of perpetrator organizations. Long-term goals include maintaining security, developing HN capacity, undertaking a successful handover if necessary, and setting enduring conditions for peaceful stability.

LOE 5: Force Generation and Sustainment. This LOE addresses the planning, preparations, and execution necessary to deploy forces and sustain them; this includes bases, tanker bridges, strategic lift, establishment of air, sea, and land lines of communication, contractor support, HN support arrangements, infrastructure development, and sustainment. It also includes building indigenous and regional capacity to support the MARO force's efforts. Special consideration may be necessary for support to coalition partners (including NGOs and legitimate indigenous security forces), and in many cases logistical estimates will have to address the likelihood that an influx of IDPs will seek security and other basic needs from MARO forces. When possible, logistical services should be contracted to indigenous firms using local labor. Short-term goals include establishing necessary bases and/or lines of communication (LOC) to support operations prior to the actual intervention, to include any early deterrence and HA efforts. Mid-term goals include the successful deployment of intervening forces, their Reception, Staging, Onward Movement, and Integration (RSOI), and providing their sustainment. Long-term goals include creation of effective and adequately supplied indigenous security units as well as successful support for subsequent stability operations and redeployment of the force.

LOE 6: Safe and Secure Environment. This LOE includes establishing security in the operational area to prevent mass atrocities, conduct MARO force operations, and to enable future stabilization and reconstruction. Short-term goals are to protect and reduce threats to vulnerable civilian populations, NGOs, and other partners, and to conduct adequate force protection measures. Mid-term goals include establishing a safe and secure environment devoid of organized widespread violence, securing borders, and establishing systems to develop legitimate, indigenous security capability. Long-term goals include self-sufficient HN capability to maintain security and prevent future mass atrocity situations.

LOE 7: Governance and Rule of Law. This LOE addresses the political framework progressively established to prevent mass atrocities, redresses grievances that fuel MARO situations, and establishes the legal framework required to ameliorate intrastate violence. Short-term goals include interim establishment of TMA and identification of and consultation with capable indigenous leaders. The MTF may need to establish interim systems for providing governance and civil services, maintaining law and order, investigating crimes (including mass atrocities), apprehending suspects, conducting trials, and incarcerating criminals. Depending on how transitions are structured, mid-term goals include transfer of responsibilities to a TCA (US Department of State and/or UN, with HN involvement). Contributing partners might include international police forces or gendarmes, and particular attention will be required to prevent organized crime, limit corruption, investigate past human rights abuses, and foster indigenous capacity to provide good governance, maintain justice, and achieve reconciliation. Long-term goals include establishment of enduring HN institutions for good governance, including a legitimate constitution, elections, rule of law, minority rights, and open media. Potential legal goals include prosecution of mass atrocity perpetrators and the HN's assumption of complete responsibility for justice matters. In some situations local and traditional justice systems may be used to strengthen a culturally acceptable rule of law. One potential issue is whether the endstate envisions central HN control over the entire country or the establishment of an independent or autonomous authority in the area where the MARO intervention occurred. Partition may ultimately be the preferred solution if intranational cleavages appear irreconcilable.

LOE 8: Social and Economic Well-Being. This LOE includes the basic needs that will be required in the immediate aftermath of a MARO intervention, the longer-term arrangements for essential services, economic recovery, and infrastructural improvement that may be required pursuant to a MARO intervention. Short-term goals include provision of food, water, shelter, and medical support where critically needed. Restoration or establishment of infrastructure (e.g., air and sea port facilities, key roads, bridges, and power) may be required for deployment, operations, and HA, and initial steps may be taken to develop a domestic economy. The MTF will likely be limited in its ability to provide direct support; more important will be its enabling of other actors such as NGOs. An additional caution is that distribution of assistance could exacerbate the conflict or generate resentment even if it is done in accordance with humanitarian principles of objective need. Mid-term goals include resettlement of refugees/IDPs and implementing IGO, NGO, and bilateral development programs. In cases where displaced persons want to return to locations now occupied by newer inhabitants, property rights will require adjudication and, potentially, adequate compensation. Other mid-term goals include prioritized restoration of key infrastructure in large population centers, development of international trade, establishment of a banking system, implementation of World Bank and International Monetary Fund programs, and creating an environment that attracts foreign investment. Long-term goals include development of HN capacity to provide essential services to its population, creation of widespread employment, positive and sustainable economic growth rates, and legitimate HN systems for governmental regulation and revenue acquisition.

2. MARO Phasing

Plans normally include some element of "phasing," the segments of which are likely to overlap if different conditions exist in the various parts of the AO. While the simplest generic MARO construct would consist of "Pre-Intervention," "Intervention," and potentially "Post-Intervention," US Joint Doctrine includes six phases,[55] and in some situations a MARO plan may fit this construct. The phases of the response may not necessarily align neatly with the stage progression of the mass atrocity; in all likelihood,

---

[55] *Joint Publication 3-0: Joint Operations (with Change 1)* (Washington, DC: U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, February 13, 2008), IV-27 through IV-30.

mass atrocities may already be occurring before operational planning even begins. If no previous planning has been accomplished and a mass atrocity is occurring, a "Phase 0" may not be too useful, although it may still be worth retaining such a phase if quick political decision-making appears unlikely.

While a phased framework is useful for planning, phases are not distinct, especially in the time dimension. The names of the phases also should not be taken as determinant; for example, deterrence activities and objectives can occur in any phase, not just in the "Deter" phase. Under certain conditions any of the four major actor groups may perceive and take actions pertinent to several phases simultaneously. Each phase may have its own discrete objectives and LOEs; collectively they may be organized in the following sample MARO phasing construct for a contingency plan.

Phase 0 (Shape). This is the current situation in which mass atrocities are neither being committed nor appear imminent; however, a mass atrocity situation could conceivably develop. There could be an emphasis on prevention by primarily diplomatic, economic, or informational means. Potential military activities include plan development, establishing and monitoring I&W, and exercises. Theater Security Cooperation activities support broader national policy goals in the region, but may have MARO relevance. This phase ends when I&W suggest that mass atrocities in the concerned region are likely and that additional deterrent measures are warranted.

Phase 0 Objectives

- A stable peace is maintained in Country X.
- MARO force is prepared to conduct Phase I deterrent operations.

Phase I (Deter). This phase begins when I&W show that mass atrocities are occurring or may be imminent; the intent is effective crisis management to defuse the situation, while preparing for an intervention if necessary. While mass atrocity indicators are context-specific, and not an exact science, some common indicators may appear, which include sporadic acts of violence, inflammatory speeches by political leaders, and other examples of hate media. Non-military preventive responses by international actors would intensify in order to defuse the crisis, supplemented by military FDOs. Potential

military measures include activating commands that would participate in an ensuing intervention, establishing necessary bases, mobilizing and deploying forces, conducting shows of force, increasing ISR operations, or conducting NEO operations. Stronger measures such as the imposition of no-fly zones or blockades could be imposed or deferred until later. The phase ends on D-Day after the MARO force is directed to deploy to Country X and conduct the operation, and is also ready to commence Phase II.

Phase I Objectives

- Peaceful stability is restored to Country X.
- International community supports efforts to prevent mass atrocities.
- MTF is prepared to intervene in Country X.

Phase II (Seize the Initiative). This phase begins on D-Day and initiates the concerted operation to halt actual or imminent mass atrocities; it essentially begins when the MARO force is directed to accomplish the plan's mission. Diplomatic, economic, and informational measures will undoubtedly intensify, but the main features of the phase would likely be force employment in the country and the commencement of full-spectrum operations. Key in this phase will be attaining a foothold in the AO and establishing the force's credibility as a capable actor. When ground forces are not yet available in sufficient numbers to protect vulnerable populations, air power may be employed to provide a temporary shield. Achievement of low-cost "quick-wins" may be instrumental in gaining the initiative. The phase ends when opposition is sufficiently reduced, the MARO force is firmly established, large groups of victims are protected within the MARO force's early capability to do so, and other conditions are set as necessary to expand operations as desired throughout the AO.

Phase II Objectives

- Adversaries and perpetrators are neutralized.
- Large vulnerable populations are protected within the MARO force capability.
- Aerospace, maritime, and cyber supremacy is established.
- International support is maintained.
- MARO force is prepared to conduct expanded future operations.

FIGURE 13 Sample MARO Phasing Construct

	PHASE 0 — SHAPE	PHASE I — DETER	PHASE II — SEIZE INITIATIVE	PHASE III — DOMINATE	PHASE IV — STABILIZE	PHASE V — ENABLE CIVIL AUTHORITY
Phase (begin/end)	• Current Ops • End: MA likely based upon I&W	• Begin: FDOs • End: D-Day	• Begin: D-Day • End: MTF established and ready to expand ops	• Begin: MTF expands beyond lodgements • End: MA & organized opposition ended; MTF freedom of op; TCA ready	• Begin: TCA assumes control • End: HN ready to provide good governance	• Begin: HN assumes control • End: MTF redeployed
PHASE OBJECTIVES	• Stable Peace in Country X • MTF Prepared for Ph I	• Peaceful Stability Restored • Int'l Support • MTF Prepared for Ph II	• Adversaries / Perpetrators Neutralized • Large Populations Protected • Aerospace, Maritime, Cyber Superiority • Int'l Support • MTF Prepared for Phase III	• Populations Protected • Organized Resistance Stopped • TMA Established, TCA Prepared • Int'l Support	• Population Secured • HN Prepared for Governance	• Security Maintained • Governance, Economy, Social Well-Being Institutionalized
PHASE LINES OF EFFORT	• ISR • Unity of Effort • Strat Comm • TSC • Readiness	• ISR • Unified Crisis Management • Strat Comm • Diplomacy • Operations • Force Gen & Sus	• Protect Civs & HA • Unity of Effort • Operations • Air/Maritime/Cyber • Defeat/Deter • Force Gen & Sus	• Protect Civs • HA • Unity of Effort • Strat Comm • Operations • Governance/ROL • Defeat/Deter • Force Gen & Sus	• Security • Unity of Effort • Strat Comm • HA/Social Well-Being • Govern/Participation • Econ/Infrastructure • Justice/Reconcile • Force Gen & Sus	• Security • Unity of Effort • Strat Comm • HA/Social Well-Being • Govern/Participation • Econ/Infrastructure • Justice/Reconcile • Force Gen & Sus
MAJOR PHASE ACTIVITIES	• Monitoring • TSC • Plan/Prepare • Strat Comm • Coordinate	• Support Diplomacy • FDOs • Establish Logistics • Deploy • Plan/Prepare • Strat Comm	• Initial Forcible Entry • Protect Civilians • Special Ops • Defeat Perpetrators • Deploy/Build Force • Strat Comm	• Protect Civ • Secure AO • Stability Ops • Establish TMA • Strat Comm • Prepare TCA	• Maintain Security • Stability Ops • Support TCA • SFA • Strat Comm • Prepare HN	• Maintain Security • Stability Ops • Support HN • SFA • Strat Comm • Redeploy

Left-side Lines of Effort (arrows): Situation Understanding; Strategic Comms & Diplomacy; Unity of Effort; Military Operations; Force Gen & Sustainment; Safe and Secure Environment; Governance & Rule of Law; Social & Econ Well-Being

ENDSTATE

Widespread mass atrocity is stopped (or prevented) and is unlikely to occur in the future.

