MAPRO

Mass Atrocity Prevention & Response Options

A Policy Planning Handbook

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MASS ATROCITY PREVENTION AND RESPONSE OPTIONS (MAPRO): A POLICY PLANNING HANDBOOK

Dedicated to the memory of our colleague, Don Braum
Marine, Foreign Service Officer, and Humanitarian

This document is intended as an informal White Paper for members of the policy community who are concerned with mass atrocity prevention and response. It is not prescriptive or authoritative, nor should it be construed as official U.S. government policy.

Cover Photograph: Sub-camp BI-A at Auschwitz-Birkenau.

March 2012

U.S. Army Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute

Carlisle, Pennsylvania

Mass Atrocity Prevention and Response Options (MAPRO): A Policy Planning Handbook

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

"Governmental engagement on atrocities and genocide too often arrives too late, when opportunities for prevention or low-cost, low-risk action have been missed. By the time these issues have commanded the attention of senior policy makers, the menu of options has shrunk considerably and the costs of action have risen.

In the face of a potential mass atrocity, our options are never limited to either sending in the military or standing by and doing nothing. The actions that can be taken are many—they range from economic to diplomatic interventions and from non combat military actions to outright intervention. But ensuring that the full range of options is available requires a level of governmental organization that matches the methodical organization characteristic of mass killings." (Presidential Study Directive on Mass Atrocities (PSD-10))

This Handbook is designed to be a reference for policy makers to monitor, prevent, and if necessary respond to genocide and other mass atrocity situations. It addresses topics promulgated in the August 2011 Presidential Study Directive on Mass Atrocities (PSD-10) as well as recommendations contained in Preventing Genocide, the 2008 study published by the Genocide Prevention Task Force (GPTF).

Effective mass atrocity prevention and response options (MAPRO) should happen early. The longer it takes to act, the greater the risk that mass atrocities will occur and more people will die. On the other hand, inadequate time devoted to planning and risk assessment can result in ineffective MAPRO measures or undesired second-order effects. This is why it is essential for the USG and the in-

ternational community to have in-place policies, plans, doctrine, and procedures before we are faced with mass atrocity situations.

Failure to respond to mass atrocities is often attributed to lack of political will, but ineffective policy processes are also culpable. This Handbook has been developed to assist members of the interagency policy community in developing whole-of-government prevention and response options to assist senior leaders who are deliberating genocide and/or mass atrocity (GMA) situations. The templates in this Handbook are intended as aids in this process, and should be adapted as appropriate to fit circumstances and personalities involved. They may serve as useful points of departure for seasoned practitioners as well as relative newcomers to policymaking.

Important studies on U.S. Government MAPRO responses have observed that the policymaking process is skewed towards inaction. This is due, in part, to government processes emphasizing the potential risks and costs of positive action. It is also due to the sheer challenge of interagency information processing and decision-making. The main goal of this Handbook is to offer a process and substantive MAPRO considerations to help the policy community digest information, develop a variety of options, and tee up relevant information for decision makers. Additionally, the MAPRO Handbook seeks to reduce the risks and costs related to MAPRO, by capitalizing on a range of current, in-place engagement activities that can be applied to prevent and mitigate potential threats before they escalate to actual mass atrocities.

Part I of the MAPRO Handbook introduces background and context, and defines mass atrocities as "Widespread and often systematic acts of violence against civilians or other noncombatants including killing; causing serious bodily or mental harm; or deliberately inflicting conditions

of life that cause serious bodily or mental harm." It describes how genocides and mass atrocities often develop and highlights the governmental challenges of identifying GMA situations, deciding what to do about them, and taking action to prevent or respond.

While it is unlikely that a common MAPRO strategy can be developed with universal applicability, six guidelines should be kept in mind when developing MAPRO policies and plans:

- Prevention is preferable to response.
- The U.S. has a wide range of diplomatic, informational, military, and economic tools that should be considered and integrated.
- Policy makers must understand the complete context of the situation.
- Quick action is important to address concerns and take advantage of opportunities.
- Multilateral efforts are preferable to unilateral action.
- Planning for transitions and endstates should begin as early as possible.

Part II explains a six-step MAPRO Policy and Planning Framework that is applicable for deliberate long-range contingency situations as well as short-fused crisis response. It can be applied iteratively as situations change and require new assessments and planning. In addition to explaining how the framework can help structure an Interagency Planning Team's (IPT) MAPRO efforts, the Handbook addresses potential actors, conflict environments, national interests, assumptions, and other relevant considerations.

MAPRO Policy and Planning Framework
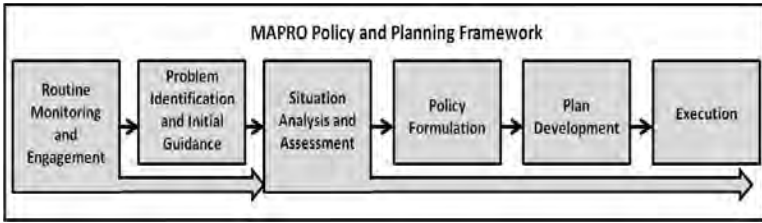
In combination with the Tabs in Annex D, Part II offers templates that an IPT can tailor to particular situations. These templates are intended to help the IPT develop the necessary products to support the MAPRO Policy and Planning Framework, obviating the need to start from scratch in each case. While each scenario is unique, many plans could be structured in accordance with the following:

Suggested MAPRO Plan Phases

Phase I: Prevention
    Stage IA: Steady-State Engagement
    Stage IB: Targeted Prevention
    Stage IC: Crisis Management
Phase II: Response
    Stage IIA: Stop Mass Atrocities
    Stage IIB: Stabilization
Phase III: Transition
    Stage IIIA: Build Host Nation Capacity
    Stage IIIB: Transition to Steady-State Posture
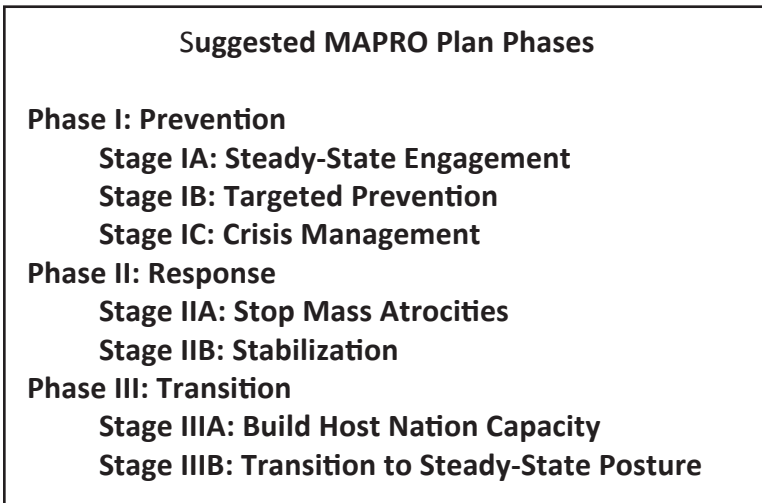
Part III of the MAPRO Handbook discusses U.S. general policy approaches that include suasion, compellence, and intervention. Within these approaches, the U.S. role may be that of a bystander, an enabler, the leader of a multinational effort, or a unilateral actor. This section also discusses the diplomatic, informational, military, and economic

(DIME) tools that can be applied to prevent or respond to mass atrocities. They are grouped according to whether they primarily support suasion, compellence, or intervention. A key consideration is that the U.S. has a wide range of options between the extremes of doing nothing or conducting a major military intervention.

	DIPLOMATIC	INFORMATIONAL	MILITARY	ECONOMIC

SUASION	•Pressure/Inducements/Contacts
	•Informal Negotiations
	•Fact Finding Missions
	•Coalition/Consensus Building
	•Coordination with IGOs/NGOs
	•USG Planning
	•Embassy Augmentation
	•Speeches by Senior Leaders
	•Formal Negotiations
	•USG Meet with Victim Groups
	•National Leader Engagement
	•Mediation
	•Use of Intermediaries
	•Summits
	•Coalition Building
	•UNSC / UNGA Resolutions
		•Policy Statements
		•Strategic Comm Plan/Program
		•Media Relations
		•Conflict Assessment
		•Information Sharing
		•Enhanced Media Activities
		•Influence Local Civil Society
		•Congressional Testimony
		•"MAPRO Orchestra"
		•Arts Promotion
			•Theater Security Cooperation
			•Security Assistance to Partners
			•Exercises
			•Port Visits
			•Other Military Support to:
			  • Deter Perpetrators
			  • Support Diplomacy with Credible Threats
			  • Prepare for Future Ops
				•Foreign Aid
				•Debt Relief
				•Other Economic Support to incentivize perpetrators and their enablers

COMPELLENCE	•Travel Bans on Perpetrators •Travel Advisories •State Sponsors of Terrorism List •Reduce Embassy/Consulates •Criminal Investigations •International Law Enforcement •Extradition/Legal Actions •Amnesty/Immunity •Diplomatic Activity Restriction •Restrict Culture/Sport Events •Isolation •Recognize Opposition Groups •Ambassador Recall •Support to Exiles •Break Diplomatic Relations •Noncombatant Evac Ops (NEO) •Sanctions/Actions on Enablers •Ultimatums	•Human Rights Monitoring •Atrocity Reporting System •Increased Intelligence Gathering •HUMINT Networks •Intelligence Sharing •Counter Hate Media	•Access/Basing Arrangements •Expanded Military Presence •Port Visits •Headquarters Activation •Increased Alert Status •Deployment Preparations •Headquarters Deployment •Expanded ISR •MISO •Shows of Force •Blockade or Quarantine	•Technology Controls •Exchange Rate Adjustment •IMF/World Bank Advocacy •Trade Policy Alteration •Freeze/Seize Assets •Foreign Direct Investment •Embargoes •International Sanctions

INTERVENTION	•Treaty Compliance
	•Stationing/Overflight Rights
	•Other Diplomatic Support:
	  •Mandates
	  •Legitimacy
	  •Int'l Support
	  •End Conflict
	  •Post-Conflict Preparations
		•Electronic Countermeasures
		  •Jamming/disrupting
		  •Cyber
		•Military Info Spt Ops (MISO)
		•Release Intelligence
		•Truth and Reconciliation Commissions
		•Other Information Support to:
		  •Build/Maintain Int'l Support
		  •Divide Perpetrators
		  •Encourage Positive Actors
		  •Support Operations
		  •Capitalize on Success
		  •Mitigate Setbacks
		  •Manage Expectations
		  •Set Post-Conflict Conditions
			•Expanded MISO
			•Electronic Warfare
			•Noncombatant Evac Ops (NEO)
			•Humanitarian Assistance
			•Log Support for 3rd Parties
			•Train/Equip 3rd Parties
			•Mine Clearance
			•No-Fly Zones
			•Combat Camera
			•Limited Temporary Intervention
			•SOF Operations
			•Strikes or Raids
			•Peace Operations
			•Full Intervention (MARO)
				•Humanitarian Assistance
				•Other Economic Support to:
				  •Support Victim Groups
				  •Support Partners
				  •Support Regional Countries
				  •Post-conflict R&S Efforts

Diplomatic, Informational, Military, and Economic (DIME) Toolbox

Part III also discusses general MAPRO cross-cutting considerations, which include:

MAPRO Cross-Cutting Considerations
- Host Nation Ownership and Capacity
- Political Primacy
- Legitimacy
- Unity of Effort
- Security
- Conflict Transformation
- Regional/International Engagement
- Strategic Communication

GMA situations present risks for both acting and not acting. Some of the common risks associated with MAPRO include:

- **Ineffectiveness.**
- **Unintended Escalation.**
- **Collateral Damage.**
- **Anti-Americanism or Anti-Coalition Sentiment.**
- **Quagmire.**
- **Losses.**
- **Increased Resistance because of Pride or Nationalism.**
- **Coalition Fissures.**
- **Politicization of Humanitarian Assistance.**
- **Negative Second-Order Effects.**
- **Risks of Inaction.**

The Handbook's annexes include extracts from relevant sources such as PSD-10; the GPTF recommendations; and the United Nations Special Advisor on the Prevention of Genocide Analysis Framework, as well as a discussion of legal considerations. To help structure IPT efforts and facilitate decision-making, Annex D includes formats for IPT

products that would support the MAPRO Policy and Planning Framework, as follows:
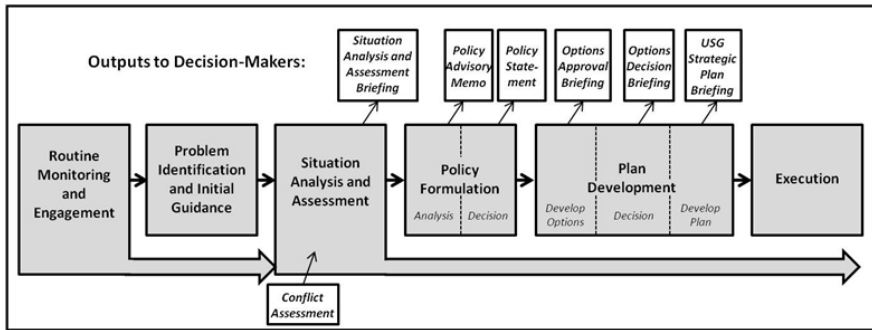
MAPRO Policy and Planning Framework Products

Like the rest of the MAPRO Handbook, the suggested formats are not intended to constrain policymakers; on the contrary, they are designed to be flexibly applied while allowing an IPT to act efficiently within a commonly understood process.

The MAPRO Handbook should not be interpreted as an inducement to conduct military interventions more frequently. Rather, its main purpose is to assist in understanding potential MAPRO situations and facilitate appropriate preventive measures throughout the government. It is also intended to serve as a guide for determining appropriate responses, based upon a rational and deliberate assessment of circumstances, interests, risks, and prospects for success. Early understanding of GMA situations and proactively applying a wide range of preventive options may preclude the need for costlier intervention later.

I. INTRODUCTION

Genocide and Other Mass Atrocities: Context, Significance, and Definitions

Non-combatants comprise most of the casualties in modern conflict, and in many cases this is the result of belligerents deliberately targeting civilians on a wide scale. Civilians are vulnerable during interstate conflict and intrastate situations such as civil wars, insurgencies, and anarchic conditions associated with failed states. Genocides and other mass atrocities also occur in the absence of armed conflict. Moreover, genocides and mass atrocities usually result in displaced persons attempting to flee them. Displaced persons subsequently become vulnerable to death from causes other than violence.

> Preventing mass atrocities and genocide is a core national security interest and a core moral responsibility of the United States. Our security is affected when masses of civilians are slaughtered, refugees flow across borders, and murderers wreak havoc on regional stability and livelihoods. America's reputation suffers, and our ability to bring about change is constrained, when we are perceived as idle in the face of mass atrocities and genocide.
>
> Presidential Study Directive on Mass Atrocities (PSD-10, August 4, 2011)

The U.S. and others in the international community have several keen interests in preventing or halting mass atrocities. The most significant are preventing human suffering and protecting human rights on their own merits. Another key interest is the desire to establish a record of prevention that enhances U.S. legitimacy and credibility and shows that perpetrators cannot act with impunity. Mass atrocity situations can have moral and geopolitical consequences that resonate long after they are over. The U.S. may also be interested in preserving regional stability and preventing the ascendency of irresponsible actors who commit mass atrocities and other crimes. Other po-

tential interests include preventing terrorist acts, addressing problems related to ungoverned spaces, and resolving complex problems early before they worsen and require even more effort.

