



Expeditionary Business IN THE 21ST CENTURY

By ROBERT E. LOVE and STEVE R. GEARY

*Conditions change. Objectives change. Strategies change. And we must change.
If we don't, we will lose.¹*

We live in a dangerous world. The unfortunate truth is that when one danger fades, another appears. And nobody has yet come up with a reliable crystal ball to predict what the next danger will look like.

For too many years, the governments of the developed world have poured their hearts, souls, and national treasures into fractured or failed states in an effort to establish or restore functioning societies, improve quality of life, and integrate the states into the global family of nations. Much has been written on the benefits and perils of unrestrained aid packages, soft loans, and government-sponsored attempts at rehabilitating these impoverished nations.

Fortunately, a number of countries have made progress (Rwanda, Ghana, Liberia, Uganda, the Balkan nations, and Northern Ireland, to name a few). There have been numerous cases of government transfers of power without the threat of violence or civil unrest. But in terms of a “return on investment” (over \$1 trillion by the United States alone in the last few decades), the results have been marginal. Citizens of Sudan, Somalia, East Timor, and many other countries continue to live below the poverty level and without the benefit of reliable, credible, and compassionate civil government.

So what is to be done, and by whom? Is it solely the province of governments to improve economies and reduce violence? On the ground, where reality defeats rhetoric, people

in failed and failing states need hope, and hope requires the belief in a better tomorrow for all of our children. But hope alone is not enough. It must be accompanied by real and credible action.

Indeed, peace and prosperity walk hand in hand, but prosperity—delivered by a healthy and growing economy—is the province of business.

A New World Order

Author Rita Mae Brown wrote, “Insanity is when you keep doing the same things expecting different results.” The world is a different place than it was during the colonial and Cold War timeframe. The time has arrived for a new and focused approach to supporting a stable world. The 21st-century

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environment can be characterized as having a dynamic security threat—including the rising tide of radical and violent pan-national religious fundamentalism, interdependent mutually supporting international economies (abhorrent to the type of radical religious

organizations (NGOs), international governmental organizations, and the business community. Campaign plans for stability operations are complex strategies spanning civil security, civil control, essential services, governance, economic development, and

reducing corruption, and facilitating culturally acceptable best business practices is both socially responsible and good for business. This approach allows for the opening of new markets while creating a viable, honorable alternative employment option to those who might otherwise be drawn to terrorist cells. Hiring local nationals (versus third country nationals) is good for business, good for the local economy, and good for civil society. Terrorists prey on the unfortunate to do their bidding. They breed instability and destroy market opportunities.

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fundamentalism espoused by the Taliban), and colossal global environmental challenges. As Tom Friedman so eloquently posits in his bestseller of the same name, the world is flat.

Today, in the hallways of power around Washington, it has become fashionable to talk about “whole-of-government” efforts, bringing together the elements of defense, diplomacy, and development to craft sustainable solutions. Unfortunately, this line of thinking often does not go far enough. Private industry and commercial enterprise are often the critical and overlooked link in a truly comprehensive solution set. The private sector has a valuable role to play in responding to this new world order, but it is as a catalyst, a collaborator, and an integrator. By using innovative approaches to opening new markets, improving capacity in developing nations, and leveraging legitimate and acceptable business standards tailored to fit with local customs, the private sector can fulfill its responsibility and improve the quality of life for impoverished people while concurrently generating revenues that will sustain the momentum.

Practical economic initiatives, both macro and micro, are required to support the evolution of capabilities throughout the developing world. No longer can we *reach back* behind the line for business solutions and capabilities to capitalize on soft power. Business solutions, as well as complementary essential capabilities such as rule of law expertise, must be *pulled forward* as an instrument for stability operations and as a component of smart power. Security and economic stability *precede* an effective and stable government.

They go hand in hand—not sequentially. The

infrastructure development, wrapped within offensive and defensive operations. Within this complexity, there is a consistent thread: while many things are required, it is always true that stability operations inherently include some element of business solutions—the policies, processes, data, technology, and people—available forward in the expeditionary operations environment to win the battle for hearts and minds and thereby secure the peace. Generating business, creating and sustaining legitimate jobs, and improving the quality of life will go a long way toward eradicating terrorism. Putting a pair of wingtip shoes on the ground, in addition to or in lieu of boots on the ground, can be an important part of creating sustainable progress in failing states.