MILITARY OBJECTIVES

1. Vulnerable populations are secure from atrocities.
2. Leadership of perpetrators is identified, captured, and detained.
3. Humanitarian assistance is enabled where needed.
4. Transition to appropriate civil entity that will promote good governance, permanent security, and social well-being is accomplished.

Phase III (Dominate). This phase is the centerpiece of a MARO; it begins when the MARO force is prepared to expand its operations from its initial lodgments throughout the AO as desired. The MTF completes the deployment of all necessary forces, reinforces them as required, secures freedom of operation, and achieves the results necessary to end mass atrocities and secure vulnerable populations. If required (i.e., if the decision is made that the MARO force is responsible for this task), the MARO force establishes a TMA over parts of the country. Phase III ends when mass atrocities have ended and are unlikely, when organized opposition no longer exists, when the MARO force has freedom of movement and maneuver throughout the AO, and when the TCA is prepared to assume responsibility for stabilization and reconstruction. As discussed previously, the MTF may or may not be involved in the next two phases; for example, a Peace Support Operation might take over these tasks. By the end of this phase, most "Initial Response" Post-Conflict Reconstruction Essential Tasks are accomplished by the MARO force or others.[56]

Phase III Objectives

- Vulnerable populations in AO are protected.
- Organized resistance to the MARO force has stopped.
- TMA has established effective control, and TCA is prepared to assume responsibility.
- International support is maintained.

Phase IV (Stabilize). This phase begins as transition of responsibility to the TCA commences. In addition to addressing any residual security challenges, during this phase interim control over the area is handed over to designated civilian authorities from the HN to the Department of State, the UN, or some other entity. Civilian authorities begin any "rebuilding" necessary to prevent a relapse to conditions that prompted the intervention. The military supports these initial efforts of the civilian authorities to establish governance, provide essential services, and begin economic recovery. The phase ends when

---

56 See Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization, *Post Conflict Reconstruction Essential Tasks,* April 2005, available at http://www.crs.state.gov/index.cfm?fuseaction=public.display&shortcut=J7R3 (accessed April 15, 2010). This matrix identifies tasks within the sectors of Security, Governance and Participation, Humanitarian Assistance and Social Well-Being, Economic Stabilization and Infrastructure, and Justice and Reconciliations. These tasks are further grouped according to the phases of Initial Response (short-term), Transformation (mid-term), and Fostering Sustainability (long-term).

the HN or other legitimate authority is prepared to assume governmental responsibility. "Transformation" Post-Conflict Reconstruction Essential Tasks are accomplished by the end of the phase.

Phase IV Objectives

- Population is secure from violence, organized crime, and terrorism.
- Essential services and interim governance are provided.
- HN (or other legitimate authority) is prepared to provide good governance.

Phase V (Enable Civil Authority). This phase begins when a legitimate HN government (or other designated authority) begins to assume responsibility for governance. Emphasis in this phase is on resolving the root causes of the conflict and establishing the conditions that support long-term peace, stability, and development. A long-term peacekeeping force may be required, which may be provided by the UN or a regional organization. The military focus during this phase may include peacekeeping operations, Security Force Assistance (SFA), and eventually redeployment, which marks the end of the phase and of the operation. "Fostering Sustainability" Post-Conflict Reconstruction Essential Tasks are accomplished by the end of this phase.

Phase V Objectives

- Security is maintained.
- Good governance, economic development, and social well-being are institutionalized.
- The MARO force redeploys and post-operation Theater Security Cooperation begins.

FUTURE RESEARCH AREAS AND WAYS FORWARD

A new idea is first condemned as ridiculous and then dismissed as trivial, until finally, it becomes what everybody knows.
—William James, 1879

General James N. Mattis, Commander of the US Joint Forces Command, included the above quote in his May 2009 "Vision for Joint Concept Development," which lays out his views on the steps required for any new concept to become US military doctrine. At the outset of this Handbook, we asserted that MARO was not yet part of official doctrine—but that it should be. The MARO Project aims to prompt the US military to develop this unofficial MARO concept into an official concept, and eventually into doctrine. The Project's future goals, in addition to advancing the concept within US Department of Defense channels, include deeper consideration of MARO at policy levels and among potential international audiences.

The process of socializing the MARO Project among various military, government, and non-governmental communities over the past two and a half years has helped the Project adapt and refine the MARO concept and planning tools, and has also confirmed our view that it merits formalization. This was again highlighted by a fruitful MARO tabletop exercise conducted with a group of crisis action and deliberate planners at US European Command in early 2010. The exercise confirmed that the MARO mission—to stop widespread, systematic violence committed by armed groups against non-combatant civilians—is distinct, and that there is currently no overarching framework within current US concepts and doctrine to address this problem. It requires continued ongoing exercising, testing, discussion, and refinement.

The MARO endeavor started as an exercise in military planning for the hardest cases because the military needed ideas and tools to use immediately if a mass atrocity situation arose in their areas of responsibility. Doctrine

development is a lengthy process; the planning considerations presented in this Handbook are practical and useable immediately.

This Handbook, however, is both a first step and a work in progress. We have identified areas of further MARO-related research, opportunities for engagement outside the military, training and education needs in war colleges and elsewhere, and additional products that would be useful for the planning community. These include planners' desires for specified and implied tasks lists, lists of capacities of other agencies, and other types of "checklists." There is more research and writing to be done on the potential for ISR and airpower in witnessing and deterring. Policymakers and planners require more research on context-specific and general mass atrocity early-warning indicators.

Beyond the military, an important next step is harmonizing interagency roles, vision, training, preparation, planning, and labor division for a MARO, to include addressing issues within policy circles. This could include adapting the tabletop exercises and planning documents for civilians, both in government and in NGOs. MARO scenarios can be used as vehicles to exercise and refine interagency planning processes and relationships, in addition to addressing the practical requirement to formulate governmental contingency plans for potential mass atrocity crises. Planning and scenario testing can help civilian agencies identify their equities and responsibilities in a MARO, develop planning expertise and build relationships that will benefit all parties, and alert actors to different opportunities for action across the spectrum of mass atrocity prevention and response.

Finally, for a variety of reasons, the MARO Project's efforts have been initially US-centric. As the Project continues to expand awareness within the US—the 2010 Quadrennial Defense Review's guidance to be prepared to prevent the human suffering caused by mass atrocities is one sign of this—one of the MARO Project's next steps will be to extend the dialogue internationally through committed national governments, but also through regional and international institutions, such as the AU and the UN, which have critical roles to play. Another critical and ongoing part of the MARO Project is working with the growing international community of practice and interest, particularly as the global norms of "responsibility to protect" and "protection of civilians" are taking shape. We hope that efforts to develop a common lexicon, vocabulary, and understanding will help ensure that the world is better prepared to intervene to stop the next mass atrocity.

DEFINITIONS OF GENOCIDE AND MASS ATROCITY CRIMES

Following are excerpts of international legal definitions of mass atrocity crimes, according to the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court. The entire text can be found on the International Criminal Court website: http://www.icc-cpi.int/Menus/ICC/Home.

GENOCIDE

The 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide defines the term "Genocide." This language is mirrored in Article 6 of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court. Article II of the Convention includes the following language:

In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such: Killing members of the group; Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY

Article 7, paragraph 1 of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court includes the following language:

1. For the purpose of this Statute, "crime against humanity" means any of the following acts when committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against any civilian population, with knowledge of the attack:

   (a) Murder;

   (b) Extermination;

   (c) Enslavement;

   (d) Deportation or forcible transfer of population;

   (e) Imprisonment or other severe deprivation of physical liberty in violation of fundamental rules of international law;

   (f) Torture;

(g) Rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution, forced pregnancy, enforced sterilization, or any other form of sexual violence of comparable gravity;

(h) Persecution against any identifiable group or collectivity on political, racial, national, ethnic, cultural, religious, gender as defined in paragraph 3, or other grounds that are universally recognized as impermissible under international law, in connection with any act referred to in this paragraph or any crime within the jurisdiction of the Court;

(i) Enforced disappearance of persons;

(j) The crime of apartheid;

(k) Other inhumane acts of a similar character intentionally causing great suffering, or serious injury to body or to mental or physical health.

WAR CRIMES

Article 8, paragraphs 1 and 2 of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court includes the following language:

1. The Court shall have jurisdiction in respect of war crimes in particular when committed as part of a plan or policy or as part of a large-scale commission of such crimes.

2. For the purpose of this Statute, 'war crimes' means:

(a) Grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, namely, any of the following acts against persons or property protected under the provisions of the relevant Geneva Convention:

    (i)   Wilful killing;

    (ii) Torture or inhuman treatment, including biological experiments;

    (iii) Wilfully causing great suffering, or serious injury to body or health;

    (iv) Extensive destruction and appropriation of property, not justified by military necessity and carried out unlawfully and wantonly;

    (v)   Compelling a prisoner of war or other protected person to serve in the forces of a hostile Power

    (vi) Wilfully depriving a prisoner of war or other protected person of the rights of fairand regular trial;

    (vii) Unlawful deportation or transfer or unlawful confinement;

    (viii) Taking of hostages.