Despite the experiences of the Holocaust, the Cambodian killing fields, Rwanda, Srebrenica, Darfur, and numerous others, and despite vows by the international community that genocides and mass atrocities should never again be allowed, the possibility of future genocides and mass atrocities is very real. This Handbook is intended to support U.S. Government (USG) policy-making and planning to prevent or respond to such situations.

Genocide is defined by the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide as "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."

"Mass Atrocity" does not have a common definition, although some analytical studies have used a numerical threshold of victims (*e.g.*, one thousand or five thousand). Unlike genocides, mass atrocities do not necessarily require eliminationist intent. Additionally, certain forms of eliminationst group targeting, such as against a political, economic, educational, or medical class of people would not be included under the United Nations (UN) definition of genocide but could be categorized as mass atrocities.

Indeed, "mass killings" and "mass atrocities" are not synonymous, as the latter may include widespread instances of rape, torture, or other acts of violence.

In this Handbook, **mass atrocity** is defined as "Widespread and often systematic acts of violence against civilians or other noncombatants including killing; causing serious bodily or mental harm; or deliberately inflicting conditions of life that cause serious bodily or mental harm." Further precision, such as defining "widespread" or "systematic," is apt to be elusive, subjective, and situational.

Genocide and other mass atrocities are related to other abhorrent situations including war crimes, crimes against humanity, grave human rights violations, massacres, politicide, and political violence. It can be difficult to determine the differences, particularly when a violent situation is in

> **Definitions**
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> •**Genocide**: *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.*
>
> •**Mass Atrocity**: *Widespread and often systematic acts of violence against civilians or other noncombatants including killing; causing serious bodily or mental harm; or deliberately inflicting conditions of life that cause serious bodily or mental harm.*
>
> •**MAPRO**: *U.S. Government efforts to anticipate, prevent, respond, or mitigate genocide or mass atrocities.*

its nascent stages. Ultimately, policymakers will determine whether a situation should be interpreted as an actual or potential genocide or mass atrocity.

Mass Atrocity Prevention and Response Options (**MAPRO**) refer to USG efforts to anticipate and prevent when possible and—if prevention fails—to respond by mitigating or stopping genocide or mass atrocities. This includes organizational programs and processes to improve

planning, preparation, prevention, and response. MAPRO is indirectly linked to concepts such as the "**Protection of Civilians (PoC)**" and the "**Responsibility to Protect (R2P)**," and it is helpful for policymakers to understand these terms.

While there are different perspectives on its definition and scope, PoC generally has three overlapping interpretations including:

- PoC During Armed Conflict—the protection from incidental harm and direct targeting of civilians.
- PoC in the Context of Peacekeeping Operations—the responsibility and capability of peacekeepers to protect civilians from violence.
- PoC in the Context of Human Security Threats—the protection of civilians from violence, severe deprivations, and serious human rights violations.

R2P shifted the debate from "the right to intervene" to "the responsibility to protect" and is normally understood within the context of either of two complementary frameworks. The original approach described R2P as consisting of three stages (Prevent—React—Rebuild)[1] and the second framework, which has been adopted by the UN, includes three "pillars:"[2]

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[1] International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, *The Responsibility to Protect* (Ottawa: International Development Research Center, 2001), available at http://www.iciss.ca/menu-en.asp. Also see Gareth Evans, *The Responsibility to Protect: Ending Mass Atrocity Crimes Once and For All* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2008).

[2] See Ban Ki-moon, address on "Responsible Sovereignty: International Cooperation for a Changed World" (Berlin, 15 July 2008), available at: http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2008/sgsm11701.doc. htm and UN General Assembly, *Implementing the Responsibility to Protect*: Report of the Secretary-General, 12 January 2009, A/63/677, available at: http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/4989924d2.html.

- Pillar One: The enduring responsibility of the State to protect its populations, whether nationals or not, from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity, and from their incitement.
- Pillar Two: The commitment of the international community to assist States in meeting those obligations.
- Pillar Three: The responsibility of Member States to respond collectively in a timely and decisive manner when a State is manifestly failing to provide such protection.

While PoC and R2P are often viewed as related, PoC can address a variety of threats to civilians other than genocide and mass atrocities, while R2P is generally restricted to extreme situations that approach the level associated with mass atrocities or genocides. Many interpret PoC as relating to operations conducted with the consent of the Host Nation government, while the R2P principle is seen as applying when non-consensual response actions are considered.

How Genocides and Mass Atrocities Develop

Although knowledge of warning signs is somewhat limited and each case has distinctive characteristics, analysts of genocides and mass atrocities have observed some trends. First, while these variables do not inevitably result in mass atrocities, at-risk situations tend to share similar underlying conditions including:[3]

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[3] See Evans, *The Responsibility to Protect*, 74-75.

- Past history of such occurrences (particularly if accompanied by a culture of impunity).
- Persistence of articulated and non-articulated tensions or grievances (often including hate ideology).
- Lack of institutional peaceful conflict-resolution structures.
- Closed society (isolated by the government from the international community).
- Poor/malevolent leadership.

A second observation is that perpetrators require the motivation, means, and opportunity to conduct mass atrocities. Motivations may include identity issues, the desire to acquire political or economic power, territory, or revenge. Additionally, motivations are probably strongest when perpetrators desire not to lose power they already have. Means includes the political latitude, plans, and the supporters required to commit the mass atrocities. The opportunity to commit mass atrocities generally occurs during three stages: a *crisis* that triggers the events, perpetrator *mobilization* to conduct mass atrocities, and *violence* which may begin at a low level before escalating to mass atrocities.[4]

Finally, while each case is unique, many GMA situations progress through a common series of stages. There will be exceptions to general trends, however, particularly in conflict situations such as civil wars that can foster mass atrocities without progressing mechanistically through the linear stages. While experts disagree regarding the pat-

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[4] Alex J. Bellamy, *Mass Atrocities and Armed Conflict: Links, Distinctions, and Implications for the Responsibility to Prevent* (Muscatine, IA: The Stanley Foundation, February 2011), 12-13. "Mobilization" can also be viewed as a means to conduct mass atrocities.

terns that can be discerned, one analysis identifies the following stages:[5]

- <u>Classification</u>. People are categorized and primarily viewed as members of an ethnic, racial, religious, political, economic, national, regional or other group, whether or not the individuals themselves strongly hold these associations. These identities can provide a basis for conflict, and within these groups conflict can develop between hard-line and moderate factions.
- <u>Symbolization</u>. Names are associated with groups, possibly with disparaging connotations given to victim groups and positive terms reserved for the "superior" groups. In an attempt to stratify society by making it easy to distinguish members of either the dominant or victim groups, visual symbols may be adopted such as the wearing of badges or particular forms of dress. Group associations may be administratively reinforced when preparing identification cards, voting registration, school rosters, or payrolls.
- <u>Dehumanization</u>. Victim groups are viewed as subhuman and associated with animals, insects, or infectious diseases. They may also be portrayed as a mortal enemy, a drain on or traitors to the nation, a pollutant of the culture, or as the cause of the nation's problems. Indoctrination regarding the victims' inferior status becomes increasingly official and widespread.
- <u>Organization</u>. Perpetrators may co-opt security forces, intelligence services, and other government

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[5] Gregory H. Stanton, "The 8 Stages of Genocide" (Washington, DC: Genocide Watch, 1998) available at http://www.genocidewatch.org/aboutgenocide/8stagesofgenocide.html.

agencies to support planning and preparation for future mass atrocities. Armed groups such as militias or private armies may also be used. In many situations these efforts will be accomplished by the government or by perpetrators within its ranks.

- Polarization. Particularly applicable when the perpetrators are state actors, in this stage victim groups are increasingly marginalized in the society. Hate media proliferates, and laws may be passed to segregate victim groups, ban them from certain activities or employment, expropriate their property, or forcibly relocate them. Moderates in the country may be intimidated into joining efforts to discriminate against victim groups. A "culture of impunity" is fostered in which criminal acts against victim groups are tolerated and even encouraged.

- Preparation. Perpetrators decide to conduct mass atrocity actions, mobilize their resources, draw up "death lists" or otherwise identify intended targets, and possibly segregate victims into ghettos or camps. A pretext for such actions may be arranged, or an unforeseen event may spark these measures. Additional preparations may include transportation of victims, identifying locations for mass killing, and determining means of disposing of bodies. Perpetrators will also take measures to disguise their actions or deceive both victims and outsiders as to what will occur (*e.g.*, victims may be relocated and collected together in order to "protect" them). The many individuals involved in the actual conduct of the mass atrocities may need to be convinced of the legitimacy of the actions as well as the need for secrecy.

- Extermination. This stage could require an extended period of time, and could involve large numbers

of killings in concentrated periods of time, proceed at a low "slow burn" level, or occur in cycles. Extermination can also be facilitated by displacing victims into conditions where they are vulnerable to starvation, disease, dehydration, anarchy, and climate. Killers may also create situations in which members of the victim groups are conscripted into the extermination process (*e.g.*, conducting mass burials).

- Denial. Perpetrators will attempt to obfuscate mass atrocity situations, blame the incidents on the victims, or deny their occurrence. They will impede external efforts to determine the truth of the events. Strong denial efforts may presage future waves of mass atrocities, possibly against other group categories.

US Policy and MAPRO Challenges

The 2010 *National Security Strategy* states that "The United States is committed to working with our allies, and to strengthening our own internal capabilities, in order to ensure that the United States and the international community are proactively engaged in a strategic effort to prevent mass atrocities and genocide. In the event that prevention fails, the United States will work both multilaterally and bilaterally to mobilize diplomatic, humanitarian, financial, and—in certain instances—military means to prevent and respond to genocide and mass atrocities."[6]

The NSS is also reinforced by language in documents such as the *Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review* (QDDR) and the *Quadrennial Defense Review* (QDR).

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[6] *National Security Strategy* (Washington DC: US Government Printing Office, 2010), 48.

In August 2011 the President promulgated a Presidential Study Directive on Mass Atrocities (PSD-10) that directed a USG effort to institutionalize mass atrocity prevention.[7] (See Annex A.)

MAPRO Guidelines

Strategy entails the alignment of ends, ways, and means. It is unlikely that a common MAPRO strategy can be developed with universal applicability, but six guidelines should be kept in mind when developing MAPRO policies and plans:

- Prevention is preferable to response.
- The U.S. has a wide range of diplomatic, informational, military, and economic tools that should be considered and integrated.
- Policy makers must understand the complete context of the situation.
- Quick action is important to address concerns and take advantage of opportunities.
- Multilateral efforts are preferable to unilateral action.
- Planning for transitions and endstates should begin as early as possible.

It is better to prevent mass atrocities than to have to respond, as prevention implies that widespread violence does not occur. Additionally, prevention efforts are apt to be less costly and controversial than response actions that may be required after widespread violence against civil-

[7] See *2010 Quadrennial Defense Review*, pages vi and 15; and *2010 Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review*, pages xii, 22, 122, 124, 128, and 147. Also see Presidential Study Directive 10 (PSD-10), August 4, 2011 (available at http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2011/08/04/presidential-study-directive-mass-atrocities) and included in Annex A of the Handbook.

ians has begun. Preventive measures can include steady-state programmatic efforts as well as actions that address time-sensitive concerns. Preventive measures can either be "structural" or "direct" in nature. Structural efforts are long-term, addressing underlying root causes, grievances, and resiliencies that affect potential GMA situations. Direct efforts are oriented on remediating crises and drivers of conflict in the short term by dissuading specific actors or reducing their ability to commit mass atrocity crimes. One problem with prevention is that it may be impossible to know for certain whether mass atrocities would actually occur absent preventive measures, which could result in debates as to whether preventive actions are actually needed.

Response efforts consist of concerted activities to mitigate or stop mass atrocities. Response efforts can include coercive military action (or the strategic deployment of forces) if directed. In practice, the boundary between direct prevention and limited response may be ambiguous (see Figure 1). Whether a particular action is primarily "preventive" or "responsive" will probably depend upon its intended purpose. It is quite likely that the USG will take actions in response to certain conditions in order to prevent the situation from deteriorating.

Figure 1: Prevention and Response Spectrum

The U.S. is not limited to the extreme options of doing nothing or conducting a large-scale coercive military inter-

vention. Prevention and response measures should include a wide range of diplomatic, informational, military, and economic (DIME) tools, which are discussed further in Section III of this Handbook. These tools can be used to isolate perpetrators from their support, diminish their motivation and capability, and reinforce positive actors. It is important to shape the international, regional, and in-country information environments with consistent signaling that seeks to resolve conflict, expose and correct misleading information, accentuate the effectiveness of DIME tools, and deter the commission of atrocities. Policymakers should act quickly to address threats and take advantage of opportunities, since policy options can quickly dwindle as a crisis advances from its early stages. MAPRO should also consider the local, national, regional, and international contexts of a crisis and account for broader issues such as conflict and its root causes.

MAPRO actions can result in significant changes in a country, and it is important to shape those changes from the outset. Multilateral efforts are important to achieve greater legitimacy, isolate perpetrators and their supporters, capitalize on the advantages that other partners may have, and to distribute the burden of a MAPRO effort. Early planning in this regard can manage expectations, establish unity of purpose, and facilitate post-conflict stabilization and reconstruction requirements. For example, some countries may be reluctant to participate in a military effort, but would be willing to contribute to subsequent stabilization. Such issues must be resolved early in order to avoid divisiveness among potentially valuable partners and prevent post-conflict power-struggles between different factions within the country.

Challenges

Policymakers, as well as influential external observers, are apt to demand a high threshold of proof that mass atrocities are occurring in accordance with a systematic pattern or plan, and a higher threshold yet that they are likely to occur. Additionally, busy policymakers may find it difficult to focus on a potential MAPRO situation while they are consumed by other issues. Effective USG policies and actions face a three-fold challenge: recognizing that a potential GMA situation exists, deciding what to do about it, and taking required actions in a timely manner.

First, the USG must be able to recognize and act on the indicators and warning signs that suggest mass atrocities are imminent or occurring (or, in the case of prudent contingency planning, they must predict that such situations are plausible). This not only requires that early warning indicators of mass atrocities be defined and understood, but also that they be in place to identify the indicators, analyze the information, and provide actionable options to leaders so they can make timely and effective decisions. Prior to considering taking action, policymakers, as well as influential external observers, are apt to demand a high threshold of proof that mass atrocities are occurring in accordance with a systematic pattern or plan. This threshold is higher still for predicting actions that have not yet happened.

In order to focus on potential GMA situations, the Central Intelligence Agency maintains a classified Atrocity Watch List. Some Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and research institutions also maintain their own watch lists that in many cases are accessible via the internet.[8]

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[8] See, for example, Genocide Watch at http://www.genocidewatch. org/aboutgenocide/countriesatrisk2011.html.

These resources can help the interagency community to identify some GMA situations well in advance, while other scenarios, such as Libya in 2011, could develop quickly and without significant advance warning.

Annex C describes warning signs and circumstances that facilitate the perpetration of GMA. They may include inflammatory speeches, hate media, acts of violence and discrimination, and mobilization steps. They can be masked in surrounding circumstances such as civil war, insurgencies, response to civil disturbance, human rights violations frequently associated with repressive regimes, or failing states. In other words, we could see disturbing acts of violence in a country, but we may not be absolutely certain that they presage mass atrocities. By the time we are confident that we are facing a genocide or mass atrocity situation, it may be too late to address it effectively. A better understanding of early-warning indicators is essential in providing analysis and actionable recommendations to policymakers. As policymakers are often consumed with ongoing crisis, credible analysis of these indicators will better support the need to recommit resources to potential GMA situations.