The role of multinational corporations (MNCs) in supporting good governance,

Governments and the private sector must work together in an environment of trust to combat radicals and thugs who threaten human security. What is required is controlling and directing “the spend”—that is, converting business operations into a tool that can be used to mitigate threats.

On the ground in Iraq, Afghanistan, Africa, or anywhere in the developed and developing world, there is a need to push business solutions forward, linking together capabilities from a variety of sources. The business community cannot sit idly by while government forces combat terrorism. Terrorism affects all of us; it restricts freedom of movement, impedes free trade, increases costs, threatens employees, and limits the market.

It is about creating unity of effort without unity of command. Governments can and must establish and enforce the law, set

Admiral Mullen, then-Deputy Secretary of Defense Gordon England, and Under Secretary of Defense (Comptroller) and Chief Financial Officer Tina Jonas testify at House Appropriations Subcommittee hearing





U.S. Army (Jeanita C. Pisachubbe)

Election officials and Afghan National Police in Baghlan Province deliver ballots to CH-47 Chinook helicopter

standards, and encourage investment. Businesses must have the freedom to establish relationships, develop investment and business opportunities, and bring or add legitimacy by leveraging their accepted and recognized business practices to developed nations.

Expeditionary Business

The emerging 21st-century security environment of soft power projection and highly visible collaboration outside of traditional military operations will continue to require new visibility tools, collaboration technologies, information flows, economic expertise, and support processes in the capability set, adapted to bring peace to a developing nation in a multinational, austere, and forward expeditionary operations context.

At the Senate Budget Committee hearing of February 12, 2008, Deputy Secretary of Defense Gordon England testified that “the challenges we confront today defy an exclusively military solution and demand an integrated approach. Secretary [of Defense Robert] Gates has said that, in the future, “Success will be less a matter of imposing one’s will and more a function of shaping

behavior—of friends, adversaries, and most importantly, the people in between.” The likelihood of a successful outcome is increased by the influence provided by traditionally nonmilitary activities such as economic development, infrastructure reconstruction, employment generation, and humanitarian interventions. Frequently, needed business capabilities reside outside of the government. Some call this a collaboration challenge, but in truth it is a partnership opportunity, a chance to bring the full suite of capabilities to bear to overcome the forces of tyranny while spurring economic growth.

Economic development in pre- and postconflict situations includes both short- and long-term aspects. The short-term aspect concerns immediate problems, such as large-scale unemployment and reestablishing an economy at all levels. The long-term aspect involves stimulating indigenous, robust, and broad economic activity. The stability a nation enjoys is often related to its people’s economic situation. Without a viable economy and employment opportunities, the public is likely to pursue the false promises of those seeking to undermine freedom and democracy.

Sometimes insurgents foster the conditions keeping the economy stagnant in order to create discontent and foster antigovernment opposition. Opponents attempt to exploit a lack of employment or job opportunities to gain active and passive support for their cause and ultimately to undermine the government’s legitimacy. Unemployed males of military age may take up arms to provide for their families.²

One of the key obstacles to establishing stability in Iraq was the inability to get the economy going. A senior military leader asking for a business solution in a country emerging from the depths of instability observed, “A relatively small decrease in unemployment would have a very serious effect on the level of sectarian killing going on.”³ According to Keith Mines, Governance Coordinator for Anbar Province in Iraq, “If economic tools will not compensate for the lack of a viable political and security framework, they can nonetheless be a major support to counterinsurgency efforts in support of a well-crafted strategy, especially at the local level. To be effective, they should be short-term, focused on people, and flexible.”⁴

Indeed, MNCs are large, monolithic enterprises that tend to follow long-term strategic plans and may not consistently demonstrate the attribute of flexibility. Nonetheless, they can play a vital role in counterinsurgency operations by adapting their modus operandi to the expeditionary environment.