ETHNIC CLEANSING

The Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect provides the following explanation of the term ethnic cleansing:

The term "ethnic cleansing" has more recently come into general usage and is the least clearly defined of the four categories. It is understood to describe forced removal or displacement of populations, whether by physical expulsion, or by intimidation through killing, acts of terror, rape and the like: it is essentially one particular class of crimes against humanity.[57]

---

57 The Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect, "R2P FAQ" http://globalr2p.org/about/faq.html#q7 (accessed April 17, 2010).

ANNEX B

DRAFT STRATEGIC GUIDANCE

In many planning situations an intervention may be contemplated, but policy and strategic guidance may still be under development. The Combatant Command or MARO Task Force may be obligated to begin planning before policy and guidance is formalized, and may also be requested to provide input. The following US-focused example, appropriately modified, is intended to serve as a readily available draft guidance document that can be negotiated with higher authorities.

STRATEGIC GUIDANCE STATEMENT—(DRAFT)

Country X Mass Atrocity Response Operation

(Level 2 Plan)

1. The Planning Requirement. XXXCOM will develop a Level 2 plan to stop mass atrocities in Country X, in conjunction with coalition partners and international organizations. Planning will include options to employ US forces, and will address scenarios with different levels of Host Nation (HN) cooperation.

2. Endstate.

   a. Belligerent factions are separated, vulnerable populations are protected, and conditions established such that other partners can address the humanitarian needs of the population.

   b. The HN, UN, or other legitimate authority is able to maintain security and governance without US military support.

   c. Spoilers in Country X are neutralized and are unable to incite future mass atrocity conditions.

3. Assumptions.

   a. Regional countries will not resist international efforts to stabilize Country X.

   b. Spoilers will actively oppose international responses to mass atrocities; these adversaries may receive support from third countries.

   c. The US will continue its other global military commitments.

d. US land forces will consist of a division headquarters and two brigades. Other countries will contribute the equivalent of two brigades to a US-led coalition.

e. UN mission will cooperate with coalition forces, but will have limited capability.

f. The MARO Task Force will be required to establish a Transitional Military Authority in the Area of Operations (AO), and will subsequently transfer responsibility and authority to the HN.

g. The MARO Task Force will have a two-week notice prior to deployment. The deployment will last approximately six months.

4. Other Planning Considerations.

a. US forces will remain under US control; US forces will synchronize and coordinate efforts with other forces such as the UN, NATO and, potentially, the Country X military.

b. Elements of the Civilian Response Corps will be available upon execution of this plan.

c. Coalition partners will likely require deployment and other logistical support from the US.

d. Plan for significant non-governmental organizational activity.

e. Integrate planning efforts with US Embassy X (lead agent for interagency coordination).

f. Plan should include shaping and deterrent activities to prevent a crisis from occurring.

SAMPLE CRITICAL FACTORS ANALYSES

As planning progresses, particular attention is paid to the Critical Factors that affect perpetrators, victims, interveners, and other actors. A key feature of the plan should be the exploitation of perpetrators' critical vulnerabilities while mitigating those of the interveners, victims, and other actors. In MARO situations, the Critical Factors analysis may be complicated if no clear adversary exists, or if multiple entities are perpetrators or potential adversaries. In some cases, it might be beneficial to attempt a Critical Factors analysis of the situation as a whole. Critical Factors will change over time, and it is necessary to reconsider them periodically, particularly when the situation has changed significantly.

Figure A-1 may help visualize the relationship between Critical Factors; indeed, some planners will actually display their analysis by using this method. Note that some critical vulnerabilities may relate to more than one critical requirement.

FIGURE A-1   Critical Factors

"PERPETRATOR" CRITICAL FACTORS ANALYSIS

"Perpetrator" Center of Gravity. The perpetrator's COG may well be the country's leadership, though alternative candidates may exist. It is possible that the COG can be focused more sharply on a single leader or a close-knit inner circle. It is also possible that the actual leader doesn't count for much *per se*, because any likely successor would be essentially the same. It may also be possible to calibrate the COG more precisely on some aspect of the leadership, for example: "The leadership's ability to influence the conflict area." In some situations, the actual significance of the perpetrator leadership itself may be secondary to the fact that the majority population's ethnic hatred of the minority transcends any governmental policy. A central government may actually have limited influence over the entire country, and the mass atrocity situation could have a more local texture. In cases where the government is not perpetrating the mass atrocities, a local or transnational elite or political party may nevertheless be identified as the COG. It may be that the perpetrators receive significant propping up by an external sponsor, without which their efforts would collapse. Finally, it is conceivable that the perpetrator's COG could be the wherewithal to commit mass atrocities; examples might be financial backing, arms supplies, recruitment, or ideology. With all these alternate candidates for a COG, the resultant Critical Factors analysis would be significantly different from that sketched below. In many cases, however, the ruling elite manipulates the mass atrocity situation and could prevent it.

"Perpetrator" Critical Capabilities include maintaining control over the country or area; retaining the support of its military or other relevant armed groups, the elite, and selected international actors; and generating popular support for the regime among majority groups. The perpetrators must also be capable of conducting operations against victims and, in many cases, any intervening forces. Other important capabilities include concealing mass atrocities from the international community, intimidating other actors including any domestic opposition into silence, dissuading any significant international intervention or punishment, and legitimizing the perpetrator's

behavior. Any significant increase or decrease in a perpetrator's capabilities can be a proximate driver of conflict and trigger a mass atrocity situation.

"Perpetrator" Critical Requirements include a loyal and pervasive security apparatus, control and manipulation of information, and repressive measures that create an environment of fear, suspicion, and obedience. Perks for the elite are frequently required to retain their support, and international backing may require the export of resources or perhaps diplomatic support for other nations' policies. Perpetrators frequently require a narrative that ostensibly justifies the targeting of the victims, and a cloak of legitimacy may be provided by family, tribal, religious, or ethnic loyalties. Anonymity is often an additional requirement; people may be more prone to violent actions if they are certain that they will not be personally identified. Actual committing of mass atrocities may require the support from non-victim population groups and an adequate level of basic military functions such as mobility, functioning C2, logistics, facilities, and combat power. Perpetrators will be motivated by their perceived needs, which will likely include a monopoly of power, the elimination of political threats, and their own survival.

"Perpetrator" Critical Vulnerabilities may likely include corruption throughout the regime at all levels; outside sponsors' concern about the perpetrator's legitimacy as well as their own international standing; the population's access to accurate information, which could undermine support for the perpetrators; factions within the ruling elite, particularly as members become increasingly concerned about their own survival and well-being as a crisis evolves; loss of confidence in the perpetrators as an intervention progresses; growing resistance from other actors; and the possibility that leadership members can be easily targeted by lethal and non-lethal means. That the perpetrator is contemplating or conducting criminal acts is itself a critical vulnerability, particularly if the behavior is made public. Perpetrator's forces may have insufficient numbers to control the entire area, low-level corruption, tenuous communications with higher headquarters, questionable morale and commitment among soldiers, limited capability besides infantry units, factional strife, easily targeted bases, and the possibility that the general

population is not too supportive of conducting atrocities and is lukewarm in its support of the security forces.

"VICTIM" CRITICAL FACTORS ANALYSIS

"Victim" Center of Gravity. For potential victims, the COG in most cases is likely to be the ability to survive.

"Victim" Critical Capabilities may include maintaining the collective will to survive, dissuading or resisting perpetrators, appeasing perpetrators, maintaining the essential means to survive, retaining an acceptable level of human security and cultural identity, obtaining intervention assistance from third parties, fleeing from the conflict area, and gaining support from potential interveners and other actors. Victims may be capable of pursuing revenge if the balance of power shifts in their favor.

"Victim" Critical Requirements include minimal essentials such as food, water, security, shelter, and medical care. At another level, victims also require human rights and preservation of their cultures and livelihoods. In a MARO situation victim groups may need organization, self-defense capability, protection from outside elements, sanctuaries, or buffer zones. Ultimately, the broad stabilization categories of a Safe and Secure Environment, Rule of Law, Stable Governance, Sustainable Economy, and Social Well-Being encompass the panoply of conditions required for a mass atrocity situation to abate completely.[58]

"Victim" Critical Vulnerabilities likely include weak protective capabilities, lack of political power, and, possibly, disorganization. The likely inability to protect their families deters victims from aggressively resisting perpetrators. Victims may attempt to appease perpetrators, which may simply motivate the latter to take even more extreme actions. Perpetrators may enroll collaborators from victim groups and consequently create internal divisions. Once victims are displaced from their homes, they become even more vulnerable to

---

58   See *Guiding Principles for Stabilization and Reconstruction* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2009).

disease, starvation, dehydration, or being preyed upon. Victims may be limited in their ability to inform the outside world, which may itself be skeptical regarding stories about mass atrocities. In the same way that changes in perpetrator capabilities can become drivers of conflict, changes in victims' vulnerabilities can also affect the likelihood of mass atrocities. If victim groups suddenly become more vulnerable, predators may attempt to exploit this. Conversely, a reduction in victim vulnerability may motivate perpetrators to act before a perceived window of opportunity closes. This motivation may also occur if an impending MARO intervention poses a threat to perpetrators.

"INTERVENER" CRITICAL FACTORS ANALYSIS

"Intervener" Center of Gravity. In many cases, the friendly strategic COG will be the political will to respond effectively. Other candidates conceivably could include legitimacy, the coalition, or specific forces with the direct ability to protect vulnerable populations.

"Intervener" Critical Capabilities potentially include building a strong coalition, responding quickly with a capable force, and maintaining international and domestic support for the operation. The intervening MARO force will need to be capable of obtaining freedom of operation throughout the AO; defeating or neutralizing threats to vulnerable populations; establishing conditions for stability, governance, development, and reconciliation; obtaining the support of the population; and integrating effectively with HN and international partners.

"Intervener" Critical Requirements likely include legitimacy; broad participation; unity of effort; leadership; logistics; C2; and an adequately sized force with "enablers" such as mobile assets, aviation, logistics, ISR, C2, strike capability, assets to support Civil Military Operations, and PSYOP. The intervention will also be required to demonstrate progress and be reinforced by effective strategic communication. Security will be required for the force, the population with priority to those who are most vulnerable, and partners.