A second challenge, once it appears that GMA may be possible, is decision-making. Some mass atrocity situations develop slowly, thereby giving decision-makers time to gather and assess information and develop plans of action. Many situations, however, develop quickly and the need to stop mass killing may require actions based on the best available information as opposed to information normally associated with deliberate USG planning processes.

Political leaders may have to decide what, if anything, to do about the situation, when they are uncertain about

the circumstances they are facing. Confronted with uncertainty about the credibility of information and an abundance of potential risks, political leaders will also have to be cognizant of other foreign policy interests, the media, and domestic constituencies. Leaders are more likely to be required to delay or dilute decisions to take action in order to build and maintain domestic and international support.

Mass atrocity situations are likely to be conflated with other circumstances regarding the country of interest, and policymakers might not be able to address GMA in isolation. Effective decision-making will also have to address complex issues such as potential second or third-order effects and any long-term actions that should be taken with respect to the GMA situation.

USG decision-making must account for numerous conflicting national interests which might preclude immediate action to directly address a GMA situation. Additionally, this decision-making is also complicated by the bureaucratic challenges of coordinating among agencies, efficiently providing information and options to key decision-makers, and formulating a whole-of-government policy and plan. As such, decision-making will likely be iterative, and will need to adapt as the situation continues to change. An inherent tension exists between policy and plans; policymakers tend to prefer flexibility, ambiguity, and the ability to keep options open. Planners, on the other hand, tend to prefer as much specificity as possible regarding guidance, assumptions, resources, objectives, and constraints.

Third, once decisions are made, the appropriate preventive or responsive actions must be resourced, mobilized, and positioned before they can be employed. This will require time, and it will take additional time for these

actions to achieve their desired effects. In the meantime, once foreign intervention is expected, perpetrators of mass atrocities may accelerate their own actions in an attempt to complete their "final solution," obfuscate the issue, or disrupt international efforts.

Purpose and Outline of the MAPRO Handbook

In 2008, the Genocide Prevention Task Force (GPTF) published a comprehensive study that advanced thirty-four recommendations to help the U.S. government prevent and respond to mass atrocities (see Annex B).[9] Most of these recommendations directly relate to policy-making. For example, the report advocates creation of a "standing interagency mechanism" to provide analysis and recommendations regarding mass atrocity situations. Others have similarly argued for national "focal points" with responsibilities such as those listed in Figure 2.

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[9] Genocide Prevention Task Force (Madeleine K. Albright and William S. Cohen, Co-chairs), *Preventing Genocide: A Blueprint for U.S. Policymakers* (Washington DC: The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, The American Academy of Diplomacy, and the Endowment of the United States Institute of Peace, 2008), 111-114.

- Provide early analysis of emerging situations.
- Provide advice directly to the President about matters relating to the prevention of genocide and mass atrocities.
- Coordinate national responses to mass atrocities.
- Spearhead cooperation with the UN OSAPG/R2P[10] and other relevant agencies and offices.
- Help foster international consensus on the results of early analysis.
- Enable governments to respond to mass atrocities in a timely and decisive fashion.
- Collaborate with other focal points.

Figure 2: Genocide and Mass Atrocity Focal Point Responsibilities[11]

This Handbook offers suggestions to facilitate routine interagency coordination and actions that provide the foundation for MAPRO. It also seeks to institutionalize MAPRO awareness and actions into USG planning and policy documents so as to reduce the need for *ad hoc* reactions to each GMA challenge. This Handbook is not intended to be a blueprint for military intervention. Its intent is to support decision-making on whether to take action; what diplomatic, informational military, and economic actions to take; and how the actions should be orchestrated.

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[10] United Nations Office of the Special Advisors for the Prevention of Genocide / Responsibility to Protect. Formerly two offices, these two agencies have recently merged.

[11] Adopted from Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect, "Fulfilling the Responsibility to Protect: Strengthening Our Capacities to Prevent and Halt Mass Atrocities," meeting summary, September 24, 2010, as presented in Bellamy, *Mass Atrocities and Armed Conflict: Links, Distinctions, and Implications for the Responsibility to Prevent*, 16.

As a means of operationalizing the GPTF's recommendations, this Handbook is primarily intended to assist the USG policy community in analyzing GMA situations, to provide information and options to decision-makers, and to develop whole-of-government plans. Part II of the Handbook provides a way to implement established and emerging USG decision-making frameworks to support effective decision-making. Along with several of the annexes it offers templates as partial solutions that can be tailored as necessary for particular cases. In Part III, the Handbook discusses how diplomatic, informational, military, and economic instruments can be used to provide a range of options to decision-makers for preventing or responding to a genocide or mass atrocity.

Process and product are both inherent features of planning, but excessive focus on either can be counterproductive. Planners should not be overly constrained by the process, nor should they be deceived into thinking that any plan will perfectly anticipate future circumstances. Conversely, failure to devote sufficient attention to either process or product can result in collective floundering and inaction.

The main benefit of planning, properly conducted, is that it permits rigorous and structured dialogue to identify goals and the ways and means to achieve them. In addition, planning builds the personal relationships among organizations that will have to collaborate during execution. "Rigorous," however, should not imply that the process or product is overly complicated or mysterious; on the contrary, both should be easily understood. More than rote adherence to a procedure, planning is about effectively building interagency relationships and communications,

while enabling decision-makers to engage effectively in order to receive information and provide guidance.

II. Formulating Options, Policies, and Plans

While not always possible, advance consideration of contingencies is preferable to cold-start reaction when a crisis occurs. At the very least, contingency planning can assist crisis planning even when the projected circumstances of the contingency differ in important ways from the actual crisis situation. Additionally, contingency planning helps foster the relationships and procedures that are valuable in addressing a crisis. Whether developing longer-term contingency plans or urgent plans in a crisis, an inter-agency team must develop an understanding of the situation, frame the problem set, and facilitate decision-making by the appropriate leadership.

One of the primary goals of this Handbook is to provide a basis for USG-wide MAPRO-related contingency planning and to reduce, to the greatest extent possible, the amount of *ad hoc* "new start" planning each time the government is confronted by a genocide or mass atrocity challenge. The Handbook addresses responsibilities, systems, and procedures for organizing, planning, and operating at both the national and field levels.[12] The Handbook's methodology can be used in situations where the actual probability of mass atrocity is uncertain, or when MAPRO is one of many issues subsumed under complex scenarios such as interstate conflict, civil war, insurgency, or fragile states. In some cases it may be appropriate to develop a distinct MAPRO plan. In other cases, it will be more effective to address the problem comprehensively while incorporating a "MAPRO lens" within a wider context of instability and conflict in a given country.

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[12] *Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review* (Washington DC: Department of State, 2010), pages 91, 124, and 140.

As discussed earlier, planning entails both process (including the procedural steps and the networking relationships) and product. Successful planning includes a commonly accepted and understood process; communication, coordination and collaboration; diverse organizational representation; teamwork balanced with internal direction; engaged leaders; and products that are useful to those required to make decisions and execute the plan. Organizational leaders provide a sense of urgency, ensure their organizations are adequately committed to the planning, provide needed guidance, and make necessary decisions throughout the planning process. In many cases, senior leaders will in turn serve as the enabling staff for national-level decision-makers. Leaders at all levels should be committed to the planning effort; if they are not, they convey the message that the planning is not important. Conversely, planners must be able to "tee up" information effectively to gain the maximum benefit from leader involvement.

Participants and Stakeholders

A number of USG organizations are concerned with mass atrocities and are potential members of a MAPRO Interagency Planning Team (IPT). As used in this Handbook, a MAPRO IPT refers to any USG group charged with conducting MAPRO planning. This may be an existing team such as the Atrocities Prevention Board (APB),[13] an Interagency Policy Committee (IPC), Working Group, Sub-Working Group, or a specially-convened interorganizational "Tiger Team." An IPT could include members from other interagency groups such as IPCs with an interest in the planning topic.

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[13] Directed by PSD-10, and previously recommended in GPTF, *Preventing Genocide*. See Annexes A and B.

Senior leaders in Departments may create their own internal planning teams, with little or no interagency participation, to ensure that they are adequately informed on MAPRO issues. These Departmental planning teams can also use this Handbook as a reference for their activities.

In some cases, the IPTs (especially the Atrocities Prevention Board) will have a standing focus on MAPRO issues. In others, MAPRO may be just one of many topical areas with which they are concerned. In any contingency or crisis planning, regionally-focused USG organizations are apt to play a significant, and perhaps the leading, role. The IPT will typically be led by a small number of planners (perhaps only one) for whom the planning effort is their primary task. Other members of the IPT will have other priorities and consequently may have only limited involvement in the effort. An effective technique can be for the core planners to develop an initial draft of the various products. Others in the IPT can then review these early drafts and provide commentary to improve them. Potential organizations to participate in a MAPRO-related IPT are shown in Figure 3.

Interagency Groups:
>   Atrocities Prevention Board (APB)
>   Interagency Policy Committee(s) (IPC)
>   Genocide and Mass Atrocity Prevention (GMAP) Sub-Working Group

National Security Staff
>   Director for War Crimes and Atrocities

Department of State Offices:
>   Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations (CSO)
>   Office of Global Criminal Justice
>   War Crimes, Atrocities, and Democracy Analysis Division, Bureau of Intelligence and Research
>   Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor (DRL)
>   Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration (PRM)
>   Bureau of International Organization Affairs (IO)
>   United States Mission to the United Nations (USUN)
>   Regional Bureaus
>   Country Teams

U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID):
>   Bureau for Democracy, Conflict, and Humanitarian Assistance (DCHA)
>   Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation (CMM)
>   Office of U.S. Foreign Disaster Assistance (OFDA)
>   Office of Democracy, Rights and Governance (DRG)
>   Office of Transition Initiatives (OTI)
>   Regional Bureaus

Central Intelligence Agency

Department of Defense:
>   Office of the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy
>   Joint Chiefs of Staff
>   Combatant Command
>   U.S. Army Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute (PKSOI)

Director of National Intelligence

National Security Agency

Department of Justice:
>   Criminal Division
>   FBI Genocide War Crimes Unit

Department of Treasury
>   Office of Foreign Assets Control

Figure 3: Potential MAPRO IPT Membership

Additionally, other organizations outside of the Executive branch of the U.S. Government have expertise regarding MAPRO. These may include the United States Institute of Peace (USIP), other research institutions, universities, NGOs, Congressional committees, foreign governments, or UN agencies. The UN Special Advisors on the Prevention of Genocide (OSAPG) and for the Responsibility to Protect (R2P), country-specific Special Rapporteurs on Human Rights, and the UN Special Rapporteur on the Human Rights of IDPs may be particularly important coordinating offices. If a UN mission exists within the country of interest, the Special Representative to the Secretary General (SRSG) and the UN Country Team will direct those efforts and be important contacts for the U.S. Country Team. Other international contacts may include the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) and the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), which head the Protection Cluster. If it is not feasible to incorporate non-USG organizations into the planning process directly, the IPT should nevertheless attempt to account for their interests and potential actions, so that the eventual plan is acceptable to other critical entities. These entities, of course, are likely to have their own processes and products that differ from those of the USG; however, prior consideration of their equities will help facilitate eventual coordination efforts.

Levels of Planning

Planning and coordination can occur at a variety of levels including interagency bodies such as the APB, USG departments, and field locations. Figure 4 depicts the two parallel chains in Washington (some departments may have different echelons than those depicted). It should be

noted that the interagency chain is not necessarily fixed; that is, sub-working groups may not formally report to working groups and so on. It may be the case that members of a sub-working group will simply report back to their parent organizations and higher-level representatives will themselves convene in a different interagency milieu.

Interagency Levels	Department Levels
Principals Committee (PC)	Secretary
Deputies Committee (DC)	Deputy Secretary/ Undersecretary
Interagency Policy Committee (IPC)	Assistant Secretary
Sub-IPC	Deputy Assistant Secretary
Working Group (WG)	Director
Sub-Working Group (SWG)	

Figure 4: Planning Chains

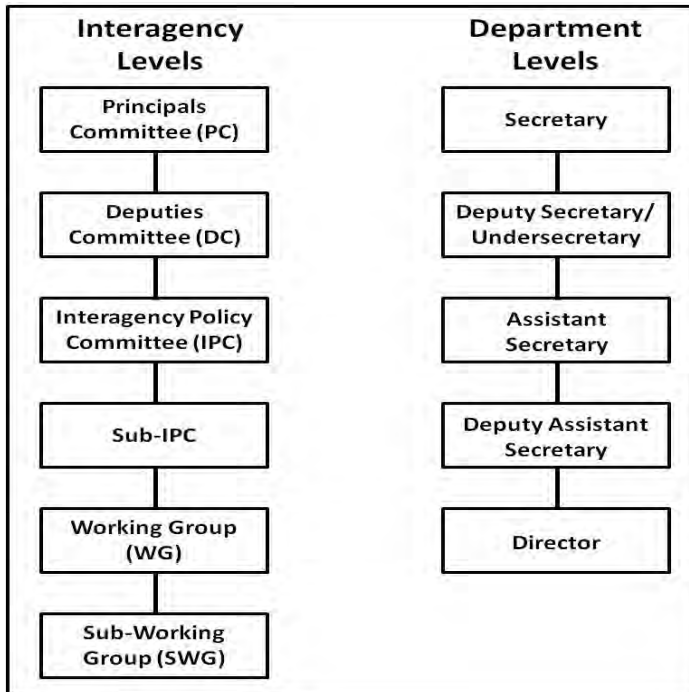Although the Interagency Policy Committee has been designated the main day-to-day entity for interagency coordination of national security policy,[14] in practice any of the six interagency levels (or an *ad hoc* group) could be-

[14] President Barak Obama, "Presidential Policy Directive – 1: Organization of the National Security Council System," (Washington DC: The White House, February 13, 2009), 5.

come an IPT charged with developing a MAPRO plan. Additionally, it should be noted that in many cases MAPRO planning will take place within the context of other situations such as civil wars or insurgencies. Effective planning will require the integration of MAPRO-related offices with experts on other issues, particularly regional and country specialists.

MAPRO Policy and Planning Framework

Regardless of its composition, and whether it is developing a deliberate contingency plan well in advance of a possible scenario or a short-fused plan in response to an imminent crisis, an IPT or Departmental team can use this Handbook as a MAPRO planning guide. While there are different versions of how whole-of-government decision-making is accomplished,[15] the steps in Figure 5 generally conform to most interpretations and will be the template used in this Handbook. Regardless of the time available, the following steps should be taken, however abbreviated. The framework may be applied iteratively to account for situational changes and to develop "branches and sequels" to the basic plan.
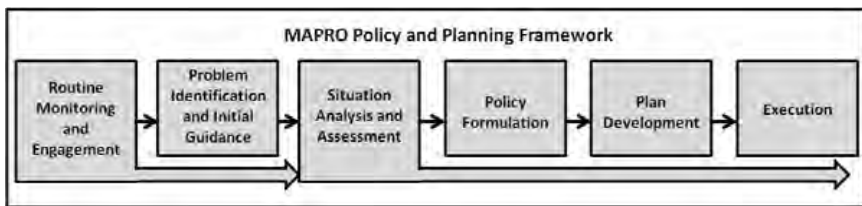

Figure 5: MAPRO Policy and Planning Framework

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[15] See, for example: R&S PCC, "Principles of the USG Planning Framework for Reconstruction, Stabilization and Conflict Transformation (May 15, 2008), "Generic R&S Planning & Execution Process," and S/CRS, "Whole of Government Planning and Execution System for Reconstruction & Stabilization Level I Planner's Guidebook."

