



**NATION-STATE BUILDING 101
WORKSHOP
DRAFT REPORT
October 28, 2008**

CNA

and

U.S. Army Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute

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Workshop Report

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Introduction

Summary:

On October 28, 2008 CNA, which operates the Center for Naval Analyses and the Institute for Public Research, and the U.S. Army Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute (PKSOI) hosted a Nation-State Building 101 Workshop. The Workshop was the second in a series of three workshops held by the sponsors to explore three key elements of stability operations. This event, held at CNA Headquarters in Alexandria Virginia, addressed a holistic interagency approach to stability operations as defined in the recently published FM 3.07, the U.S. Army Field Manual on Stability Operations. FM 3.07 includes guidance on interim government and the role of peacekeepers in reconstituting governments. This workshop focused on the role of stability operations in rebuilding legitimate and effective national, sub-national and local governments and fostering civil society and social reconciliation.

Prior to the Workshop, key issues were identified in each of these three subject areas. Subject matter experts from think tanks, academia, practitioners and host country officials were identified to address these issues in three panels. The issues formed the basis for a day-long frank and thoughtful discussion among the participants. Participants included key military practitioners, the Center for Strategic International Studies (CSIS), the US Institute for Peace, and other government agencies such as the US Agency for International Development (USAID), the Department of State (DOS), Department of Justice (DOJ), the United Nations, and civil affairs officers.

The keynote address for the Workshop was presented by Dr. Ashraf Ghani, formerly the Finance Minister of Afghanistan and Director, Institute for State Effectiveness, who opened the session by outlining the objective of state building and providing a framework for state functions. The other panelists on nation building discussed the role of outside interveners, sequencing of tasks, and a holistic host-government-centric approach to effective, legitimate government. The first panel came to some overarching conclusions on the critical terminology for state building, defining such terms as legitimacy, resiliency and effectiveness which participants determined were three essential characteristics of a state. A central debate in the session centered on the attempt to define end states for stability operations, since one fundamental objective of

the stability operation is security. Yet, the group reached a clear consensus that focusing solely on security was insufficient to ensure that a nation-state was on the trajectory for a viable country; legitimate governance was also a critical component.

The second panel focused on local government and the dilemmas and sequencing of national vs. local government rebuilding. The first two panelists focused on the unique characteristics and challenges of local government strengthening. Various models of states were examined and the nature of the central government vs. regional power-sharing reviewed. Panelists described the case studies of Somalia, Iraq and Afghanistan in terms of identifying stakeholders and key actors to the local process (warlords, tribal leaders, and local elites). Panelists critiqued the efforts of the international community to prescribe a strong central government model for nations that have been historically and politically decentralized. Further, the panelists attempted to define the challenges facing legitimacy of local government, i.e. meeting citizen expectations in the midst of hostility and generally without functioning local or central institutions. A consensus emerged as to the need for a host-government centric approach where transition to local autonomy and authority is consistently a mutually agreed-upon end state between the outside interveners and the host government at all levels.

The final panel discussed the necessity of fostering a strong and vibrant civil society, the need for memorialization of victims and the role of local nongovernmental organizations and actors in supporting the legitimacy of the state. While inherently a host government function, the workshop concluded that the outside interveners had a primary role in fostering social reconciliation and brokering the interaction among different groups within the host nation. Central to the outside interveners' efforts to rebuild effective governance was the need for "cultural awareness", i.e. the outside interveners' understanding of the host country's culture, norms, societal relationships and structure. Ultimately, the participants agreed that for the nation-state rebuilding process to succeed, the process needed to be "citizen focused and driven".

This report is an interim document, as the title implies. The authors welcome comments on the report from Workshop participants or from other interested parties, which may be submitted to either CNA (Constance Custer, custer@cna.org) or PKSOI (Susan Merrill, susan.merrill@us.army.mil).

This workshop was preceded by a similar event on Security Sector Reform on October 16, and was followed by an Economic Development Workshop on November 12. A larger stakeholder conference is anticipated in spring 2009 to review the workshop

conclusions and recommendations and discuss a way ahead for the new administration in stabilization and reconstruction.

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Executive Summary and Recommendations

This Workshop, the second of a series of three on stability operations, focused on nation-state building, governance, civil society, and social reconciliation. Initially, the panelists and discussants developed a consensus around core terminology and definitions involved in nation-state building. The keynote speaker, Ashraf Ghani, defined the goal of stability operations as a “legitimate and functioning State that provides for the security and prosperity of its citizens and contributes to regional and global stability”. Subsequent panelists added the concept of “resiliency” – the ability of a state to withstand shocks and prevent future large-scale violent conflict. Resilience is not viewed as a static state, rather it encompasses the flexibility and adaptability to meet challenges and crises without state failure. This relatively new term in the lexicon is currently the subject of both practitioner and academic research designed to identify factors that lead to state resilience.

State-building during stability operations is designed to address three critical deficits: 1) security -- where the state failed to protect people and property, 2) effectiveness - the failure to provide basic services and economic opportunity to all citizens, and 3) legitimacy -- the failure to provide responsive and accountable government, protection of basic rights and representation and inclusiveness for all citizens. Addressing these deficits is the core of rebuilding failed states because they form the basis of citizen expectation for their government. When governments are capable and efficient at meeting citizens’ needs and expectations, this is the core of legitimate governance.

How does a stability operation address these deficits? One of the key conclusions of the Workshop was the need for a thorough situational assessment involving all dimensions of the state’s political, military, economic, cultural and social characteristics to inform both strategic and operational planning. Based on this assessment, outside interveners should plan a phased and appropriate sequencing of tasks. It was deemed imperative to avoid an overambitious, multitiered agenda which sought to address all deficiencies simultaneously and equally. Choices will be necessary if for no other reason than limitations on resources. However, in a nonpermissive environment, those institutions that affect security will need priority attention. But the process of reconstituting governmental structures and institutions needs to be continued, if at all possible, during