Additionally, assets will be required for interim governance; immediate HA to victims and vulnerable populations; provision of jobs; and infrastructure improvements. Depending on the specifics of the atrocity, HN involvement may or may not be required, which could necessitate advisors to HN representatives. Interveners may be motivated by other than humanitarian motives, which could cause others to view their actions skeptically.

"Intervener" Critical Vulnerabilities are likely to include intra-coalition disagreement over policies or burden-sharing; lack of participation by key members of the international community; the possibility that "victims" helped by the intervening force may become "perpetrators" seeking revenge; mistakes that are likely to be committed by the intervening forces; opposition from other countries because of their concern over "imperialism" or other issues; and loss of domestic support in coalition countries because of the intervention's duration, setbacks, monetary cost, casualties, or a focus on other pressing issues. The time required to deploy a sufficient force may also jeopardize the operation's effectiveness and could be a significant conflict driver by motivating perpetrators to act before the opportunity is lost. The intervention could also be a driver for a wider conflict apart from the mass atrocity situation. Other likely weaknesses include vulnerable LOCs; vulnerable small forces such as patrols and outposts; the inability to provide security everywhere; the inability to meet all expectations; and the fact that collateral damage or excessive casualties will cause popular resentment.

"OTHER ACTORS" CRITICAL FACTORS ANALYSIS

"Other Actors" Center of Gravity. The COG for HN, regional, and international bystanders will likely be the complete set of their respective perceived self-interests. This will dictate whether they remain neutral or decide to provide some measure of support to perpetrators, victims, or interveners.

"Other Actors" Critical Capabilities include following a reasonably rational decision-making process to pursue interests. They must also maintain the ability to act accordingly; this includes securing internal consensus and the external latitude to act appropriately. In many cases this means not taking action that would antagonize other parties in the different categories. Alternatively, these actors are capable of supporting interveners, perpetrators, or victims in accordance with their own perceived interests, which may include the desire to be on the winning side.

"Other Actors" Critical Requirements are reflected in the actors' self-perceived interests that drive their actions. These may include political, economic, territorial, and cultural requirements, and may also be related to protection against perceived threats.

"Other Actors" Vulnerabilities likely include the actors' susceptibility to external pressure. Internal bystanders may be intimidated by perpetrators and either deterred from opposing mass atrocities or coerced into supporting them. Regional and international bystanders may likewise be threatened by Country X retaliation if it is antagonized. In some situations, neighboring countries may prefer the status quo to a conflict that creates spillover effects, such as refugees, in their countries. Bystanders may be influenced to provide support for victims and interveners because of diplomatic or economic pressure or, once it appears likely that the intervention will succeed, because they determine that such support will result in a better outcome. Bystanders may also be hampered by internal divisions about desired objectives or ways to achieve them; these may cause inaction or infighting that further complicates the MARO situation. Finally, bystanders may be influenced by short-term considerations and fail to consider a more beneficial longer-term perspective.

ANNEX D

ASSUMPTIONS

Key assumptions for a MARO contingency plan might relate to the following areas. During a crisis, many of these assumptions will have to be answered before the operation commences.

- Timelines—When will political decisions be made, when will the deployment begin, and how long will the operation last?

- Force levels—What forces will be available, and when? Will additional forces be available if required? Will units be replaced on a rotational basis, and how long will these rotations last?

- National contributions to the operation—Will coalition partners require logistical support from the MARO Task Force (MTF)? Will they have "caveats" from their national authorities that limit their employment?

- Actions of non-governmental organizations (NGOs)—To what extent will key NGOs cooperate with the MTF? Will the MTF have to place a priority on securing the NGOs?

- Actions of international government organizations (IGOs)—To what extent will IGOs cooperate with the MTF? Will an agreed-on division of labor be obtainable with other partners?

- Prepositioning and regional access—Can the MTF deploy to, stage in, or operate from countries in the region before or during the intervention? Will coalition forces be able to use airspace or otherwise transit through neighboring countries?

- Willingness of Host Nation (HN) government and factions to cooperate—Will any actors in the country be partners or adversaries during the intervention?

- Actions regarding perpetrators—Will the MTF be permitted or required to target,pursue, or prosecute perpetrators? This potentially includes MTF attacks on the HN military or government.

- Post-Intervention Responsibilities—Will the MTF have any Reconstruction or Stabilization role after the intervention? Who will assume authority from the MTF, and how will this transition occur?

ANNEX E

TASK LIST

Line of Effort: Situation Understanding

- Monitor situation and identify periods of heightened potential for mass atrocities.
- Identify and locate perpetrators and victims.
- Maintain updated assessment of OE.

Line of Effort: Strategic Communication and Diplomacy

- Support USG (or other) diplomatic efforts.
- Convince multiple audiences of MTF's legitimacy.
- Build and maintain strong coalition.
- Deter and isolate perpetrators and spoilers.
- Gain indigenous support.
- Mediate local grievances and disputes.
- Support open media.

Line of Effort: Unity of Effort

- Integrate with supporting commands and coalition partners.
- Coordinate and cooperate with Country Team/other USG agencies.
- Coordinate and cooperate with regional and international partners.
- Coordinate and cooperate with NGOs, private sector.
- Exchange liaison officers.

Line of Effort: Military Operations

- Conduct FDOs as directed.
- Establish aerospace, maritime, and cyber supremacy.
- Conduct forcible entry.
- Establish and maintain freedom of movement/maneuver on land.
- Defend victim groups.
- Defeat perpetrators, adversaries, and spoilers.
- Respond to localized conflicts.
- Conduct effective stability operations.

Line of Effort: Force Generation and Sustainment

- Deploy and integrate US and coalition forces.
- Develop and secure infrastructure and LOCs.
- Sustain MTF.
- Establish HN Support Agreements and Contractor Support.
- Provide support to other partners and HA efforts, including IDP camp support, graves registration, and restoration of legitimate political authority.
- Generate HN security capability.

Line of Effort: Safe and Secure Environment

- Protect vulnerable populations.
- Neutralize threats to vulnerable populations.
- Support Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration.
- Develop effective indigenous security forces.
- Secure borders.
- Identify and neutralize spoilers.
- Support ceasefires.

Line of Effort: Governance and Rule of Law

- Support establishment of effective institutions and laws, and rule of law.
- Identify and apprehend perpetrators.
- Locate and safeguard key witnesses, documents, and other evidence.
- Support peaceful redress of grievances.
- Monitor vulnerable groups and prevent human rights abuses; implement effective warning mechanisms.
- Protect key political and societal leaders.
- Establish TMA and provide interim governance, if needed.
- Transition authority and responsibility to TCA, HN, or other entity.
- Support legitimate and effective governance.
- Dissuade corruption.

Line of Effort: Social and Economic Well-Being

- Distribute emergency assistance.
- Enable NGOs.
- Support provision of essential services.
- Provide for refugee/IDP care and resettlement.
- Restore critical infrastructure.
- Protect critical resources.
- Support economic development.

INTELLIGENCE CONSIDERATIONS

This annex supplements the information contained in the "Mission Analysis" section and may be modified by intelligence personnel to assist their analysis of the MARO environment.

1. The Actors

A. PERPETRATORS

(1) Who are the perpetrators?

(2) Where are they located?

(3) How are they organized?

(4) What are their normal modes of operation?

(5) What are their capabilities and vulnerabilities?

(6) What are their objectives and ideology?

(7) What are their recent and current activities?

(8) What support mechanisms exist to sustain their operations?

(9) What are their possible courses of action? Which are most likely?

(10) What is the level of government complicity with the perpetrators?

(11) Are there any divisions within the perpetrators?

B. VICTIMS

(1) Who are the victim groups?

(2) Where are they concentrated?

(3) How are victim groups organized, if at all?

(4) What are their capabilities and vulnerabilities?

(5) What are their objectives and ideology?

(6) What are their recent and current activities?

(7) What support mechanisms exist to sustain them?

(8) What are their possible courses of action? Which are most likely?

C. OTHER ACTORS

(1) What other internal and external groups are relevant to the situation?

(2) Which other groups are potential victims or perpetrators?

(3) How are these other groups organized?

(4) What are their capabilities and vulnerabilities?

(5) What are their objectives and ideologies?

(6) What are their recent and current activities?

(7) What are their possible courses of action? Which are most likely?

(8) What is their likely response to a foreign intervention?

(9) What positive contributions can be made by other internal and external groups?

2. The Operational Environment

a. What are the significant geographic, political, military, economic, social, infrastructural, and informational issues, systems and subsystems, dynamics, or nodes?

b. What is their impact on the mass atrocity situation?

c. What is their impact on the operation?

d. Where have atrocities occurred? Where and when are they likely to occur?

e. What conditions have triggered violent acts or brought them to an end?

f. How is the OE likely to change during the operation?

3. Intelligence Collection

a. What should be the PIR and Essential Elements of Information (EEI)?

b. What are the supporting intelligence collection requirements and how should they be prioritized?

c. What collection assets are available (including national assets)?

d. How should collection assets be allocated?

e. What are the intelligence collection gaps and why do they exist?

f. What are potential external and open sources of information and intelligence?

g. What are standing intelligence requirements for MTF units?

FLEXIBLE DETERRENT OPTIONS

This Annex contains potential low-level, mid-level, and high-level military FDOs (and though the Annex is geared to a US audience, they are applicable for other interveners as well). These measures may be implemented prior to a MARO intervention to deter a perpetrator from escalating a crisis or to convince the perpetrator to stop undesired activity, defusing and limiting the consequences of a crisis. "Levels" are a function of an FDO's required resources, associated risks, and degree of encroachment on HN sovereignty. Packages of selected FDOs can be created as options, and they do not necessarily need to be attempted sequentially.

Low-Level Military FDOs

The following FDOs require a relatively low commitment of resources, are not particularly risky, and do not significantly interfere with the HN's internal affairs.

• Positive measures may serve as incentives for Country X to act responsibly. The US could offer security assistance such as training for Country X forces or military-to-military contacts to improve their professionalism. This may make indigenous forces less prone to conduct mass atrocities, and also enables direct observations of the country's conditions. Perpetrators may be dissuaded from conducting atrocities if these actions are likely to be discovered, and any early disturbing indicators can be addressed before a situation deteriorates. If such Theater Security Cooperation activities are already occurring, their expansion may be an additional motivation for Country X. Alternatively, termination of such programs could serve as a sanction that punishes Country X for allowing the MARO situation to fester.