Step 0: Routine Monitoring and Engagement. MAPRO planning will rarely begin in a complete vacuum. Before a focused interagency MAPRO planning effort commences for a particular situation, numerous USG agencies will be developing and executing their respective steady-state plans, monitoring, assessing, and influencing the general conditions in a country as they relate to a variety of matters including conflict. USG civilian and military representatives, particularly those in the region, should incorporate a "MAPRO" lens as the conduct their activities and assessments and promote U.S. national interests. This will help identify problematic situations as they develop, and potentially diminish the likelihood that mass atrocities will occur.

Step 1: Problem Identification and Initial Guidance. At some point, there may be reasonable concern that genocide or mass atrocities could occur, which would trigger the need to devote resources and initiate the MAPRO planning effort. This could be prompted by a report from the American Embassy, a newly-released Atrocities Watch List, the USAID Alerts List, a Conflict Assessment, concern expressed by external entities such as NGOs, the UN, the media, or allies, or a variety of other circumstances. The situation could be an emerging crisis, with imminent or actual violence, that requires an immediate plan. It could also be a potential scenario for which hypothetical contingency planning is appropriate. As previously mentioned, MAPRO could be only one potential facet of a complex set of problems related to conflict or stabilization. In any case, an individual with sufficient authority determines that the situation presents a high enough risk that USG agencies should devote planning resources to consider the matter. Contingency planning may be desired by country and regional specialists or various offices that address MAPRO as part of their portfolios, and both types of organizations should be involved in the planning process.

Ideally, initial guidance will be developed that generally frames the problem and identifies planning parameters such as the IPT, the IPT's lead office, its planning task, and timeline. It may be appropriate to identify the individual or office that has the authority to approve or direct the IPT's activities. A planning effort may be directed by a higher-level decision-maker or self-generated by an organization or planning team. Whether a planning effort occurs, and how much effort is devoted to it, will depend the relative assessment of risk and other competing priorities. The guidance and parameters may be promulgated in a memorandum (see Tab 1 to Annex D) or verbally. They may also be self-generated by the IPT without detailed higher direction. In any event, the IPT should have a reasonable understanding of the elements in Figure 6. Initial guidance may address any policy and planning considerations that would be relevant to policy formulation and plan development, such as national interests, assumptions, risks and mitigation, or resources that might be committed.

Problem Identification and Initial Guidance

1. Purpose (What is the planning objective and expected level of effort?)
2. IPT (What organizations and interests will be represented on the planning team?)
3. Lead Agency (Who/what organization is responsible for directing or facilitating the effort?)
4. Approving Authority (Who approves and guides the IPT's efforts?)
5. Additional Guidance
   - Assumptions
   - Constraints
   - Coordination with non-USG actors
   - Intent
   - Timeline
   - Other (e.g., interests, risks, mitigation, resources)

Figure 6: Problem Identification and Initial Guidance

The IPT should have a clear understanding of its purpose. For example, should it focus on preventive measures to make mass atrocities less likely, or a contingency plan in case mass atrocities occur, or both? Is MAPRO the sole focus, or is the planning also to account for such potential topics as humanitarian assistance, nation building, counterinsurgency, or regime change? Additionally the IPT's expected level of effort should be understood. For example, it might be expected merely to do a relatively short situational analysis or it could be tasked to develop a time-intensive complete plan. Notwithstanding the general desire to have firm guidance and clear parameters, in many cases

an IPT can expect that the guidance and parameters may be vague, uncertain, and frequently changing due to the complexity of dynamic political change in the international environment. This may require that the initial guidance and parameters are periodically validated throughout the rest of the process.

Example Scenario

The Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs wants to conduct informal planning to prevent and if necessary respond to mass atrocities in Country X in western Africa. S/he has arranged for the Genocide and Mass Atrocity Prevention Sub-Working group to conduct this effort as an IPT. The IPT's efforts will be overseen by a five-person Supervisory Board consisting of:

> Deputy Assistant Secretary of State (from Bureau for Conflict and Stabilization Operations)
> Director for West African Affairs
> Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs
> Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (from Office of the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy)
> National Security Staff Director for War Crimes and Atrocities

USG efforts should be closely coordinated with those of the United Nations, the African Union, and the Economic Council of West African States (ECOWAS). The IPT should be augmented with representatives from the DoS and USAID African Bureaus, the Country Team, and U.S. Africa Command. The latter representatives may attend selected planning sessions remotely, and the IPT's efforts will be vetted with the non-USG organizations at appropriate stages as deemed necessary. The Under Secretary would like a briefing on the operational concept in one month, and wants periodic updates on the planning effort in the interim.

At each stage of the policy and planning process, the IPT members may reach consensus regarding their assessments and recommendations. Often, however, members

may disagree and it is important that dissenting opinions are recorded and provided to decision-makers for their awareness and potential adjudication.

Step 2: Situation Analysis and Assessment. In this step the IPT should obtain a common understanding of the environment and its dynamics, U.S. interests and resources; sharpen the problem's framing; and develop assumptions and other planning considerations. The IPT should understand the relevant linkages to the Mission Strategic and Resource Plan for Country X, and the applicability of other existing USG plans such as the Combatant Commander's Theater Campaign Plan. Some of the IPT's work may involve recommending appropriate modifications to these documents. In its first planning meeting, the IPT should be informed of the initial guidance that has been received, the anticipated planning timeline, and given a situational overview that includes a Conflict Assessment. The Conflict Assessment can be based upon the "Interagency Conflict Assessment Framework (ICAF)" (see Tab 2 to Annex D) and also informed by the Office of the UN Special Adviser on the Prevention of Genocide "OSAPG Analysis Framework" (see Annex C).

One of the important considerations in this step is the gathering and exchange of information and the development of networking relationships and communications protocols to facilitate whole-of-government coordination throughout the entire process. The administration of the planning process itself is a complex endeavor (requiring the management of meeting locations, attendance, meeting duration, staff support, work assignments, vetting with parent agencies, reports, and other matters). These administrative issues should be resolved (and exercised) early, preferably not during a crisis situation, so they do not become a major disruption to the planning effort.

The level of detail in this Conflict Assessment will depend upon whether an assessment already exists and the time available. A thorough ICAF can take up to a year to plan, research and develop. This is one reason why it is worth investing the effort in contingency planning for at-risk countries well in advance of a crisis. If time permits a hasty Conflict Assessment only, the format in Annex D can still be used. Engaging outside experts and using existing nongovernmental sources, such as International Crisis Group reports, can be particularly useful in rapidly developing a comprehensive assessment. In some cases, it may be appropriate to modify the Conflict Assessment format to accommodate specific circumstances. In nearly every case, it is important to understand the specifics regarding local actors and dynamics, as broader generalizations can be misleading.

As a rule, each planning session should begin with an update on the situation in Country X. Planning sessions during this step will focus on developing a Situation Analysis and Assessment Overview for relevant policymakers (see suggested format at Tab 3 to Annex D). This overview may consist of a memorandum, a briefing, or both.

Example Scenario (Continued)

From 1998-2003 a failed rebellion in the West Calen province of Country X resulted in 300,000 deaths and a half-million displaced persons. Since then, the Calens have remained impoverished and marginalized, and they are showing a growing desire to secede from Country X and unite with the East Calen province in Country Y. The Country X government, dominated by the Noot tribe, is threatening to take stern measures to suppress any hint of rebellion and has begun to encourage armed groups from the nomadic Chim tribe to conduct acts of violence in West Calen. In the past month there have been several raids on Calen villages, resulting in widespread killing, raping, looting, and the flight of thousands of refugees to Country Y. Some of these raids were supported by Country X armed forces. NGOs have also been targeted and some are leaving the country.
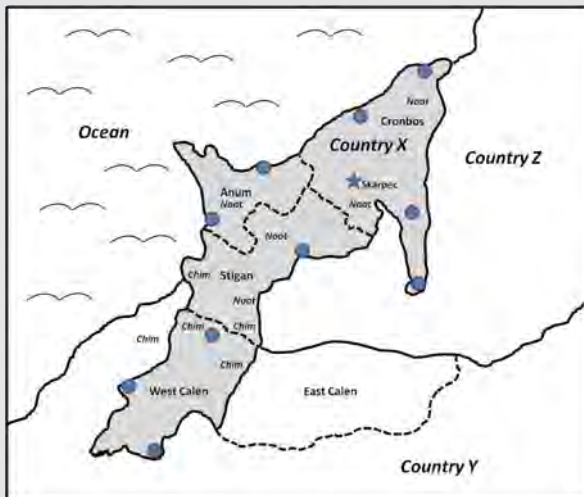
Actors. Key situational considerations from the Conflict Assessment include the relevant actors, their motivations, and the conflict dynamics. Actors can include organizations, nations, militaries, religious groups, or individuals. It is important to identify the strengths, weaknesses, motivations, and operational patterns of different actors, particularly armed groups. [16]

- **Perpetrators**—may be classified as architects, facilitators, or rank-and-file. They may be motivated by ethnic rivalry, political or economic gain, ideology, or self/group preservation. Some of their motivations or objectives could be legitimate or understandable. Perpetrators could include governments, their military and other security forces, armed militias, criminal groups, or rebels. Some perpetrators may be involuntary or reluctant participants, which may provide options for halting mass atrocities.
- **Victims**—usually motivated by self/group preservation, but may also have political or economic goals that are relevant to the situation. Some victims may have little recourse and be passive; others may attempt to resist and fight back. Victims are often members of a targeted identity group. Groups initially identified as victims may subsequently become perpetrators themselves to obtain revenge or for other motivations.
- **Interveners**—take direct action to stop or prevent genocide and mass atrocities, but will usually have

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[16] Based upon typology described in Sarah Sewall, Dwight Raymond, and Sally Chin, *Mass Atrocity Response Operations (MARO): A Military Planning Handbook* (Cambridge, MA: The President and Fellows of Harvard College, 2010). See pages 44-49 and 108-114 for more discussion of different actors.

other objectives as well. Interveners may include governments, international organizations, or coalitions, and they may disagree with each other about ends, ways, or means.

- **Others**—these subcategories could include individuals, organizations, or nations. In many MAPRO situations, attempts to influence these actors may be as important as any efforts to dissuade perpetrators. The roles may be blurred in many situations; for example, an actor may be a positive influence in some ways but a negative influence in others.

  - **Bystanders**—passive actors in the country, region, or international community who prefer not to be involved or who are not convinced that action is necessary or advisable. They may be susceptible to becoming complicit in mass atrocities due to coercion or peer pressure, or could become the next set of victims. In some cases the Host Nation government could be a bystander if it lacks the will or capability to prevent genocide or mass atrocities.

  - **Positive Actors**—actors who enable the protection of victims, dissuade perpetrators, support reconciliation, or otherwise lessen the chances or impact of genocide and mass atrocities. These may include other nations, NGOs, moderates in the country, or some groups in the civil society. NGOs may include international agencies that cooperate with major governments, donors, or the UN system; organizations from the nation's civil society, and a variety of independent organizations that elect to be present.

  - **Negative Actors**—while not directly involved in perpetrating mass atrocities, these actors provide support to perpetrators or help cre-

ate conditions that foster mass atrocities or other violence. Such actors may be governments, commercial or other organizations, or individuals. This category includes "third-party enablers" that provide information, resources, services, or other support that directly or indirectly benefits perpetrators. Support could also include political backing, an outlet for exports that are controlled by and benefit perpetrators, or financial support including money laundering. These negative enablers may also be involved in activities such as terrorist financing, illicit arms trade, narcotics, and human trafficking, although their activities could also be completely legal.[17]

Although actors generally fall into these categories, they are not necessarily permanently fixed and may straddle two or more categories. For example, a particular group could be both the victims of one set of mass atrocities as well as the perpetrators of others, and multiple sides may be committing violence against civilians. Perpetrators may previously have been victims themselves, and are currently seeking retribution. Some "Other Actors," such as the media, can simultaneously be bystanders, negative and positive actors. An important aim of most MAPRO efforts includes influencing various actors to become interveners or positive actors, while dissuading them from acting as perpetrators or negative actors.

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[17] For a comprehensive analysis of the role of these enablers and ways to address them, see *Human Rights First, Disrupting the Supply Chain for Mass Atrocities: How to Stop Third-Party Enablers of Genocide and Other Crimes Against Humanity*, July 2011, available at http://www.humanrightsfirst.org/2011/07/07/disrupting-the-supply-chain-for-mass-atrocities/

Conflict Dynamics. Conflict dynamics and other important considerations can relate to myriad interconnected political, military/security, economic, social, informational, or infrastructural (PMESII) factors.[18] Relevant factors may include the country or regional history of genocide and mass atrocities; the type of conflict that is underway or threatening to emerge (*e.g.*, interstate, intra-state, proxy war, secessionist conflict, insurgency, or civil war); the types of violence employed (*e.g.*, homicide, rape, or forced displacement); the targets of violence (discriminate or indiscriminate); or the logic of the violence (*e.g.*, land seizure, control of the population, terror, or undermining of the government).

- **Political**. Relevant political levels besides the Host Nation government may include local, provincial, regional (multi-country). Global politics such as within the UN may also contribute to Host Nation issues. Political issues may include disagreements on power sharing and Host Nation political structure or doctrine. Issues themselves may be the basis for conflict, or political leaders may attempt to manipulate these issues for their own gain. In some countries the political landscape includes governments that routinely use violence to quell dissension or intimidate the population. Political violence could also be caused by other actors. In either case these actions can lead to mass atrocity situations. Indeed, it can be hard to differentiate between political violence, government repression, and mass atrocities.
- **Military/Security**. Key military/security issues in GMA situations often include the size, capabilities,

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[18] For a more expanded discussion of PMESII variables, see the *MARO Handbook*, pages 50-55.

and intentions of armed actors such as military forces, police forces, other security forces (including intelligence services), paramilitary organizations, foreign and international forces, and others such as criminal groups and mercenaries. Adequate situational understanding requires an appreciation of the likely role of these actors in conducting or mitigating mass atrocities. This analysis may include the likely actions taken by the perpetrators such as efforts to conceal killings, efforts to split international coalitions and consensus while gaining international support and dissuading intervention, efforts to speed up killings, efforts to shape the informational environment (*e.g.*, blaming foreign interference and spreading misinformation), and attempts to test international resolve.

- **Economic**. Economic matters may underpin GMA situations. Conflict may be driven by competition for resources or grievances over economic deprivation and inequality. Genocide or other mass atrocities are often preceded by economic discrimination against the targeted groups and state-sanctioned theft. Illicit economic activities such as corruption, narcotics trafficking, extortion, or human trafficking may be relevant to the situation. Additionally, reconstruction and reconciliation to prevent recurrence of mass atrocities are likely to have strong economic components.

- **Social**. Inter-group cleavages (tribal, ethnic, religious, cultural, linguistic, or regional differences) may be root causes of conflict or may be exploited by perpetrators who have deeper motives. Other social issues include nationalism, xenophobia, criminality, health threats, displaced persons, child-soldiers, and human trafficking. Intra-group cleavages,

such as those between hard-liners and moderates, can inject yet another dimension into the conflict.