The government needs access to entrepreneurial savvy. But where will the business savvy come from? According to Theresa Whelan, former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for African Affairs, "You cannot promote security and stability successfully in a vacuum. Stability and security are

of enterprise capabilities in a new context. For this reason, business capabilities must continue to grow to secure the peace, just as military capabilities evolve to meet the threats of the future.

The challenge facing the private sector is in how to make a business case to engage actively and support the effort, sooner rather than later. For stability operations to succeed, hard and soft power activities must take place concurrently. Yet too often, Western business leaders wait for the emergence of a more secure environment as a precondition to investment, but without business activity, a

paid to ensure that required business skill sets are embedded into the expeditionary business environment.

Welcome to the 21st century, the era of business savvy and interagency collaboration, as a necessary instrument for world peace. **JFQ**

NOTES

¹ G. Terry Madonna and Michael Young, "Fighting the Last War," June 4, 2002, available at <www.fandm.edu/politics/politically-uncorrected-column/2002-politically-uncorrected/fighting-the-last-war>.

² Selected points from Field Manual 3-24, *Counterinsurgency* (Washington, DC: Headquarters Department of the Army, December 2006), 5-46, 5-48.

³ Josh White and Griff Witte, "To Stem Iraqi Violence, U.S. Aims to Create Jobs," *The Washington Post*, December 12, 2006.

⁴ Keith W. Mines, "Economic Tools in Counterinsurgency and Postconflict Stabilization: Lessons Learned (and Relearned) in al Anbar, Iraq, 2003-04," Foreign Policy Research Institute E-Notes, September 28, 2006, available at <www.fpri.org/enotes/20060928.military.mines.economic_tools_counterinsurgency.html>.

⁵ Steven Donald Smith, "Africa Command Poised to Help Continent's Security, Stability," American Forces Press Service, September 21, 2007.

⁶ James Risen, "U.S. Identifies Vast Riches of Minerals in Afghanistan," *The New York Times*, June 14, 2010, A1.

U.S. troops are still fighting the war, and the Chinese have already moved on to the business of developing the peace

interlinked with other elements such as good governance, the rule of law, and economic opportunity.⁵ By having interagency personnel with different areas of expertise integrated into the command, the knowledge base will be broadened, which will help the command fulfill its duty. "This does not represent an acquisition by the command of authority," Secretary Whelan stated. "It represents simply an acquisition of knowledge." To be sure, the U.S. Agency for International Development and Department of State, as well as NGOs, the World Bank, private sector, and other stakeholders, bring subject matter expertise.

Economic stabilization consists, in part, of the restoration of employment opportunities and the regeneration of market activity. This is a challenge, a requirement for business solutions that often extends into the diplomatic, information, and economic arenas.

Different Results

The challenges facing the private sector are many, but the opportunities are infinite. Corporate leaders must have the vision to:

- identify strategic business cases (tailored to developing nations)
- mitigate risk (to employees, shareholders, and indigenous populations) in innovative ways
- team with nontraditional partners (such as NGOs)
- create and sustain capacity (while maintaining revenue streams).

The use of private sector capabilities in developing nations is simply the application

more secure environment cannot develop. An overly developed sensitivity to risk puts the private sector into an irresolvable Catch-22 and precludes the opportunity to capitalize on economic opportunity.

While it could be argued that the Western business community cannot sit idly by while government forces combat terrorism, a more fundamental issue is in play. If the business community does not collaborate and participate in stability operations before a secure environment emerges, it is in fact doing a disservice to stockholders. In the world of venture capital, early participation is called first-mover advantage.

The United States has discovered nearly \$1 trillion in untapped mineral deposits in Afghanistan. It includes huge veins of iron, copper, cobalt, gold, and critical industrial metals such as lithium. Today, the largest developer of minerals in Afghanistan is China, the winner of the development rights to the Aynak copper mine in Logar Province.⁶ China, a nation with ostensibly a communist economy, is outmaneuvering the capitalist economies of the West in high-risk environments. U.S. troops are still fighting the war, and the Chinese have already moved on to the business of developing the peace.

The diversity of needs at the tip of the spear means that monolithic enterprise solutions conceived thousands of miles out of harm's way to address strategic requirements may not readily link to reality on the ground. Care must be taken to weave and integrate the needs of the forward environment into stability operations, and attention must be