• Security Assistance could be provided to potential coalition partners, particularly to Country X's regional neighbors or to regional entities such as the African Union Standby Force. This could send a signal that the US is willing to take steps regarding the situation, establishes a US presence in the region that could later be expanded to support future MARO efforts, and may improve coalition capabilities if they are required later. Some nations' militaries

are not experienced with deployments; this can be a particularly daunting prospect for units that normally have a territorial role. Short out-of-area exercises can help accustom these soldiers to being away from home, thus making them more capable of serving on a MARO deployment.

• The MTF headquarters and those of the subordinate components may be activated. This need not require any actual movement, but would probably require these commands to disengage from their current responsibilities and devote greater focus to the operation's planning and preparation. This measure would be a necessary early step for any MARO intervention and if made public would send a strong message to perpetrators.

• Alert statuses of designated units can be heightened. These organizations would also be required to divert their focus from current missions and take tangible steps to respond if ordered. These would likely include orientation training for mission personnel, immunizations, and promulgation of plans and orders at all levels. With appropriate media attention to these actions, a strategic communication benefit can be obtained and units will be better prepared for the operation, while still committing a relatively low level of resources.

• Units can begin deployment preparations to ready for rapid response. Equipment can be loaded and transported to air or sea ports of embarkation, strategic lift schedules can be finalized, and strategic lift assets can be directed to these embarkation points. Maps can be obtained and distributed, and unit advance parties and equipment could actually depart for staging bases. Again, media coverage of these activities can help signal US resolve without making an irrevocable commitment, while still having a potential deterrent effect on perpetrators. One necessary and problematic preparation would be to arrange interpreter support for the force. This will probably consist of native speakers from diasporas and local citizens once the force is established in Country X. Interpreter recruiting efforts can redress a critical future requirement while providing additional benefit regarding strategic communication.

• Exercises at various levels can be conducted, or previously scheduled exercises can be reframed with a MARO context to provide relevance to the situation in Country X. While obviously better if these exercises included units that would actually participate in the operation, a strategic communication benefit can still be obtained if other units are involved.

• Maritime forces that may already be present in the region can operate close to Country X's territorial waters and through any regional chokepoints to assert freedom of navigation. This would familiarize forces with the area of operation, permit additional intelligence gathering, and potentially have a strengthened deterrent effect on perpetrators.

Mid-Level Military FDOs

The following measures require a higher level of resources or effort, or encroach upon the target nation's sovereignty to a higher degree. They may be viewed as mid-level FDOs and potentially have a higher degree of risk than those discussed previously.

• Port visits by naval vessels, particularly by ships newly deployed to the region, are highly visible means of demonstrating national power and presence. These can occur in neighboring countries, or in the country of interest. Media coverage should be encouraged and ship tours can be conducted for regional leaders. The ship may be an appropriate venue to host meetings between leaders of Country X and US or international diplomats. Such meetings may help defuse the situation, while conveying an implied deterrent message to perpetrators.

• Current military presence in the region can be reinforced with additional US or coalition air, maritime, or land power. For example, a fighter squadron could be added to a regional air base or a Carrier Strike Group could be repositioned in the region. An Expeditionary Strike Group with an embarked MEU provides some land capability, as would the addition of

an Army unit to a regional base. Early transport of coalition forces, potentially using US transportation assets, can enhance deterrence by signaling international commitment to the effort and can alleviate a deployment challenge at an early date. This FDO usually would divert affected units from their current responsibilities.

- If the current US presence in the region is minimal, the GCC can begin to establish the required regional basing arrangements in neighboring countries. Equipment and supplies can be prepositioned, logistical systems can be established, and operational units can begin to deploy to the region. Sea-basing can augment land bases or provide a limited early basing capability if regional land bases are not practicable. Air, maritime, or land forces can conduct patrols around the country's periphery. This will improve the MTF's capability for subsequent operations, expand the ability to maintain situational awareness, and potentially have an enhanced deterrent effect on perpetrators.

- ISR activity focused on Country X can be increased, and additional resources added to the regional capability. These can include additional JSTARS, UAVs, and reprioritization of national technical assets. Increased surveillance can have a significant deterrent effect on perpetrators if they believe their actions are likely to be monitored. Accordingly, results of ISR activities can selectively be released to reinforce diplomatic and informational efforts to prevent mass atrocities. If HUMINT capability is deficient, collection networks can be developed or expanded; although establishing a complete HUMINT network is likely to be a time-consuming process, early efforts may provide useful dividends.

- Shows of force can be conducted to provide visible, but restrained, displays of military power that convey the message that the MTF can operate with impunity and could inflict severe damage if it so desired. Once in theater, forces can begin aggressive patrolling close to Country X's borders. Maritime forces can operate well inside Country X's territorial waters, air

forces can approach or transit the country's airspace, and land forces could be positioned on the borders or conduct short-duration missions into weakly defended parts of the nation. In some situations, low-altitude aircraft runs can intimidate Country X governmental leaders, security forces, or other potential perpetrators. An aggressive posture may produce a sobering effect on would-be perpetrators, but this must be balanced against the risk of unintended escalation, accidents, or loss to hostile fire. Early shows of force may be useful as deception efforts that draw the adversary's attention away from locations of the MTF's intended future operations.

• MTF and subordinate headquarters can be deployed to the region, accept operational control of forces already present, and begin to control operations. This would be accompanied by information engagement efforts such as press conferences, news releases, and embedded media with the MTF. These deployments would get a head start for future MARO operations, acclimatize the MTF to the region, and potentially have a deterrent effect on would-be perpetrators.

• PSYOP can begin with measures such as leaflet drops, radio or television broadcasts into Country X, and clandestine efforts to manipulate the perceptions of regime members, security forces, and the population. These efforts could dissuade mass atrocity actions, foment mutual distrust within the regime, weaken the morale of security forces, and reduce popular support for the regime and mass atrocity actions. All potential perpetrators are informed that they have the option of behaving responsibly or suffering the consequences, which could include lethal targeting or criminal prosecution for crimes against humanity.

• A maritime blockade or quarantine can be implemented to isolate Country X or prevent the transit of selected items such as weapons. It might intercept all shipments, selected shipments, or may simply entail the stopping and searching of vessels as a form of harassment. This measure could be imple-

mented in conjunction with economic sanctions. It would possibly strain relations with countries who are engaged in trade with Country X or whose flags are borne by the ships.

High-Level Military FDOs

The following FDOs can be considered high-level since they involve a higher degree of risk, extensive resource commitment, or significantly encroach upon Country X's sovereignty.

• No-Fly Zones. This FDO exploits the MTF's aerial advantages and can be effective in setting appropriate conditions for subsequent MTF operations, particularly if it appears likely that Country X may use fixed or rotary-wing assets against vulnerable civilian populations. It would probably be necessary to neutralize Country X's ground-based air defenses.

• The MTF can conduct mine-clearing operations both on land and at sea. These activities would occur on Country X's borders or in coastal waters. These efforts can enable subsequent operations or support a deception plan. Part of this effort may include the destruction of Country X's capabilities to lay mines subsequently. The mere fact that the MTF is taking active measures to prepare for an intervention may dissuade perpetrators from mass atrocity actions.

• NEOs may be conducted. Emphasis may be placed on evacuating US civilians, those from coalition countries, NGOs, or some of Country X's potential victims. This FDO may be adopted to remove these civilians from potential danger or to clear the way for subsequent operations by removing potential hostages or to prevent Country X from retaliating against them once higher-intensity operations commence. In a few situations it may be preferable to deploy a security force into Country X for local protection and allow the civilians to remain in place.

• The MTF may conduct a limited intervention to provide local protection for civilians at high risk. Country X's forces in the area may be incapable of opposing the force or may be deterred from attacking them because of the implied threat of increased MTF commitment. Such actions may be announced in advance along with clear threats to perpetrators not to interfere.

• MTF forces may conduct short-duration HA missions within Country X. These actions may provide critically needed support and may also support strategic communication. As in the previous option, the need for operations security may be balanced against the possibility of announcing the mission in advance.

• If air superiority is ensured, air drops of humanitarian supplies can be conducted for needy civilians. This may, however, cause a chaotic situation if insufficient supplies are dropped. Any coalition forces in Country X, such as SOF, may also be supplied by air drops.

• Electronic warfare can be conducted over telecommunications networks to disrupt communications, gain intelligence, or to conduct PSYOP. Perpetrator communications can be disrupted to cause confusion; alternatively, perpetrators may refrain from conducting atrocities if they are unable to communicate secretively.

• SOF may be inserted into Country X to conduct unconventional warfare. This can include organizing resistance forces to undermine the government, to give potential victims the means to defend themselves, or to divert the adversary's focus from other areas.

• SOF may conduct Strategic Reconnaissance (SR) or Direct Action (DA) missions to disrupt perpetrators, attack key targets, divert adversary focus, or enable future operations by other components. These operations can undermine perpetrator perceptions that atrocity actions can be kept under concealment.

- Strikes or raids can be conducted against key military or government targets in Country X. Air and maritime assets can be employed, as well as Army Tactical Missile Systems (ATACMS) or artillery in adjacent countries if they are within range. In some situations indirect fire systems may temporarily displace forward to extend their reach. Rotary wing assets may be employed from adjacent countries or from amphibious decks to strike targets or provide surveillance. Raids by SOF, Army units, or Marine forces can disrupt or confuse the adversary with a multifront conflict, attack critical assets, rescue hostages, or support deception plans. In some situations the targets can be primarily of symbolic importance to the regime. Such actions can create a sense of vulnerability among perpetrators and motivate them to refrain from conducting atrocities.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Following is a selected list of additional documents and resources that have helped inform the work of the MARO Project. Please consult the MARO Project website (http://www.hks.harvard.edu/cchrp/maro/index.php) for an evolving list of resources.

Barnett, Michael. *Eyewitness to a Genocide: The United Nations and Rwanda.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002.

Baum, Steven K. *The Psychology of Genocide: Perpetrators, Bystanders, and Rescuers.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Betts, Richard. "The Delusion of Impartial Intervention." *Foreign Affairs* 73.6 (November/December 1994): 20–33.