- **Informational**. Informational considerations include the messages and means that perpetrators use to organize and incite genocide or other mass atrocities, and determining ways to counter them. Perpetrator messages include the categorization and dehumanization of potential victims as well as the generation of hate and fear. The "means" are the ways those messages are transmitted to the various Actors described previously in this Handbook. Means include local, national and international "traditional" media, such as radio, television, newspapers and magazines. They also include internet outlets and social media (including cell phone messaging). Word of mouth is also a means of communication. MAPRO planners should develop strategic communication plans that address the messages, means, and information means most appropriate for different audiences. USG planners should also consider matters including the Power of Witness (highlighting mass atrocity indicators and exposing actions of perpetrators and their supporters to outside scrutiny),[19] strategic communication, messages, and audiences.
- **Infrastructure.** Infrastructure is relevant to the GMA situation because it could indicate disproportionate allocation of resources that underlie grievances. Additionally, infrastructure networks may have a bearing on the means by which perpetrators

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[19] The Power of Witness refers to identifying and exposing criminal acts related to mass atrocities or preparations to commit them. The Power of Witness may be effective in deterring perpetrators or motivating others to take preventive action. It can also provide information needed to hold perpetrators accountable for their actions. See the *MARO Handbook*, 35-36.

conduct mass atrocities. For example, perpetrators may take advantage of extremely limited road networks in order to set up check points for harassing, segregating, or seizing victims and could also include concentration camps and perpetrator bases. Perpetrators may destroy infrastructure required to provide essential services to victim groups in ways that inflict severe deprivation, or to impede efforts of the international community to intervene. U.S. and other international efforts to intervene must rely on existing infrastructure to confront GMA perpetrators, as well as to restore post-conflict order. By destroying infrastructure, or being prepared to do so in the event of foreign intervention, GMA perpetrators create additional obstacles that require significant resources and time to surmount.

Planners will also want to understand such situational matters as USG interests, existing programs, and assumptions that might differ from those of other GMA scenarios. Planners should note that, depending on the situation, the following interests could weigh either for or against USG action and influence its type:

Interests. In a GMA situation, USG interests may include the following:
- Escalation or resumption of violence is prevented.
- Conflict spillover into the wider region is avoided.
- Effects on transnational issues such as terrorism are minimized.
- Timely and effective humanitarian aid is provided to save lives and alleviate suffering.
- Rights of refugees, displaced persons, and vulnerable populations are protected.
- Political stability and good governance are supported.

- Economic interests are secured by promoting stability and rule of law, or by averting crisis.
- U.S. citizens and property are protected.
- U.S. actions do not have unacceptable adverse impact upon relations with allies, regional countries, or other nations.

Depending upon the situation, other interests could include:
- The international community, (particularly the UN or relevant regional organization) takes appropriate action in concert with the U.S.
- U.S. acts in accordance with its values and maintains its credibility and legitimacy.
- Refugee/Internally Displaced Persons/humanitarian crisis is avoided.
- U.S. willingness to protect civilians and support international laws and norms is demonstrated.
- Perpetrators are delegitimized.
- Human rights violators are brought to justice.
- Terrorist threats are reduced.
- The anticipated costs (including money, personnel, and other resources) of U.S. actions are unacceptable.

National interests in a GMA situation may conflict with each other, and it may be helpful for planners to prioritize our interests. For example, the government of Country X may be complicit in mass atrocity situations, but may also be a useful partner in global counter-terrorism efforts. It may be important to identify the interests of potential partners, particularly if they may differ from those of the United States.

Programs. The USG and other partners may have existing programs with potential influence in a GMA situation. Programs may be international, regional, or specific to Country X. In terms of MAPRO planning, the key question is whether or not the USG can prevent or mitigate a potential mass atrocity if it expands, modifies, or threatens to curtail any or all existing programs. One of the more challenging tasks for the IPT (and one of the key functions of the individual interagency members) will be mapping out relevant country and regional programs, to include scope, funding, flexibility, and consequences of any proposed changes. Developmental projects, emergency relief efforts, Theater Security Cooperation activities, the Global Peace Operations Initiative (GPOI), and other USG programs can be valuable resources to be capitalized upon in a GMA situation. UN and regional organizations may have programs or peacekeeping missions in the Host Nation, and NGOs may have humanitarian, human rights, or developmental activities that can provide constructive influence. International efforts may be loosely coordinated via Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) Clusters.[20]

Assumptions. Plans are normally based upon several key assumptions, particularly in hypothetical contingency planning situations. Assumptions should be carefully con-

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[20] Standard IASC clusters and lead agencies include: Agriculture (Food and Agriculture Organization-FAO), Camp Coordination & Management (UN High Commissioner for Refugees-UNHCR and International Organization for Migration-IOM), Early Recovery (UN Development Program-UNDP), Education (Save the Children and UN Children's Fund-UNICEF), Emergency Shelter (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent-IFRC and UNHCR), Emergency Telecommunications (UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs-OCHA and World Food Program-WFP), Health (World Health Organization-WHO), Logistics (WFP), Nutrition (UNICEF), Protection (UNHCR), Water Sanitation and Hygiene (UNICEF), Age (HelpAge International), Environment (UN Environment Programme-UNEP), Gender (UN Population Fund-UNFPA and WHO), and HIV/AIDs (UNAIDS).

sidered and approved by the Approving Authority, and could be based on the most likely and/or worst-case scenarios. Planners should attempt to validate assumptions as soon as possible. Assumptions may eventually prove to be erroneous, but branch plans can be developed to account for invalid assumptions. Assumptions may relate to any of the following topical areas:

- Timelines—When will political decisions be made, when will the plan be implemented, and how long will U.S. efforts be required?
- Situation—What circumstances will prompt U.S. involvement?
- Resources—What U.S. resources will be committed? When will they be available?
- Other Contributors—What other nations, international organizations, or NGOs will be involved and how? What are their capabilities, vulnerabilities, and requirements? To what extent will they cooperate with the U.S.? Will there be an agreed-upon division of labor? How will the U.S. share information, including classified information, with potential partners?
- U.S. Role—Will the U.S. perform a leading or supporting role? Will this role change over time? To what extent will the U.S. defer to or await the decision-making of other actors such as the UN?
- Host Nation—Will HN actors, including the government, cooperate with or oppose U.S. actions?
- Actions Regarding Perpetrators—Will the U.S. support efforts to target, remove, apprehend, or prosecute perpetrators, including the HN government's leadership?
- Subsequent Actions—Will the U.S. be involved in any reconstruction or stabilization efforts once

mass atrocities have been halted or prevented? What actions will be taken to prevent future crises?

- Additional Goals—Will the U.S. seek to resolve long-term political issues, such as pursuing independence for the victim group or replacing the perpetrator's regime, or will it only seek to address the immediate humanitarian concerns?

Critical Information Requirements and Gaps. Planners should identify key areas of information that relate to the GMA situation. This set of topics will be refined throughout policy and plan development as well as execution. Potential issues include:

- What are the locations, compositions, activities, capabilities, weaknesses, motivations, and intentions of perpetrators, their supporters, and other adversaries?
- What are the locations, compositions, activities, capabilities, weaknesses, and intentions of victim groups, positive actors, and interveners?
- Have there been any new mass atrocity incidents or significant acts of violence against civilians? What are the specifics?
- Has the Host Nation government had a change in its composition or policies?
- What are the policies and actions of the UN, regional organizations, key countries, or other activities?
- What significant problems and progress is the U.S. and its partners experiencing?
- What additional resources are required and what are the options for providing them?

Example Scenario (Continued)

After receiving a summary of the initial guidance and parameters from the lead planner, the IPT is given a situation overview based upon the Interagency Conflict Assessment Framework (ICAF). The assessment is refined based on comments from the members of the IPT. In subsequent sessions the IPT identifies USG interests, resources, programs, assumptions, information gaps, and other issues. Remote members of the IPT are included by VTC or teleconference, or are consulted separately. The information is synthesized into a Situation Analysis and Assessment briefing that has been vetted with outside organizations before being given to the Supervisory Board. The board members direct any necessary modifications, provide additional guidance, and either tell the IPT to conduct additional situation analysis or to proceed to Step 3 (Policy Formulation). The Under Secretary for Political Affairs is given an interim update regarding the planning activities.

Situation Analysis and Assessment is a continuous process, and policymakers must keep current regarding the topics discussed above. When the overall situation has changed significantly, it may be necessary to take a fresh comprehensive look in order to develop a new plan.

Step 3: Policy Formulation. This step results in a policy statement that provides strategic guidance required for continued planning by the IPT and other organizations. A Policy Advisory Memo is prepared, normally for Principals or Deputies. Once the President, Principals Committee (PC), or Deputies Committee (DC) has made a decision, a

Policy Statement is issued that establishes the USG Policy Goal and strategic objectives, shapes all USG actions and statements, provides guidance for the USG Strategic Plan, and identifies the lead U.S. official for implementing the plan and its major parts (such as the Chief of Mission, Special Envoy, or ranking military authority). Strategic Objectives correspond to the drivers of conflict and local capacity needs that have been identified and help dictate Lines of Effort (LOEs).

In developing objectives and LOEs, the IPT must carefully consider whether they should be restricted to the immediate issue of mass atrocities and saving lives, or also address the root causes in order to change the political dynamic, which will require a long term effort. It is important to have a clear, accurate understanding of the MAPRO scope and mandate as early as possible. The Policy Statement may also identify lead agencies for each LOE. An example Policy Statement is at Tab 5, Annex D.

LOEs comprise the **necessary** and **sufficient** aspects that will achieve policy success. They could include MAPRO cross-cutting considerations, objectives, endstates, actions, geographic areas of focus, actors, strategic objectives, or vital functional areas such as situational understanding, strategic communication, and resourcing. Depending upon the situation, the IPT may elect to keep the LOEs from one category, or combine elements from different categories. As a general rule, four-to-ten LOEs provide a reasonable number to conduct effective planning, and ideally each should be distinguishable with minimal overlap. While other LOEs may be developed, potential candidate LOEs include:

Endstates
- Rule of Law
- Safe and Secure Environment
- Sustainable Economy
- Stable Governance
- Social Well-Being

Cross-Cutting Considerations
- HN Ownership and Capacity
- Political Primacy
- Legitimacy
- Unity of Effort
- Security
- Conflict Transformation
- Regional/Comprehensive Engagement

Actions and Functions
- Strategic Communication
- Diplomacy
- Military Efforts (general activities or particular operations; *e.g.*, No-Fly Zone)
- Economic Efforts
- Resourcing and Logistics
- Situation Understanding
- Humanitarian Assistance

Other Candidates
- Key Regions in Country X
- Key Actors (regional, non-state, IGOs, NGOs)
- Human Rights
- Civil Society
- Security Sector Reform

As in any plan, it is essential that committed resources be commensurate with the proposed policy. A plan that aims to bring perpetrator leaders to justice and incorporate the victim group in political reforms will provoke more opposition and require more effort than a plan that leaves existing political structures in place. A policy that is too ambitious for the level of political will and available resources will inevitably prove unsuccessful and do a disservice to the victims and to the U.S. by inflating expectations and engendering unnecessary opposition. If mass atrocities are imminent or ongoing but policymakers are unwilling or unable to commit the resources required for a full-spectrum response, it is important that policy goals be refined to match that reality. In such a case, the plan may set aside more costly political goals and instead focus solely on resolving the proximate humanitarian crisis, such as negotiating an end to hostilities but leaving the perpetrator regime in power. If policymakers insist on pursuing ambitious goals, planners should emphasize the requirement for the level of resources and attention to match those goals.

Example Scenario (Continued)

The IPT develops a Policy Advisory Memo that includes two major policy options. The first of these options entails the U.S. providing low-key support for UN and regional organizations. These supporting efforts would be augmented if the situation in Country X deteriorates and a GMA situation begins to appear more likely. The second option includes expanded USG programs in Country X to prevent adverse conditions, to increase bilateral diplomacy and regional military engagement, and to shape UN efforts. Additionally, the U.S. will engage prospective coalition partners to enlist their support in addressing conditions in Country X and to conduct contingency planning for increased activity, including military intervention, if GMA indicators in Country X worsen. These options are briefed to the Supervisory Board. Based upon the current and anticipated situation in Country X, and after consulting with the Under Secretary for Political Affairs, the board directs the IPT to develop a policy statement based on the first policy option. However, the IPT is also directed to have available an alternative policy statement based on the second option.

The next week, conditions in Country X suddenly worsen and mass atrocities seem significantly more likely. In particular, inflammatory statements by government officials against minority groups have incited violent acts against minority leaders and others. The Deputies Committee convenes and is quickly given modified versions of the briefings that have been conducted to date. The DC directs that the second policy option be adopted and strengthened. The appropriate policy statement is completed and approved by the DC. Among other things, key elements of this statement are incorporated in a Presidential address. The Policy Statement identifies the following policy goal, strategic objectives, and LOEs:

Goal: Prevent and if necessary halt mass atrocities in Country X.

Strategic Objectives:
- Prevent the resumption and/or escalation of violence.
- Avoid spillover of the conflict into the wider region.
- Ensure effective and timely provision of humanitarian aid.
- Protect the rights of the displaced and other vulnerable populations.
- Further Country X's political stability and transition to legitimate governance.

Lines of Effort (LOEs):
- Situation Understanding
- Diplomacy and Strategic Communication
- Unity of Effort
- Military Efforts
- Economic Efforts
- Safe and Secure Environment
- Governance and Rule of Law
- Social Well-Being

Step 4: Plan Development. In this step the IPT develops the USG Strategic Plan and as necessary supports the parallel planning efforts that are conducted by Departments in Washington and field organizations (including Country Teams and military forces). The hierarchy of this "family of plans" is shown in Figure 7.

Figure 7: USG Family of Plans

A Strategic Plan Outline is included in Tab 8 to Annex D. The plan should integrate key elements from previous steps into a coherent framework and identify tasks for USG agencies while providing sufficient fidelity for them to develop their supporting implementation plans. From a comprehensive plan, a reader should be able to discern the applicable ends, ways, means, and risks. Figure 8 shows steps in the plan development process that apply whether a crisis plan is rapidly created or a contingency plan is developed more deliberately. These efforts occur within Step 4 of the broader MAPRO Policy and Planning Framework. Agency leaders direct their own planning efforts in parallel, obtaining national-level guidance and approval as necessary.
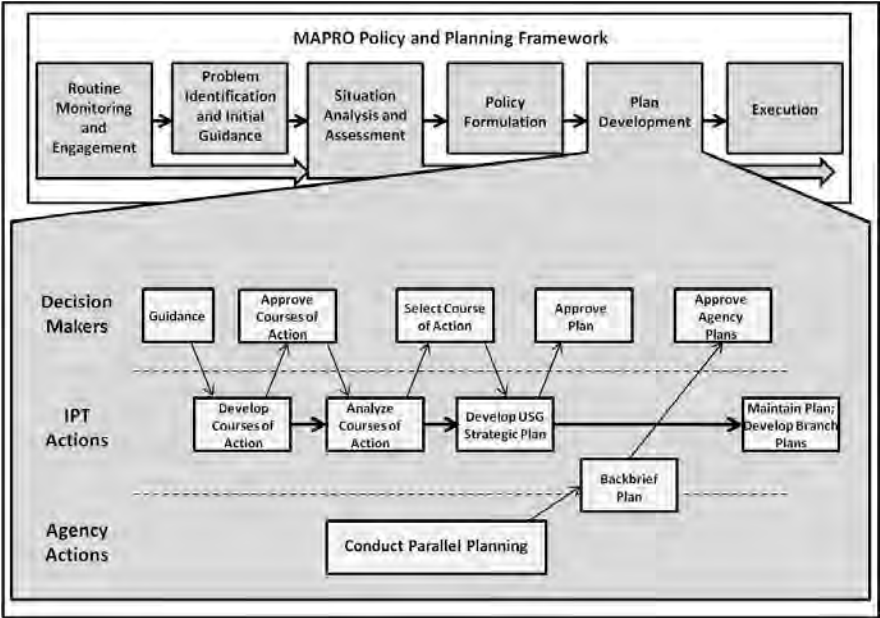
Figure 8: Step 4—Plan Development

Example Scenario (Continued)

The IPT develops the following graphical representation of an overall plan depicting the goal, strategic objectives, LOEs, and key supporting tasks for the LOEs. The graphic is supplemented with country and regional maps that show key locations such as infrastructure, political centers, conflict areas, USG organizations, and planned USG activities. This one-page graphic is used in the USG Strategic Plan (see Tab 8 to Annex D).
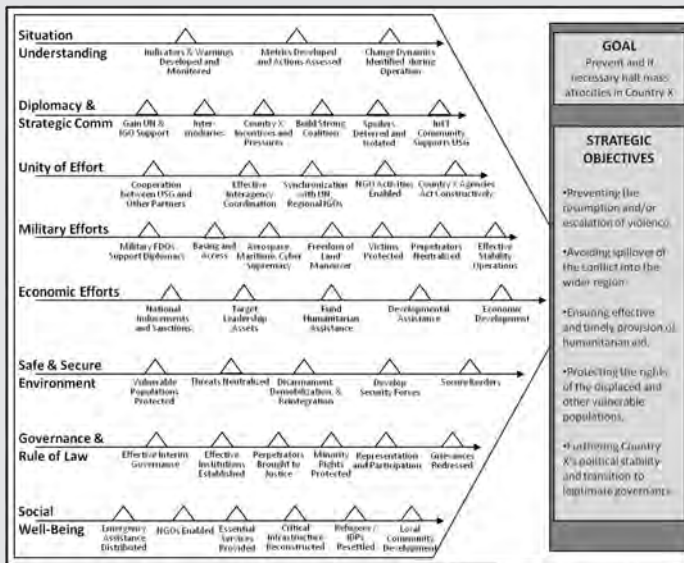
Plans may be divided into phases when there is a logical differentiation among conditions, objectives, LOEs, and/or USG actions. Similarly, phases may further be subdivided into stages, all of which require considered planning. While there are generally fundamental differences between

phases, it is quite possible that they will also overlap in time or space (for example, different parts of the Host Nation could be in different stages). Figure 9 provides a template that may be suitable for many MAPRO contingency or crisis action plans.

Phase I: Prevention
        Stage IA: Steady-State Engagement
        Stage IB: Targeted Prevention
        Stage IC: Crisis Management
Phase II: Response
        Stage IIA: Stop Mass Atrocities
        Stage IIB: Stabilization
Phase III: Transition
        Stage IIIA: Build Host Nation Capacity
        Stage IIIB: Transition to Steady-State Posture
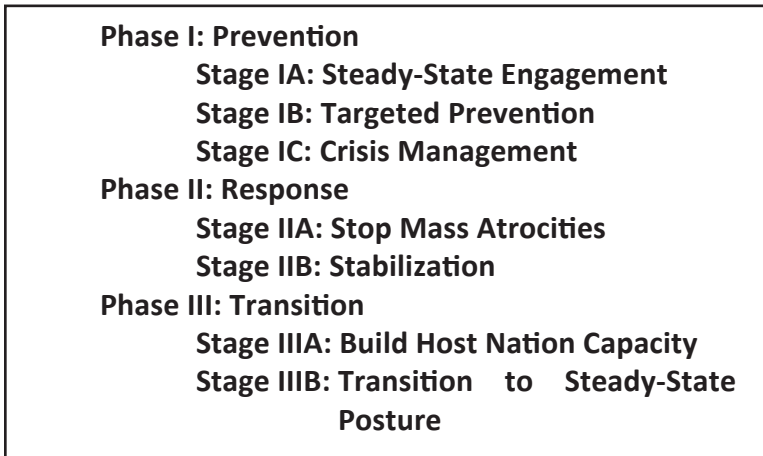
Figure 9: Suggested MAPRO Plan Phases

Phase I (Prevention) could consist of three stages. The first stage occurs when mass atrocities do not appear imminent, but may be possible in the future. This stage includes routine engagement activities, situation monitoring, contingency planning, and dialogue with potential partners. USG representatives should view events in Country X with a MAPRO lens.[21] Existing (*i.e.*, "steady state") programs may be adjusted to make mass atrocities less likely. These efforts may be magnified in the second stage, when additional targeted efforts to prevent mass atrocities supplement routine day-to-day activities. Additional preventive

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[21] This refers to the institutional ability to observe and orient on developments that could presage mass atrocities and take early action to mitigate them. See Bellamy, 8.

steps can include active measures to mitigate motivations for violence by addressing grievances and reinforcing societal resiliencies through economic development, supporting legitimate and effective governance, protecting minority rights, and other steps. Many of these efforts may be directed towards negative enablers and bystanders, as well as perpetrators. When indicators such as those identified in Annex C suggest that mass atrocities are imminent, the third stage of prevention begins. Senior policymakers focus on the situation in Country X to determine if additional diplomatic, informational, military, and economic tools described in Part III may be applied to return to pre-crisis stability.

Phase II (Response) involves the USG taking concerted action, up to the maximum level it determines feasible, to stop mass atrocities. Phase II may include military intervention by the U.S. or other actors supported by the United States. Phase II may be sub-divided into subordinate stages, such as an initial stage to stop mass atrocities and a subsequent stage to achieve sufficient stabilization that subsequent rebuilding efforts can be accomplished. If this phase involves U.S. military intervention, DoD will often be the lead agency for this aspect of the response while the State Department retains the lead for diplomacy and the overall USG effort, and USAID has the lead for humanitarian assistance. It should be noted that the resources and capabilities required to stop mass atrocities are likely to be different from those required for stabilization.

Phase III (Transition) occurs after mass atrocities have ended and an acceptable level of stability has been achieved. This phase may include addressing the root causes of conflict, reconstruction & stabilization (R&S), justice, reconciliation, and the U.S. "exit strategy." In some

situations the U.S. will assume an extended commitment; in others the UN or a regional organization may accept responsibility. The *Guiding Principles for Stabilization and Reconstruction* provides a useful framework for this stage and addresses the establishment of a safe and secure environment, rule of law, stable governance, a sustainable economy, and social well-being. Security Sector Reform (SSR) will likely be one of the more important tasks during this period.

As many recent experiences have shown, this phase should be considered from the outset of planning, even though the actual circumstances will likely differ from those originally anticipated. It may be prudent to plan for a post-conflict UN (or other) Executive Authority from the outset, which would transition responsibility and authority to a legitimate Host Nation body as soon as possible. If an actual external Executive Authority proves unnecessary, it can nevertheless support the Host Nation authorities in an advisory role as they pursue stabilization and reconstruction. One likely tension to be considered is a desire to avoid long-term U.S. commitment while ensuring that conditions for future mass atrocities do not fester. Plans may have to address the possibility that genocides and mass atrocities linger over an extended period of time and are manifested in spikes and troughs in the level of violence.

Planning can be enhanced by a variety of means. Tabletop Exercises (TTXs) can be low-resource structured events during which various policy and planning steps are conducted. They can also be used to conduct rehearsals or develop branch plans to account for changes in conditions or assumptions. TTXs (or "wargames") may be used to support the analysis of alternative options. Additionally, it is a good practice to conduct a "synchronization" TTX or

wargame once an option is selected, in order to develop an integrated plan. A wargame is a multi-participant talk-through of the plan, systematically addressing situations, actions, LOEs, risks, decisions, and other important consideration during different temporal periods. Effective wargames do not have to be completely accurate in their predictions, but should incorporate perspectives from all relevant organizations, address the major issues that are likely to be encountered, and ensure the participants' understanding of the entire plan and awareness of each others' activities. Wargaming can be assisted with a synchronization matrix as shown in Figure 10. Maps can be useful to present wargame results, by depicting graphical snapshots of the situations (e.g., locations of organizations and events) that exist at key periods.

	Phase I: Prevention			Phase II: Response		Phase III: Transition	
	Stage IA: Engagement	Stage IB: Targeted Prevention	Stage IC: Crisis Management	Stage IIA: Stop Mass Atrocities	Stage IIB: Stabilization	Stage IIIA: Build HN Capacity	Stage IIIB: Transition to Steady-State
TIME:							
Objectives							
ACTIONS							
USG Actions							
Perpetrators							
Agencies	**Stage IA**	**Stage IB**	**Stage IC**	**Stage IIA**	**Stage IIB**	**Stage IIIA**	**Stage IIIB**
State							
USAID							
Defense							
Justice							
CIA							
NSC							
Other							
Other Actors	**Stage IA**	**Stage IB**	**Stage IC**	**Stage IIA**	**Stage IIB**	**Stage IIIA**	**Stage IIIB**
Embassy							
UN							
Country X Govt							
Regional Org							
Coalition							
CCMD/CJTF							
Lines of Effort (LOEs)	**Stage IA**	**Stage IB**	**Stage IC**	**Stage IIA**	**Stage IIB**	**Stage IIIA**	**Stage IIIB**
1. Sit Und							
2. Diplom/Stratcom							
3. Unity of Effort							
4. Mil Ops							
5. Economic							
6. Safe/Sec Env							
7. Gov/ROL							
8. Soc/Econ							
Other	**Stage IA**	**Stage IB**	**Stage IC**	**Stage IIA**	**Stage IIB**	**Stage IIIA**	**Stage IIIB**
Decisions							
Info Rqmts							
Phase LOEs							
Branch Plans							
Risks							
Resource Arrivals							
Issues							

Figure 10: Sample Synchronization Matrix

The synchronization matrix facilitates structured discussion by the IPT. The IPT should sequentially focus on time increments (phases and stages) and systematically address the key elements in the left-hand column, which

can be modified as necessary. Significant occurrences such as elections, transitions, and mass atrocity events can also be addressed in this fashion. By creating the matrix in a spreadsheet program and recording relevant information, the matrix becomes an easily-transferrable and comprehensive product that can assist in developing the actual plans. If time permits, the time increments can be broken down even further to increase the wargame's level of fidelity. Wargaming is most effective when there are multiple participants, although somebody should orchestrate the effort, resolve disagreements, and move the discussion along to the next topic. Discussants should stay with the topic at hand (the matrix cell under examination at any particular time) and avoid the temptation to wander. A "scribe" should be responsible for recording the information in the matrix.

A USG Strategic Plan will have limited impact if supporting agencies do not conduct planning as well. Depending upon the level of effort required, these agencies can develop their respective plans to varying levels of completion. They may conduct parallel planning while the USG Strategic Plan is being developed, though this could result in wasted effort as the USG concept evolves. Once their plans are done, backbriefs from these organizations can be particularly useful to refine the plans at all levels.

When the MAPRO Policy and Planning Framework is used to address hypothetical contingency scenarios, results can be used to inform and modify existing plans such as Mission Strategic and Resource plans Embassy country plans, and Theater Security Cooperation activities in Combatant Command theater campaign plans. This can improve the effectiveness of pre-crisis shaping efforts to prevent mass atrocities from occurring.

Step 5: Execution. Successful execution requires effective coordination among agencies in Washington and the field, as well as accurate and timely assessment consisting of monitoring, evaluation, and decision-making. The common denominator is an effective information flow that enables continual situational understanding while framing options for decision-makers. It is theoretically possible to create an elaborate information framework with an abundance of metrics; however, such information systems can be over-engineered, excessively burdensome, and misleading in their fidelity. Tab 10 of Annex D contains a representative Situation Update format that, if kept current, can efficiently support situational understanding.

During execution, the USG collectively must continually assess the changing situation and make appropriate adjustments, which could involve returning to earlier steps of the MAPRO Policy and Planning Framework. Some of the likely decision points may be anticipated in advance. One potential issue is the level at which various decisions can be made, such as the Chief of Mission, Combatant Commander, Secretaries of State or Defense, Special Envoy, or President. Figure 11 identifies potential decisions to be encountered while executing a MAPRO plan.

- Whether to treat the Host Nation government as a partner or adversary.

- How to handle setbacks (*e.g.*, mass atrocities that occur).

- Whether to commit additional resources.

- Whether to transition from one phase to another.

- When to transfer responsibility to another actor (*e.g.*, the UN or Host Nation).

- Whether to modify the plan radically (*e.g.*, change objectives).

- Whether to intervene (in fact or appearance) on one side of the conflict.

- Whether to await a UNSC Resolution.

- Whether to intervene without a clear exit strategy.

- Whether to develop or implement a branch plan.

- Whether and to what extent to accommodate concerns expressed by other actors.

- How to gain/sustain domestic and international support.

- Whether to sacrifice political goals, such as bringing perpetrators to justice, in order to stop conflict or maximize humanitarian benefit.

Figure 11: Potential MAPRO Decisions

III. Applying the Elements of National Influence

Policy choices will be governed by a variety of factors including the reliability of information about a potential MAPRO situation; the time available; U.S. interests and those of other relevant countries; the likelihood that actions will succeed; the level of resources that would be required; and the domestic and international political contexts. It is possible that different policy options might be appropriate at different stages of a GMA situation.

General Policy Options

Policy options reconcile U.S. interests and consider how these interests will be impacted by potential actions. Policy options are based on many factors, among which are: (1) "What are the US national strategic interests?" (2) "What is the general approach and which tools are required to prevent and respond to mass atrocities?" (3) "Are the costs and risks commensurate with US national strategic interests?" and (4) "What is the role of the U.S. with respect to other actors?"

There are three general MAPRO approaches to a GMA situation, broadly determined by the nature and level of tools used, the amount of risk involved, and the degree of encroachment on the Host Nation's sovereignty. These general approaches include:

- **Suasion**. This approach is primarily diplomatic, and includes inducements and pressure to convince would-be perpetrators and their supporters to act responsibly. Threats to deter unacceptable behavior may be included, as well as potential rewards

such as potential economic benefits. While diplomatic tools comprise the centerpiece of the approach, other tools can be used in support.

- **Compellence**. This approach consists of tools to punish, isolate, undermine, intimidate, or apply significant pressure to coerce perpetrators. Tools employed include diplomatic, legal, economic, financial, and other measures that increase the anticipated and actual costs to perpetrators and supporters of activities related to mass atrocities. Limited military tools such as shows of force and blockades may also be considered within this element.[22]

- **Intervention**. This approach commits military and other resources to prevent or stop mass atrocities. Military forces could be employed in a peacekeeping role or to conduct combat operations if directed. The intervention could be consensual (with the agreement of the Host Nation and, potentially, other parties to the conflict) or coercive (without the Host Nation's consent). The intervention could be of short duration or entail an extended commitment to support peace building.

These approaches could be applied unilaterally or in conjunction with allied or supporting actors. Regardless of the general nature of the international approach, the U.S. role in a MAPRO situation could range from non-involvement to unilateral action. Role options for the U.S. (and other international actors) include:

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[22] This Handbook uses "compellence" as an intermediate approach that can be punitive or significantly threatening, while acknowledging that "compellence" and "deterrence" are often viewed as forms of suasion.