Dallaire, Lt Gen (Ret) Romeo. *Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda.* New York: Carroll & Graf, 2003.

Downes, Alexander. *Targeting Civilians in War.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008.

———. "Desperate Times, Desperate Measures: The Causes of Civilian Victimization in War." *International Security* 30.4 (Spring 2006): 152–195.

Evans, Gareth. *The Responsibility to Protect: Ending Mass Atrocity Crimes Once and For All.* Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2008.

Feil, Scott. *Preventing Genocide: How the Early Use of Force Might Have Succeeded in Rwanda.* A report to the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Con-flict, Carnegie Corporation of New York: April 1998.

Genocide Prevention Task Force, Madeleine Albright and William Cohen, co-chairs. *Preventing Genocide: A Blueprint for U.S. Policymakers.* Washington, DC:United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2008.

Gourevitch, Phillip. *We Wish to Inform You That Tomorrow We Will Be Killed with Our Families: Stories from Rwanda.* New York: Farrar, Strauss & Giroux, 1998.

Greenhill, Kelly. "Mission Impossible? Preventing Deadly Conflict in the African Great Lakes Region." *Security Studies* 11.1 (Autumn 2001): 77–124.

Harff, Barbara. "No Lessons Learned from the Holocaust? Assessing Risks of Genocide and Political Mass Murder since 1955." *American Political Science Review* 97.1 (February 2003): 57–73.

Heuveline, Patrick. "'Between One and Three Million': Towards the Demographic Reconstruction of a Decade of Cambodian History (1970–1979)." *Population Studies* 52 (March 1998): 49–65.

Hinote, Clint. *Campaigning to Protect: Using Military Force to Stop Genocide and Mass Atrocities.* March 2008. http://www.hks.harvard.edu/cchrp/maro/pdf/Clint_Hinote_Campaigning_to_Protect_Third%20Draft.pdf.

Hinton, Alexander Laban. *Why Did They Kill? Cambodia in the Shadow of Genocide.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Holt, Victoria, and Tobias Berkman. *The Impossible Mandate? Military Preparedness, the Responsibility to Protect and Modern Peace Operations.* Washington, DC: Stimson Center, September 2006.

Holt, Victoria and Glyn Taylor with Max Kelly. *Protecting Civilians in the Context of UN Peacekeeping Operations: Successes, Setbacks, and Remaining Challenges.* New York: United Nations, 2009.

Huth, Paul, and Benjamin Valentino. "Mass Killing of Civilians in Time of War, 1945–2000." In *Peace and Conflict 2008*, edited by J. Joseph Hewitt, Jonathan Wilkenfeld, and Ted Gurr. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2008.

Jones, Bruce. *Peacemaking in Rwanda: The Dynamics of Failure.* Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2001.

Kalyvas, Stathis. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Kiernan, Ben. *The Pol Pot Regime: Race, Power, and Genocide in Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge, 1975–1979*. 2nd ed. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002.

———. *Blood and Soil: A World History of Genocide and Extermination from Sparta to Darfur*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007.

Kuperman, Alan. "Humanitarian Intervention." In *Human Rights: Politics and Practice,* edited by Michael Goodhart, 334–353. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

———. *The Limits of Humanitarian Intervention: Genocide in Rwanda.* Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2001.

———. "Rethinking the Responsibility to Protect." *Whitehead Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations* 10.1 (Winter/Spring 2009): 33–43. Mazower, Mark. *Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century*. New York: Vintage Books, 1998.

———. "Violence and the State in the Twentieth Century." *American Historical Review* 107.4 (October 2002): 1158–1178.

Morris, Stephen. *Why Vietnam Invaded Cambodia: Political Culture and the Causes of War.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999.

O'Hanlon, Michael. *Saving Lives with Force: Military Criteria for Humanitarian Intervention.* Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2007.

Peifer, Douglas. "Genocide and Air Power." *Strategic Studies Quarterly* 2.2 (Summer 2008): 93-124.

Posen, Barry. "Military Responses to Refugee Disasters." *International Security* 21.1 (Summer 1996): 72–111.

Power, Samantha. *"A Problem from Hell:" America and the Age of Genocide.* New York: Basic Books, 2002.

Report of the Commission for Historical Clarification. *Guatemala: Memory of Silence.* Guatemala: F & G Editores, 1999.

Seybolt, Taylor. *Humanitarian Military Intervention: The Conditions for Success and Failure.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Slim, Hugo. *Killing Civilians: Method, Madness, and Morality in War* New York: Columbia University Press, 2008.

Straus, Scott. *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006.

Totten, Samuel. "The US Investigation into the Darfur Crisis and the US Government's Determination of Genocide." *Genocide Studies and Prevention* 1.1 (July 2006): 57–78.

UN Security Council, Annex. *From Madness to Hope: The 12-year War in El Salvador: Report of the Commission on the Truth for El Salvador.* S/25500, 1993.

Valentino, Benjamin. *Final Solutions: Mass Killing and Genocide in the 20th Century.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004.

———. "The Perils of Limited Humanitarian Intervention: Lessons from the 1990s." *Wisconsin International Law Journal* 24.3 (Fall 2006): 723–740.

Valentino, Benjamin, Paul Huth, and Dylan Balch-Lindsay. "Draining the Sea: Mass Killing and Guerrilla Warfare." *International Organization* 58.2 (Spring 2004): 375–407.

ANNEX I

HISTORY OF THE MARO PROJECT

The MARO Project was founded in 2007 by Sarah Sewall in her capacity as Director of the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy. It quickly became an institutional partnership with the Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute at the US Army War College. The Project has relied heavily on the expertise of a Core Planning Group comprised of active duty and retired military officers.

The Project's initial intent was to develop a generic military concept of operations for mass atrocity intervention for the US and foreign governments and military actors. However, Project participants ultimately found it more appropriate to develop a planning framework tailored to the common requirements of a MARO and designed to identify specific operational dynamics and requirements. In this process, the Project developed a conceptual framework for MARO, explaining the underlying common elements and unique challenges of a MARO compared to other types of military operations. The combined functions of conceptual framework and planning guide ultimately resulted in this Military Planning Handbook.

The Initial Annotated Planning Framework Effort

By articulating the unique aspects of MARO, the Project hopes to prompt military and non-military actors to develop the appropriate doctrine and other adaptations to be prepared if a mass atrocity response is required. National or organizational doctrine is needed to inform mass atrocity and genocide response, just as it guides responses to other types of military operations.

To speed this process, MARO military planners drew upon and reconfigured existing US military operational guidance and task lists to create a template for mass atrocity intervention. The Project examined guidance and tasks common to peace support operations, foreign HA operations, peace enforcement operations, NEOs, and COIN operations. Initially, the planners recommended developing a generic CONOPS, sometimes referred to as a "Level One Contingency Plan." Such plans are created by the military for a broad range of contingencies and underpin and facilitate the

transition to more detailed planning. Because the final audience for such a product would be senior policymakers, it was decided to create a generic planning document that would be iteratively modified to provide the Secretary of Defense with detailed military courses of action to respond to a mass atrocity.

As work progressed on a generic concept of operations, several problems emerged. First, traditional military planning gives insufficient priority to non-military considerations. These are typically included only in an annex at the end of the plan. Clearly, the entire US government and all tools of national power should be coordinated from the outset of efforts to halt mass atrocity, particularly if the interventions occur in a preventive context. More fundamentally, as the Project worked through different variations of mass atrocity response, it became evident that any attempt to create a universal or generic plan would likely be inadequate.

As a result, the Project decided to take a procedural step back. Instead of creating a one-size-fits-all plan, it would develop an "Annotated Planning Framework" (APF) to guide the process of analyzing and customizing responses to mass atrocity. This effort was based on the military's existing Joint Operational Planning and Execution System (JOPES) process, but the APF was envisioned to provide guidance to a GCC on how to develop a Commander's Estimate and Operation Plan. It moved interagency considerations earlier in the process, and added a variety of other planning factors and analytics that would be useful when faced with a mass atrocity situation. For example, situational factors common to past genocide and mass atrocities were integrated into the planning assumptions. The endstate was defined as stopping the atrocities. Planners also sought to translate the JOPES process into concepts and terms that would be more easily understood by the US interagency community as well as NGOs and the general public.

The Project began briefing the APF widely in the fall of 2008, part of which consisted of holding three conferences — one in September 2008 with US military representatives, one in December 2008 with other US government officials, and one in April 2009 with the UN and NGOs. The feedback was extremely useful and prompted a more significant revision of

approach. Audiences were concerned that the outline of a detailed military planning process was an end in itself, rather than a means to an end of explaining what needed to be done differently in a MARO. In other words, the document appeared duplicative of a process already well understood by military planners, but it was still not accessible to non-military readers. Second, the APF included too many additional factors and analytics without explaining their value or linking them to one another. As a result, the APF distracted from the understanding of MARO-specific requirements. Third, many audiences failed to understand what was fundamentally different about a MARO. The Project concluded that the initial product, while attempting to explain the uniqueness of planning for a MARO, still placed too much focus on a planning process at the expense of developing and conveying the key MARO concepts.

Moving toward the MARO Military Planning Handbook

This feedback prompted a revision of our approach and coincided with a transition of leadership on the MARO staff. Sally Chin joined the Carr Center as MARO Project Director, bringing extensive field experience from Darfur, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and other conflicts in Africa. Retired Army Colonel Dwight Raymond assumed leadership of the MARO Project effort at PKSOI, bringing his operational and planning experience. PKSOI's Colonel (Retired) William Flavin also contributed his extensive policy and planning expertise to developing a revised approach.

We concluded that by gearing our initial product to a planning process, we had become overly focused on process at the expense of developing and conveying the key MARO concepts. Fortunately, Lt Col Clint Hinote (USAF) of the CPG had already written an important predoctrinal piece on escalatory dynamics and various ways to think about using force to deter and halt mass atrocities. Drawing on this work, the CPG discussions, and her own analysis, Sarah Sewall created a summary of mass atrocity characteristics and their operational implications, which has become Part I of the Planning Handbook and a point of departure for military doctrine.

We also changed our approach to explaining MARO planning, making it more general and more accessible to a wider audience. We streamlined the entire process, stripping it of many detailed elements that would be essential but familiar to military planners while making the language and process easier for civilian actors to understand and apply. We removed many, although not all, ancillary methods of predicting or assessing mass atrocity or genocide because of their varying purposes and degrees of support and track records. Instead, the guide highlights important planning considerations that might be useful to planners who have been directed to prepare for a mass atrocity response.