- **Bystander**. The U.S. could take little or no action because the situation is unclear, U.S. national interests are not compelling enough, the problems in Country X are too intractable, the likelihood of success is too small, U.S. domestic support is not strong enough, the costs would be excessive, other U.S. national interests are too compelling, international support is lacking (particularly from the UN or regional organizations), or the negative risks are too great (such as increased anti-Americanism, retaliation against the U.S. or its allies, or other risks).
- **Support Other Actors**. The U.S. could assume a supporting or enabling role for other actors that could take the lead for MAPRO. These could include a coalition led by an ally, neighboring countries, a regional or sub-regional organization, the UN, or parties within the Host Nation. In some circumstances the U.S. may initially adopt a prominent role and quickly adopt a supporting posture when another actor is ready.
- **Lead Multinational Effort**. The U.S. could lead a coalition by providing most of the resources and direction. This option likely includes a strong effort to shape UN decision-making, but nevertheless would include genuine consultation with other nations and account for their perspectives.
- **Act Unilaterally**. The U.S. could decide to act with little deference to other actors (such as international organizations or nations) regarding its chosen diplomatic, informational, military, or economic options. This may be appropriate because the situation is urgent, U.S. interests are vital, UN (or other) decision-making is too slow or unfavorable, or the U.S. is already significantly involved in Country X.

MAPRO Guidelines and Cross-Cutting Considerations

As discussed in Part I, six MAPRO guidelines should be kept in mind when formulating policies and plans related to mass atrocities.

- Prevention is preferable to response.
- The U.S. has a wide range of diplomatic, informational, military, and economic tools that should be considered and integrated.
- Policy makers must understand the complete context of the situation.
- Quick action is important to address concerns and take advantage of
- opportunities.
- Multilateral efforts are preferable to unilateral action.
- Planning for endstates and transitions should begin as early as possible.

Figure 12: MAPRO Guidelines

Several cross-cutting considerations can also influence the development of policy options and application of DIME tools, particularly when root causes are being addressed. Shown in Figure 13, these considerations are generally applicable in any MAPRO effort.[23]

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[23] Adapted from the "Cross-Cutting Principles" described in United States Institute of Peace and US Army Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute, *Guiding Principles for Stabilization and Reconstruction* (Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2009), Chapter 3.

- Host Nation Ownership and Capacity
- Political Primacy
- Legitimacy
- Unity of Effort
- Security
- Conflict Transformation
- Regional/International Engagement
- Strategic Communication

Figure 13: MAPRO Cross-Cutting Considerations

- **Host Nation Ownership and Capacity[24]**. It will be difficult for the U.S. and other outsiders to force a lasting solution on a country. USG efforts should ultimately improve the Host Nation's ability to meet its responsibility to protect its people. One of the most important policy issues is likely to be the determination as to whether a Host Nation government can be a responsible partner to prevent mass atrocities or whether it is so culpable that an alternative governing arrangement should be pursued. MAPRO actions should avoid tearing the society apart or creating unnecessary human suffering.

- **Political Primacy**. Mass atrocity threats are likely to be prompted by political issues or could be attributed to manipulation by political leaders. Perpetrators are apt to have motivations that they view as legitimate, and many of the rank-and-file perpetrators who commit the actual atrocities may believe they are simply doing their duty. In order to

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[24] Although the government in the country of interest may oppose, rather than "host" external involvement, the term "Host Nation" is used by convention.

have lasting effectiveness, MAPRO should account for underlying political circumstances, facilitate a political settlement, and support eventual reconciliation. A political settlement may have to address social tensions and economic inequalities.

- **Legitimacy**. USG actions should be mandated by a legitimate authority, employ legitimate and proportional means, be directed to legitimate objectives, and should be mindful of the expectations of the populations in the Host Nation, the international community, and the United States. USG actions will be perceived as legitimate by the international community the more they conform, or attempt to conform,[25] with those of multilateral organizations such as the UN or regional organizations. While perceptions matter, ultimately the real test of legitimacy is whether vulnerable civilians receive adequate protection. Domestically, actions will be perceived as more legitimate if they have both Congressional and U.S. public support. Planners should anticipate that adversaries will also attempt to gain legitimacy and undermine that of the U.S. and its partners.

- **Unity of Effort**. USG agencies should operate in concert with each other and in support of the leadership in the field (usually the Chief of Mission but in some situations a military commander) tasked to implement U.S. policy. When performing their normal tasks prior to a crisis, individual government personnel should be aware that their observations can help identify an emerging GMA situation and their actions can help reduce its likelihood. Unity of

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[25] For example, the USG may seek a UN Security Council Resolution to authorize a course of action. If that resolution is vetoed, the USG may subsequently take independent action without UNSC authority. Some nations would view such action as more legitimate than if unilateral action were taken without first attempting to obtain UN backing.

Effort also includes complementary efforts by non-USG actors such as NGOs and Host Nation groups and individuals. This is better achieved when collaboration begins as early as possible. Unity of effort can be difficult when organizations are not subordinate to a common authority.

- **Security**. Along with minimizing the vulnerability of U.S. and partnered personnel and organizations in the region, protection of vulnerable noncombatant populations is an integral part of most USG actions. Quick action may be required to take advantage of opportunities. Because local populations may associate the military with force and coercion, strategic communication may need to stress that any U.S. forces are present mainly to protect the population.

- **Conflict Transformation**. An important aspect of MAPRO is convincing relevant parties that their interests can best be achieved through non-violent means. This may include deterrent measures to make violent actions unpalatable while cultivating the benefits of a peaceful political settlement. It may also require a long-term commitment to political reform and social stabilization beyond simply stopping and preventing mass atrocities. Policies and plans should address conflicts associated with potential mass atrocity situations, such as insurgencies and civil wars. Additionally, in the event that an intervention results in a governmental change, planners should anticipate the possibility of a subsequent power struggle and look for ways to mitigate its likelihood. For example, a transitional executive authority under UN auspices may be a means to preempt new conflicts from occurring.

- **Regional/International Engagement**. In order to achieve legitimacy, share burdens, and incorporate

relevant and necessary stakeholders, MAPRO efforts ideally should be multilateral, requiring the U.S. to coordinate with other nations and international organizations to cultivate, coordinate, and sustain consensus against the commission of atrocities by any and all actors. Multilateral efforts pose challenges such as languages, divergent national interests and objectives, non-standard equipment and procedures, and separate lines of authority. However, other things being equal, the more multilateral support an effort has, the more successful it will be in diagnosing potential problems and subsequently taking action to prevent or respond to GMA situations. The USG should help shape the international, regional, and in-country information environments with consistent signaling that seeks to resolve conflict, expose and correct misleading information, accentuate the effectiveness of DIME tools, and deter the commission of atrocities. The cooperation of regional powers will frequently be necessary to provide bases and access to the country of interest and to address spillover issues such as refugees. The political position of regional organizations is increasingly influential on the UN and particularly the member states that comprise the Security Council, and therefore must be given strong consideration early in the planning.

- **Strategic Communication**. The USG must understand and engage key audiences to create, strengthen, or preserve conditions that advance USG interests and objectives. Strategic communication includes coordinated programs, plans, themes, messages, and products that are vertically and horizontally synchronized with the application of all elements of national power in order to improve U.S.

credibility and legitimacy; weaken an adversary's credibility and legitimacy; and convince audiences to act (or refrain from acting) in ways that support U.S. objectives. Likely audiences include different audiences in Country X (*e.g.*, various levels of perpetrators, victims, and other actors); countries in the region; countries enabling the perpetrators; the rest of the international community; and the U.S. population. It is important to understand the audiences in order to develop effective messages. Messages may be the same across audiences or could be specifically tailored for the various recipients. Potential messages may include that mass atrocities are unacceptable; any perpetrators will eventually be brought to justice; the international community is united on the issue; and any intervention is legitimate and not U.S. imperialism. Messages can at times be in tension with each other; for example, an intended message to the U.S. public may be "a long, costly involvement will not happen." Such a message, however, may be interpreted by perpetrators as "U.S. actions will be extremely limited." Messages will not be effective if they create unrealistic expectations or are perceived as containing empty threats. When properly integrated, strategic communication other MAPRO efforts are mutually reinforcing and can have additional impact. See Annex G for additional discussion regarding strategic communication.

MAPRO Policy Risks

Any set of contemplated actions will have associated risks. The general overriding risk in GMA situations is that MAPRO actions will not happen quickly enough to be effec-

tive. In other words, the longer it takes to act, the greater the risk that mass atrocities will occur and more people will die. On the other hand, the more quickly MAPRO measures occur, the less time is available for planning and risk assessment, which increases other risks (including political risks) to the entire effort. This is why it is essential for the USG and the international community to develop and maintain policies, plans, doctrine and procedures in place, to the extent possible, before we are faced with mass atrocity situations. While each situation will be unique, potential risks include:

- **Ineffectiveness**. The measures may be too benign, inadequately resourced, or too late 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. The USG and any partners will have to determine that a GMA situation is imminent or occurring, decide what to do about it, and mobilize and deploy the necessary assets. Each of these steps can be time-consuming and result in actions that are not timely enough. Lack of progress could generate resentment among Host Nation individuals who were originally supportive of U.S. efforts. In addition to being ineffective, empty threats or other failed efforts can also weaken the credibility of the U.S. and the international community, possibly encouraging—rather than discouraging—future perpetrators.
- **Unintended Escalation**. USG actions may ignite a volatile situation. Perpetrators may accelerate their conduct of atrocities because they may perceive that a window of opportunity is closing. USG involvement may inspire Host Nation opposition

groups to increase 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**. Military "kinetic" actions 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. Non-military means such as economic sanctions could result in societal hardships that may be perceived as being equal to or worse than those imposed by the perpetrators. Other measures may also result in undesired second-order effects.
- **Anti-Americanism or Anti-Coalition Sentiment**. Any increased U.S. pressure may generate resentment in the region or elsewhere. Some will automatically be suspicious of U.S. motives, and USG action may distract attention from the GMA situation, or provide an excuse for inaction by other international partners.
- **Quagmire**. MAPRO efforts could result in an extended commitment due to mission-creep, the need to address root causes, the desire to build the capacity in a fragile state, and a variety of challenges and second-order effects that could develop. Some situations may be so intractable that they may not be resolved under the best of circumstances, and certainly not if the U.S. and its partners attempt a limited effort.
- **Losses**. Military action 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. Non-military resources in the country, such as embassy personnel and private citizens, could also be placed in jeopardy.

- **Increased Resistance because of Pride or Nationalism**. USG action may galvanize anti-intervener opposition in Country X, resulting in the Host Nation government becoming more intransigent or motivating other neutral actors to side against foreign interference.

- **Coalition Fissures**. The U.S. may disagree with partners regarding goals, methods, burden-sharing, mandate interpretation, or other issues. Some nations may contend that efforts should be limited to humanitarian assistance or peacekeeping duties that consist of monitoring events in a relatively secure environment. Others may be influenced by their domestic populations who are skeptical about the effort, particularly if there are setbacks.

- **Politicization of Humanitarian Assistance**. If perpetrators perceive that humanitarian assistance efforts are an arm of USG military/diplomatic intervention, the result could be imposition of restrictions on humanitarian relief to victims and/or endangered populations, as well as the targeting of aid providers. This would lead to potential reduction in humanitarian access. Concerns about such risk could dissuade NGOs from cooperating with the USG.

- **Negative Second-Order Effects**. A failed or overly costly effort could cause reluctance to intervene in mass atrocity situations in the future. Failure could also encourage future perpetrators and acts of violence by reducing the likelihood of intervention and accountability. Actions could also inflame regional

tensions or adversely affect U.S. relations with other geo-strategic actors.

- **Risks of Inaction**. Additionally, the IPT should identify the problems associated with not taking action. These may include the possibility that the situation could deteriorate even further and require a more robust effort in the future.

Diplomatic, Informational, Military, and Economic (DIME) Tools

The USG has a versatile and effective "policy toolkit" that includes Diplomatic, Informational, Military, and Economic (DIME) actions. Normally, all four elements of power are used in conjunction with each other to achieve national objectives and interests. Their suitability in a specific situation depends upon the resources the U.S. is willing to commit, the risk involved, or the degree of intrusion on Country X's sovereignty that is deemed acceptable. Decision-makers can be presented with various packages of these tools as options in order to influence a GMA situation. It is important to note that DIME tools may be used to encourage positive actions as well as to preclude negative ones. They are not directed exclusively towards perpetrators, as it is also essential to influence other actors including those who directly and indirectly provide support to perpetrators. Additionally, DIME measures are used to mobilize positive actors for more effective prevention and response.

There is no requirement for graduated actions, and policymakers are not obliged to exhaust low-level measures before attempting stronger ones. Effective use of all tools provides a greater impact than employing measures in isolation; *i.e.*, military measures can reinforce diplomacy,

and informational efforts can magnify the impact of other tools. Using DIME instruments of national power can have several purposes, including:

- Mitigating conditions that could make mass atrocities more likely.

- Exposing perpetrators and their enablers to international scrutiny.

- Establishing the credibility and capability of the USG or the international community.

- Protecting potential victims.

- Dissuading, stopping, isolating, or punishing perpetrators or their enablers.

- Diminishing perpetrator motivation or capability to conduct mass atrocities.

- Building and demonstrating international resolve.

- Convincing bystanders and negative actors to not support perpetrators and take constructive action to mitigate mass atrocities.

The tools discussed below include incentives for desired behavior (carrots) as well as disincentives (sticks) for unacceptable behavior. In most situations a combination of incentives and disincentives are appropriate and should be applied against or in support of perpetrators, victims, interveners, or other actors. However, the inventory of "carrots" will likely be more suitable during preventive stages and less effective after a crisis has erupted. The suitability of the tools will be shaped by several situational variables including:

- Role of the Host Nation Government—partner or adversary?

- U.S. Interests, Will, Access, and Leverage—high or low?

- International Support for MAPRO Efforts—high or low?

- Volatility of the Situation—latent or urgent?

In the following sections, DIME Tools are grouped according to whether they are most suitable for the suasion, compellence, or intervention policy approaches. However, since these approaches are broad in nature with no clear distinction between them, the following discussion need not be interpreted as a fixed categorization, and in some cases the grouping is admittedly subjective. In general, suasion tools require fewer resources, entail less risk, and are not as intrusive on Host Nation sovereignty as are the compellence or intervention tools. Additionally, many suasion tools are still applicable when a stronger approach is pursued. While it is understandable that these tools will often be viewed at the national and international levels, it is also important to consider their applicability at local levels as well. These tools are identified in Figure 14.