Over the past two years of the project, we also sought to engage more closely with humanitarian agencies and international and regional institutions. It became apparent that a successful MARO, even as it was primarily a military endeavor, would require the cooperation and coordination of a wide range of actors. This would be true during and definitely after the intervention, when a handoff of responsibilities would be necessary. These entities would likely already be present at the onset of a mass atrocity, and would therefore be key sources of information and advice that should be factored into the planning process from the outset.

Finally, as we began to consolidate the various elements of the Military Planning Handbook, the MARO Project began working with Mission Essential Personnel to develop a tabletop exercise that would allow actors to apply the MARO guidebook to a realistic scenario. As a result, the MARO Project has been able to begin testing its concepts and planning process, initially with the US military. The first effort was in January 2010, when the Project held a planning workshop and MARO tabletop exercise at US European Command (EUCOM). The two-day exercise, which focused on planning for a hypothetical potential mass atrocity scenario in EUCOM's area of responsibility, brought together EUCOM J35 crisis action planners, J5 deliberate planners, and planners from J9, J4, and S/CRS to test the MARO concept. Participants reported that the exercise helped them recognize why a mass atrocity response would be one of the more difficult types of problems that they might have to face, and they appreciated having the

conceptual framework, planning considerations, and checklists provided to them. As a result of this, EUCOM has invited the MARO Project back for a follow-on exercise and engagement with other Combatant Commands is also envisioned. One of the MARO Project's goals is to continue to expand this process beyond the US military to include foreign military and government actors and international and regional organizations.

CONTACTS AND RESOURCES

For more information about the MARO Project, tabletop exercises, or ongoing research, please contact MARO Project personnel at either the Carr Center or PKSOI. The MARO Project website, hosted at Harvard University, contains current phone and email contacts, as well as a continuously updated list of other resources and related organizations that may be of use and interest.

Carr Center for Human Rights Policy
Harvard Kennedy School of Government
www.hks.harvard.edu/cchrp/maro/index.php

The mission of the Carr Center is to make human rights principles central to the formulation of sound public policy in the United States and throughout the world, and to train future leaders in the field of human rights. The Center contributes to public policy formulation through the research and public engagement of its faculty and fellows.

Sarah Sewall
MARO Project Founder and Faculty Advisor

Sally Chin
MARO Project Director

Graham Ball
MARO Project Associate

ANNEX K

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

by Sarah Sewall, Dwight Raymond, and Sally Chin

As the main authors of the Military Planning Handbook, we would like to extend our deep thanks to the many people and organizations that have supported the MARO Project since its inception in 2007. In addition to those named here, we are very grateful for the insights and feedback from the many academic, policy, NGO, and military reviewers of this Handbook. We would also like to acknowledge the support of those colleagues inside and outside of the US government and military who have helped us refine the MARO concepts and tools and socialize them within their various institutions.

The MARO Project has benefited enormously from the partnership between the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy at the Harvard Kennedy School and the Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute at the US Army War College, and we thank both organizations for their institutional support in this endeavor. At PKSOI, we would like to extend our thanks to COL John Kardos, COL (Ret) William Flavin, COL Steve Smith, and Karen Finkenbinder. This Handbook would not be possible without the intellectual contributions and innovative thinking of the MARO Core Planning Group, which has included COL (Ret) Kevin Benson (US Army), COL Charles Eassa (US Army), COL (Ret) Scott Feil (US Army), Col Clint Hinote (US Air Force), Col Michael Kometer (US Air Force), LTC (Ret) Harry Phillips (US Army), Col (Ret) Mike Scott (US Marine Corps), LtCol Don Thieme (US Marine Corps), and COL (Ret) Mark Walsh (US Army).

In addition to the current personnel listed in the Contacts and Resources Annex, we would like to thank former personnel at the Carr Center and PKSOI who have been invaluable to the Project. They include Micah Zenko, Tamara Klajn, and Jemma McPherson. We would also like to express appreciation for the leadership of COL John Agoglia, former Director of PKSOI, as well as the contributions of LtCol (Ret) Mike Pryce (US Marine Corps), who was the MARO Senior Military Advisor from July 2007 until September 2009.

ANNEX L

ACRONYMS

ACT	Advance Civilian Team
AO	Area of Operation
APF	Annotated Planning Framework
ATACMS	Army Tactical Missile System
AU	African Union
C2	Command and Control
CCIR	Commander's Critical Information Requirements
CMOC	Civil-Military Operations Center
COA	Course of Action
COG	Center of Gravity
COIN	Counterinsurgency
CONOPS	Concept of Operations
CPG	Core Planning Group
CRSG	Country Reconstruction and Stabilization Group
DA	Direct Action
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration
DIME	Diplomatic, Informational, Military, and Economic
DMZ	Demilitarized Zone
ECHO	European Commission for Humanitarian Aid
EEI	Essential Elements of Information
EUCOM	United States European Command
FACT	Field Advance Civilian Team
FDO	Flexible Deterrent Option
FFIR	Friendly Force/Intervener and Other Actor Information Requirements
FMP	Force Module Package
GCC	Geographic Combatant Command
GPTF	Genocide Prevention Task Force
HA	Humanitarian Assistance

HN	Host Nation
HUMINT	Human Intelligence
I&W	Indicators and Warnings
ICAF	Interagency Conflict Assessment Framework
ICC	International Criminal Court
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IGO	International Government Organization
IMS	Interagency Management System
INGO	International Non-governmental Organization
INTERFET	International Force in East Timor
IPC	Integration Planning Cell
IPC	Interagency Policy Committee
ISR	Intelligence, Surveillance, and Reconnaissance
JIACG	Joint Interagency Coordination Group
JOPES	Joint Operational Planning and Execution System
JOPP	Joint Operational Planning Process
JSTARS	Joint Surveillance Target Attack Radar System
LOC	Line of Communication
LOE	Line of Effort
MARO	Mass Atrocity Response Operation
MEU	Marine Expeditionary Unit
MPICE	Measuring Progress in Conflict Environments
MTF	MARO Task Force
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NEO	Noncombatant Evacuation Operation
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
NSC	National Security Council
NSS	National Security Strategy
OE	Operational Environment
OPT	Operational Planning Team

PIR	Priority Intelligence Requirements
PITF	Political Instability Task Force
PKSOI	Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute
PoC	Protection of Civilians
PRT	Provincial Reconstruction Team
PSYOP	Psychological Operations
QDR	Quadrennial Defense Review
QRF	Quick Reaction Force
R2P	Responsibility to Protect
RSOI	Reception, Staging, Onward Movement and Integration
S/CRS	Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization, United States Department of State
SFA	Security Force Assistance
SGS	Strategic Guidance Statement
SOF	Special Operations Forces
SR	Strategic Reconnaissance
SSR	Security Sector Reform
SRSG	United Nations Special Representative of the Secretary General
TCA	Transitional Civilian Authority
TMA	Transitional Military Authority
UAS	Unmanned Aerial System
UAV	Unmanned Aerial Vehicle
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USAF	United States Air Force
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USARAF	United States Army Africa
USG	United States Government
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction

ANNEX M

BIOGRAPHIES

MARO Project Core Planning Group

COL (Ret) Kevin Benson (US Army) is a 1977 graduate of the United States Military Academy. He attended the Armor Officer Basic Course, US Marine Corps Amphibious Warfare School, US Army Command and General Staff College, and the School of Advanced Military Studies. He attended Massachusetts Institute of Technology Security Studies Program as a War College Fellow in 2001. He completed the oral defense of his dissertation in March 2010. Kevin currently works for McNeil Technologies, Inc. as a seminar leader at the U.S. Army University of Foreign Military and Cultural Studies. Kevin served the Republic in uniform for 30 years. His last two positions were: the Assistant Chief of Staff, C5 (Plans), Combined Forces Land Component Command and Third US Army from June 2002 to July 2003 during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM /Operation COBRA II, where he led the planning effort for the invasion of Iraq and subsequent post-hostilities operations and the Director, School of Advanced Military Studies, SAMS, at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. His awards and decorations include the Distinguished Service Medal, the Legion of Merit, the Bronze Star, Armed Forces Expeditionary Medal, Armed Forces Service Medal, Humanitarian Service Medal, Iraq Campaign Medal, the Army Superior Unit Award, the Joint Meritorious Unit Award, and the United Nations Medal.

COL Charles N. Eassa (US Army) was commissioned in 1986 as a Field Artillery Officer and is currently the Chief of US European Command's Information Operations and Space Division. He has recently served as the Deputy Director of the United States Army Information OperationsProponent at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas and the Deputy Chief of Plans and the Corps Information Operations Officer for the US Army's V Corps in Iraq, Kuwait, and Germany. Prior to this, he was assigned to the US Army's Battle Command Training Program as an Assistant Operations Officer and an Exercise Control Officer. His previous assignments include: Aide-de-Camp for the Deputy Commanding General, Third US Army; Field Artillery Advisor and Team Chief to the Georgia Army National Guard; and as a Field Artillery Battery Commander. He is a graduate of the US Army's School of Advanced

Military Studies and the US Army Command and General Staff College. He holds a bachelor's degree from The Citadel, a Masters Degree in Business Administration from Bernau University, a Masters Degree in Military Arts and Science and a Masters of Public Administration from the Harvard Kennedy School of Government. His research interests include national security and climate change, the impact of the information environment on military operations, and the evolving nature of warfare.

COL (Ret) Scott Feil (US Army) is an adjunct staff member at the Institute for Defense Analyses. He has served as Executive Director of the Program on the Role of American Military Power, a study group chartered and supported by the Association of the US Army. In this capacity he was co-director of a joint project sponsored by AUSA and the Center for Strategic and International Studies on Post-Conflict Reconstruction, a multi-year study of tasks, organizational comparative advantage, and planning mechanisms for the effective and efficient rebuilding of countries emerging from conflict. He served 27 years in the United States Army, commanding an armor battalion and brigade and serving in Operation Desert Shield/Storm. His final assignment was as the Chief, Strategy Division, Directorate for Strategic Plans and Policy, (J-5), the Joint Staff. Scott holds a Bachelor of Science Degree from the US Military Academy, a Masters in Political Science from Stanford University and is a graduate of the Army Command and General Staff College. He completed a Senior Service College Fellowship at the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University.

Col Clint "Q" Hinote (US Air Force) is currently the vice commander, 52nd Fighter Wing, Spangdahlem Air Base, Germany. His previous assignment was as the Commander of the 3rd Fighter Training Wing at Vance Air Force Base. Prior to that, he was Chief of the Strategy Division in the Central Command Air Forces Combined Air Operations Center, where he served as the lead air strategist and planner for Operations Enduring Freedom and Iraqi Freedom from July 2006 to August 2007. Col Hinote is a

graduate of the US Air Force Academy, the Harvard Kennedy School of Government, the USAF Weapons School, and the School of Advanced Air and Space Power Studies. He is a senior pilot with over 2400 flying hours, including operational experience with the F-16 and F-117.

Col Michael W. Kometer (US Air Force) is Professor of Security Studies at the School of Advanced Air and Space Studies, Maxwell AFB, AL. He was commissioned at the Air Force Academy in 1988 and is a senior navigator with approximately 1000 hours-mostly as Electronic Warfare Officer on the AC-130H Spectre Gunship, including combat or combat support missions in Panama, Southwest Asia, and Somalia. Most recently, he served as Strategy Division Chief at the Combined Air and Space Operations Center in Qatar. Col Kometer holds a Master's degree from Georgia Tech and a PhD from Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

LTC (Ret) Harry Phillips (US Army) is a retired US Army Officer who in the past worked for PKSOI coordinating with Geographic Combatant Commands and USG interagency regarding peacekeeping and stability operations and as a Senior Military Analyst and doctrine writer specializing in interagency coordination associated with governance and rule of law issues. While at PKSOI he participated in a subject matter expert exchange with the Italian Army's Center of Excellence for Post Conflict Operations; wrote input to NATO's Allied Joint Publication 3.4.1 Peace Support Operations; and advised on UNDPKO's Capstone Doctrine for Peacekeeping Operations. During his twenty-three year career in the Army Mr. Phillips deployed to the Persian Gulf, Haiti, Bosnia, Kosovo, and the Sudan. Prior to retiring from the Army in October 2006, Mr. Phillips was the desk officer for Sudan at UNDPKO's Military Planning Service. In addition to planning for the deployment of 10,000 UN Peacekeepers to South Sudan in support of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, he also served as an advisor to the African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS) at AU Headquarters in Addis Ababa and with AMIS in Darfur. His planning efforts contributed to the establishment of the United Nations Mission in Darfur (UNAMID) that was mandated by the Security Council in July 2007 under Chapter VII provisions.

Col (Ret) Mike Scott (US Marine Corps) is currently the Director of Strategic Programs at DPRA Inc. located in Washington DC Scott joined DPRA after completing a 28+ year career in the Marine Corps retiring at the rank of Colonel. From 2004-2006 he served as Chief of Plans, US European Command (EUCOM) in Stuttgart, Germany. Scott joined EUCOM following a year studying conflict prevention at the Royal College of Defense Studies in London, England (2003). Prior to RCDS, he commanded a Helicopter Squadron and was a lead aviation planner for IMEF during development of US Central Command plans for Operation Iraqi Freedom. While deployed in July 1991, his squadron became the Aviation Combat Element for Marine Air Ground Task Force 4-90, supporting contingency operations and assisted in the evacuation of Clark Air Base, Republic of the Philippines as a result of the Mount Pinatubo eruption. Assigned to Presidential Helicopter Squadron One from 1992-1996, Scott served as a White House Liaison Officer and as a Presidential Command Pilot under Presidents George H. W. Bush and William J. Clinton. Acting as "Marine One Advance," he frequently interacted with senior executive members of the White House, White House Military Office, Secret Service, US Embassies, other Services, and governmental, non-governmental, and international agencies. He is a 1975 graduate from Virginia Tech and holds a Master's Degree in Aeronautical Science from Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University (1991).

LtCol Don Thieme (US Marine Corps) is a career Infantry and Reconnaissance Officer. He has served extensively in Asia, the Middle East and Europe in billets from Platoon and Company Commander to Regimental Executive Officer and War Plans Chief for all Marine Forces Central and Pacific Command. He was an Olmsted Scholar at the Jagiellonian University (Poland), and completed both the School of Advanced Warfighting and MIT Seminar XXI programs. He has written, published and lectured at Tufts, United States Military Academy and other venues on military ethics, the lessons of the Holocaust, ethnic relations and broad variety of tactical and operational level issues. Lieutenant Colonel Thieme next reports to US Embassy London for duty as the Marine Attaché.

COL (Ret) Mark R. Walsh (US Army) completed his military career as a tenured member of the US Army War College faculty holding the George C. Marshall Chair of Military Studies. Upon retirement in 1993, he served the United Nations in Somalia, and returned to the War College to help establish the US Army Peacekeeping Institute where he focused on humanitarian affairs. Subsequently, he participated in a number of international operations in Haiti, Angola, Bosnia, East Timor, Afghanistan, and Iraq. In 2003 he again returned to the Army War College to help reorganize the US Army Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute, concentrating on civil-military relations. In 2005 he served as the United Nations liaison officer to the United States Government in Washington, DC helping to coordinate the response to the Indian Ocean tsunami crisis. The following year he represented the United Nations as its senior liaison officer with the Israeli Defense Forces, coordinating humanitarian operations in Southern Lebanon during the Second Lebanon War. In 2007 he was inducted into the US Army War College Distinguished Fellow Program. In 2009 he again served as the United Nations senior liaison officer with the Israeli Defense Forces supporting international humanitarian operations in the Gaza Strip. In 2010 he served as the United Nations World Food Programme representative at United States Southern Command to assist the coordination of humanitarian operations after the January 12 earthquake that devastated Haiti.

Primary Authors

Sarah Sewall is the MARO Project Founder and Faculty Director. She teaches at the Harvard Kennedy School of Government and serves on the US Defense Policy Board. She led the Obama Transition's National Security Agency Review process in 2008. During the Clinton Administration, Sewall served as the first Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Peacekeeping and Humanitarian Assistance. From 1983-1996, she served as Senior Foreign Policy Advisor to Senate Majority Leader George J. Mitchell. Before joining Harvard, Sewall was at the American Academy of Arts and Sciences where she edited *The United States and the International Criminal Court* (2002). Her more recent publications include the introduction to the University of Chicago Edition of the *US Army and Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Manual* (2007) and, with John White, *Parameters of Partnership: US Civil-Military Relations in the 21st Century* (2009).

Colonel (Ret) Dwight Raymond is at the Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute (PKSOI) in Carlisle, PA. A former infantry officer, his recent assignments include a faculty position at the US Army War College, advisor to an Iraqi Army Brigade, and Chief of Plans for Combined Forces Command/United Nations Command in Korea. He is a graduate of the United States Military Academy, the University of Maryland School of Public Policy, the School of Advanced Military Studies, and the US Army War College. Colonel (Ret) Raymond has been awarded the Combat Infantryman's Badge, the Bronze Star Medal, the Korean Samil Medal, and the Airborne, Ranger, and Pathfinder qualification badges. He is married with two children, including one who is a Marine Corps lieutenant.

Sally Chin is the MARO Project Director, based at the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy at the Harvard Kennedy School. She has extensive field experience as a program manager, policy adviser, analyst, and advocate, particularly with regards to the conflicts in the DRC, Sudan, Chad and the Horn of Africa. Over the past decade, she has worked for Search for Common Ground,

Refugees International, International Crisis Group, and Oxfam GB. Her research and publications have focused on political analysis, conflict-related displacement and humanitarian responses, regional and international peacekeeping capacities, small arms and light weapons, and protection of civilians. She is a graduate of Swarthmore College and has an MSc in Comparative Politics from the London School of Economics. She is on the Board of Directors of Ushahidi.

NOTES

The Carr Center for Human Rights Policy is located at the Harvard Kennedy School of Government. The mission of the Carr Center is to make human rights principles central to the formulation of sound public policy in the United States and throughout the world, and to train future leaders in the field of human rights. The Center contributes to public policy formulation through the research and public engagement of its faculty and fellows.

The US Army Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute (PKSOI) is located at the US Army War College at Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, and is the Army's Center of Excellence for stability and peace operations at the strategic and operational levels. PKSOI facilitates information sharing, project development, and integration of efforts among military and civilian government agencies, nongovernmental organizations, and international and multinational institutions.

BOOK DESIGN Ciano Design

A Mass Atrocity Response Operation (MARO) describes a contingency operation to halt the widespread and systematic use of violence by state or non-state armed groups against non-combatants. The MARO Military Planning Handbook explains why MAROs present unique operational challenges and provides framing and planning tools to prepare the military. While primarily intended for military planners, it is also useful for policymakers and other non-military readers interested in the prevention of and military response to mass atrocities. It compares and contrasts MAROs to other types of military operations, explores the specific dynamics of mass atrocity, and outlines the operational and political implications of an intervention to stop attacks upon civilians. The Handbook provides a guide to identify key aspects of a particular MARO environment, frame the problem holistically, develop response options, and design a comprehensive operational concept.

"The MARO Project's Military Planning Handbook is a superb reference for dealing with intervention to prevent or stop violence against innocent civilians. It is an innovative, thorough, and well-thought-out work that provides substantive direction for military leaders facing this kind of demanding mission."

GENERAL (Retired) **ANTHONY C. ZINNI,** USMC, Former Commander, US Central Command

"The MARO Handbook should be on every planner's bookshelf in between Stability Operations and Joint Publication 5-0. The analytical framework within is superb and provides a 'mental pegboard' in which to frame and understand the dynamic complexity of a mass atrocity environment. Beyond understanding the problem, the Handbook provides the building blocks and precepts of military planning for focused and effective intervention."

COLONEL RICHARD RICHARDSON, US Army, Plans Division Chief (J35), US European Command

More information about the MARO Project, *Mass Atrocity Response Operations: A Military Planning Handbook*, and additional resources and updates can be found at:
http://www.hks.harvard.edu/cchrp/maro/

HARVARD Kennedy School
CARR CENTER
for Human Rights Policy

PKSOI
U.S. Army