	DIPLOMATIC	INFORMATIONAL	MILITARY	ECONOMIC

SUASION	•Pressure/Inducements/Contacts
	•Informal Negotiations
	•Fact Finding Missions
	•Coalition/Consensus Building
	•Coordination with IGOs/NGOs
	•USG Planning
	•Embassy Augmentation
	•Speeches by Senior Leaders
	•Formal Negotiations
	•USG Meet with Victim Groups
	•National Leader Engagement
	•Mediation
	•Use of Intermediaries
	•Summits
	•Coalition Building
	•UNSC / UNGA Resolutions
		•Policy Statements
		•Strategic Comm Plan/Program
		•Media Relations
		•Conflict Assessment
		•Information Sharing
		•Enhanced Media Activities
		•Influence Local Civil Society
		•Congressional Testimony
		•"MAPRO Orchestra"
		•Arts Promotion
			•Theater Security Cooperation
			•Security Assistance to Partners
			•Exercises
			•Port Visits
			•Other Military Support to:
			  • Deter Perpetrators
			  • Support Diplomacy with
			  Credible Threats
			  • Prepare for Future Ops
				•Foreign Aid
				•Debt Relief
				•Other Economic Support to incentivize perpetrators and their enablers

COMPELLENCE	•Travel Bans on Perpetrators •Travel Advisories •State Sponsors of Terrorism List •Reduce Embassy/Consulates •Criminal Investigations •International Law Enforcement •Extradition/Legal Actions •Amnesty/Immunity •Diplomatic Activity Restriction •Restrict Culture/Sport Events •Isolation •Recognize Opposition Groups •Ambassador Recall •Support to Exiles •Break Diplomatic Relations •Noncombatant Evac Ops (NEO) •Sanctions/Actions on Enablers •Ultimatums	•Human Rights Monitoring •Atrocity Reporting System •Increased Intelligence Gathering •HUMINT Networks •Intelligence Sharing •Counter Hate Media	•Access/Basing Arrangements •Expanded Military Presence •Port Visits •Headquarters Activation •Increased Alert Status •Deployment Preparations •Headquarters Deployment •Expanded ISR •MISO •Shows of Force •Blockade or Quarantine	•Technology Controls •Exchange Rate Adjustment •IMF/World Bank Advocacy •Trade Policy Alteration •Freeze/Seize Assets •Foreign Direct Investment •Embargoes •International Sanctions

INTERVENTION	•Treaty Compliance
	•Stationing/Overflight Rights
	•Other Diplomatic Support:
	  •Mandates
	  •Legitimacy
	  •Int'l Support
	  •End Conflict
	  •Post-Conflict Preparations
		•Electronic Countermeasures
		  •Jamming/disrupting
		  •Cyber
		•Military Info Spt Ops (MISO)
		•Release Intelligence
		•Truth and Reconciliation Commissions
		•Other Information Support to:
		  •Build/Maintain Int'l Support
		  •Divide Perpetrators
		  •Encourage Positive Actors
		  •Support Operations
		  •Capitalize on Success
		  •Mitigate Setbacks
		  •Manage Expectations
		  •Set Post-Conflict Conditions
			•Expanded MISO
			•Electronic Warfare
			•Noncombatant Evac Ops (NEO)
			•Humanitarian Assistance
			•Log Support for 3rd Parties
			•Train/Equip 3rd Parties
			•Mine Clearance
			•No-Fly Zones
			•Combat Camera
			•Limited Temporary Intervention
			•SOF Operations
			•Strikes or Raids
			•Peace Operations
			•Full Intervention (MARO)
				•Humanitarian Assistance
				•Other Economic Support to:
				  •Support Victim Groups
				  •Support Partners
				  •Support Regional Countries
				  •Post-conflict R&S Efforts

Figure 14: DIME Toolbox[26]

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[26] Figure 14 should not be viewed as a complete, exhaustive list of all DIME tools. Rather, it is offered as a partial inventory to be expanded upon by USG agencies. Not every tool is applicable to every GMA situation. Additionally, Embassies/Country Teams can supplement Figure 14 with tools that are unique to their countries and regions. As a reminder, every tool has a potential impact on strategic communication and should be integrated accordingly.

Diplomatic Measures

Diplomatic measures can include a combination of inducements and threats and are among the most important efforts when the goal is to prevent a GMA situation. Other DIME measures are usually considered with regard to how well they will support diplomatic efforts. "Legal" measures are also included within this category. Diplomacy is aimed at encouraging constructive action by all parties, gaining support for U.S. efforts, and dissuading perpetrators and negative actors from undesired behavior. Diplomatic efforts may proceed at different levels, including diplomacy with Country X; diplomacy with bystanders and negative actors; regional diplomacy; diplomacy with international organizations; and diplomacy with other countries including potential coalition members and key nations that are global powers or that have strong interests in the region. In some cases, diplomacy with these other actors may be more important and time-consuming than any efforts with the perpetrators.

Diplomatic Suasion Tools

- **Diplomatic Pressure**. The USG can express concern about a GMA situation or condemn actions that contribute to it. In some situations public pronouncements can be effective, including "naming and shaming" perpetrators and complicit supporters. In other situations it may be productive to attempt low-key diplomacy that does not publically put Country X's leaders on the defensive, particularly if the U.S. is attempting to maintain a role of a neutral and impartial mediator.
- **Diplomatic Inducements**. The USG may be able to provide "carrots" for responsible behavior. These

may include praise, diplomatic recognition, membership in international organizations that Country X aspires to join, or a pledge to provide economic or other incentives.

- **Contacts**. USG representatives can adopt a "MAPRO lens" in their routine bilateral and multilateral meetings related to Country X. Such meetings on a range of topics are already scheduled in abundance each week and can be used to signal early USG concern to other states and regional actors. This is a way to begin early diplomatic outreach and to gauge the interest level and intentions of other countries and other diplomatic actors. USG representatives should include mass atrocity prevention as a discussion point when they meet with Host Nation personnel or other relevant actors. In some situations it may be more productive to address topics such as "managing diversity" rather than "genocide prevention," as the latter may be too inflammatory.
- **Informal Negotiations**. Diplomats can facilitate or be involved in talks among different groups in conflict situations. Informal sessions that do not have a lot of scrutiny may be useful to scope out a potential framework that can be achieved with more formal or higher level proceedings.
- **Fact Finding Missions**. The USG, potentially in cooperation with other countries or organizations such as the UN, can conduct a deliberate and publicized effort to understand and highlight the situation in Country X. Such efforts may include the extended stationing of observers as well as interviews with refugees in other countries.
- **Consensus Building**. USG representatives can begin coordinating with other nations and international organizations to ensure there is shared awareness

of the potential for mass atrocities in Country X and potentially get agreement on actions that should be taken. Such actions may address negative actors or third-party enablers as well as perpetrators in Country X.

- **Coordination with IGOs and NGOs**. IGOs and NGOs may already be operating in Country X and can be a good source of information. However, these organizations may be reluctant to cooperate too overtly with the USG, as it could jeopardize their neutrality. It may be effective to coordinate with IGO and NGO home offices, in addition to or instead of with their field representatives. Coordination with UN agencies, missions, and panels of experts in the UN Country Team as well as the UN headquarters can be especially useful. Regional and sub-regional organizations are likely to be critical, as they will probably have a direct interest in the situation and can be key influences on the UN (particularly the permanent five members of the Security Council).
- **USG Planning**. USG agencies could begin conducting contingency planning related to MAPRO in Country X. This would include greater monitoring and more frequent situational updates as well as greater attention by senior policy makers.
- **Embassy Augmentation**. The U.S. Embassy in Country X could be augmented by additional personnel to support Chief of Mission (COM) planning, monitoring of the situation in Country X, and other activities. CSO can deploy an Advance Civilian Team (ACT) of interagency specialists that would be absorbed within the Embassy staff and provide increased capacity to manage GMA situations.
- **Speeches by Senior Leaders**. Senior policymakers, including the President, can highlight Country

X's situation in speeches and interviews. They can identify concerns, propose solutions, stress that the USG is considering various prevention or response options, and note that perpetrators of mass atrocities are subject to prosecution.

- **Formal Negotiations**. The USG can facilitate or support negotiations between the conflicting parties, if there appears to be sufficient willingness. Negotiations could result in an agreement that may require extended U.S. or international commitment such as a peacekeeping mission.
- **USG Meetings with Victim Groups**. This can be a way to highlight GMA issues, amplify victims' voices, and learn more about their needs. Not meeting with victim groups could also send an unintended message. Victims may be represented by diaspora groups in the United States.
- **National Leader Engagement**. National leaders, such as the President or Secretary of State, could confer with relevant actors to forge a unified international MAPRO effort. This may include attempts to dissuade other governments whose actions support perpetrators.
- **Mediation**. The USG could become involved in efforts to establish dialogue and achieve peaceful agreements between conflicting parties, more as a broker than as a party to the negotiation. USG contributions could include negotiation support and technical assistance as well as any inducements or threats of punishment that might encourage the parties to negotiate in good faith.
- **Use of Intermediaries**. Intermediaries may be effective at negotiating a solution to an emerging crisis, particularly if perpetrators or their enablers are antagonistic towards the United States. Poten-

tial candidates could include respected elders such as retired national or international leaders from the UN, regional organizations, or countries with which the perpetrators or enablers have close ties. The USG can encourage or facilitate such efforts, including logistical support such as transportation, security, or funding.

- **Summits**. The President could meet with other national leaders about the situation in Country X. Potentially, these sessions could be accomplished by video-teleconferences, particularly during a crisis. These meetings could also occur on the sidelines of previously scheduled conferences such as the G-8.

- **Coalition Building**. The USG will normally want to assemble a large supporting coalition to prevent and respond to mass atrocities. This will potentially include U.S. allies, regional countries, and regional organizations as well as the UN. In some situations it may be advisable for another country to assume the leadership for such a coalition while the U.S. provides enabling support in the background. In other cases, the USG may need to take a leading role.

- **UNSC and UNGA Resolutions.** The U.S. Permanent Representative to the UN can advocate for activity within the United Nations regarding the situation in Country X. Within the General Assembly, it might be possible to adopt a non-binding resolution. Such resolutions typically highlight dire human rights conditions in a particular country and refer to reports and resolutions of other UN bodies, such as the Human Rights Council. Within the Security Council, this activity can include briefings and consultations, and may result in any of several options including a consensus Press Statement, a

statement by the President of the Security Council (which also requires consensus) and/or a series of progressively stronger and legally binding resolutions, including Chapter VII authorization of sanctions and possibly military intervention as deemed necessary to prevent or respond to mass atrocities. In either case, the U.S. mission to the UN can take a leading role in the formulation of such resolutions and in building the necessary support. Active diplomacy with regional and sub-regional organizations is increasingly necessary to generate concurrence among the international community, and particularly among UN Security Council members. UNSC resolutions could result in condemnations, criminal investigations, sanctions, the deployment of a UN Peacekeeping force, or authorization for the international community to use military force.

Diplomatic Compellence Tools

- **Travel Bans on Perpetrators**. Identified perpetrators and their family members can be banned from travelling to the U.S. and, with international cooperation, other nations. These restrictions limit the ability of perpetrators and their supporters to raise funds and other support for their activities. Likewise, travel bans significantly restrict their ability to maintain international ties, which is especially crucial as external pressures mount.
- **Travel Advisories**. While primarily a resource to advise American citizens of potential danger, many countries view the publication of a travel advisory as potentially adverse effect to their economies and other activities.

- **List of State Sponsors of Terrorism**. If Country X is on the Department of State's list of State Sponsors of Terrorism, removal from the list may be an incentive for Country X to refrain from unacceptable behavior. Conversely, countries that engage in mass atrocities or provide support to perpetrators potentially could be added to the list, if they conduct actions that could be construed as sponsoring terrorism. This would directly impact any USG assistance.
- **Embassy and Consular Reduction**. The USG can reduce its presence in Country X in response to the deteriorating situation. This reduction may include nonessential personnel and family members. While it may reduce the COM's capacity, it sends a message and would facilitate any subsequent non-combatant evacuation.
- **Criminal Investigations**. The USG can support international efforts to investigate perpetrators accused of mass atrocities or other crimes against humanity. U.S. agencies could also assist Country X authorities with the investigation of mass atrocities. The Department of Justice and FBI have considerable resources to assist with investigations, including the forensic examination of atrocity crimes scenes. In cases where perpetrators or victims are U.S. citizens, the FBI can begin investigations. With adequate provisions and permissions, investigations can also incorporate intelligence such as satellite imagery.
- **International Law Enforcement**. Country X perpetrators who have violated international laws can be identified and apprehended if they are in the U.S. or other countries that are willing to conduct enforcement measures. Evidence obtained from U.S.

intelligence sources may be used to support prosecution efforts if an adequate chain of custody is maintained and if security threats are mitigated. If it is possible that the USG will support international criminal prosecution, the intelligence community should be involved in such discussions early so it can develop the necessary procedures to ensure that information is admissible as evidence in any potential criminal trial.

- **Extradition and Legal Actions**. Accused perpetrators, whether in the U.S. or other countries, can be extradited to countries in which criminal courts are being conducted. In some cases, trials will be conducted in the country of interest, while in other situations international tribunals will convene in other nations. The latter option, however, may complicate witness participation and availability. Trials may be effective for long-term reconciliation and also may deter other would-be perpetrators. Witness protection programs may be required in many situations. The USG can support international efforts to investigate and indict perpetrators. This may isolate and deter perpetrators in Country X and elsewhere; however, it may motivate perpetrators to adopt hard-line positions that impair peaceful solutions.

- **Amnesty and Immunity**. These can be offered to perpetrators as part of negotiations to end a conflict or as a way to secure their testimony against other more important perpetrators. While these measures may provide some short-term advantages, they may be detrimental to longer-term efforts to seek justice and reconciliation, and may be a bad precedent for would-be perpetrators elsewhere.

- **Diplomatic Activity Restriction**. USG representatives in Country X can limit their activities in a manner that undermines the legitimacy of potential perpetrators. Additionally, Country X's diplomats in the U.S. can be restricted in their activities.
- **Restriction of Cultural and Sporting Events**. Country X, or its supporters, could be expelled from cultural or sporting events, or the USG and like-minded nations could boycott any such events held in these countries.
- **Isolation of Country X**. Many countries will be reluctant to join a coalition for a variety of reasons. At a minimum, they might be dissuaded from providing material or political support to perpetrators in Country X. In effect, these actors would be persuaded to shift from the "negative actor" category to the "positive actor" or "bystander" categories. Outside actors may be more susceptible to diplomatic pressure than perpetrators in Country X because the issues at stake are probably less existential for them. Consequently, they may be more easily persuaded that the benefits of providing support to perpetrators are far outweighed by the costs.[27]
- **Diplomatic Recognition of Opposition Groups**. If the government in Country X is perpetrating mass atrocities and there are reasonable grounds to question the government's legitimacy, the international community might encourage the development of opposition groups, begin meeting with opposition members, and encourage efforts towards a democratic transition of power.
- **Ambassador Recall**. This step could be a temporary or indefinite action that sends a strong diplomatic message to the Host Nation. The Ambassador's re-

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[27] Human Rights First, 3.

turn to the Embassy can be a subsequent reward for improved Host Nation behavior. A further step would be the withdrawal of the U.S. mission and closing the embassy.

- **Support to Exiles**. The USG can support members of vulnerable populations who have left the Host Nation, including providing asylum in the U.S. or other international partners. Additionally, these populations provide a voice to speak out against the perpetrators.
- **Breaking Diplomatic Relations**. The USG can ultimately break off diplomatic relations with Country X. While this sends a strong message, it is only utilized as a last resort as it degrades the USG's direct influence on the Host Nation, forcing the USG to convey messages through a third party that still has relations to Country X.
- **Noncombatant Evacuation Operation (NEO)**. The USG can remove its personnel and recommend the departure of all U.S. citizens from Country X. In extreme situations, a military force can be directed to conduct the evacuation. Depending on agreements with third countries, their citizens could be evacuated as well. This measure sends a strong message and reduces the possibility of a hostage situation that might limit stronger options in the future.
- **Sanctions or Other Isolating Measures Against Enablers**. The USG can impose travel bans, advocate for UNSC resolutions, disrupt diplomatic relations, or take actions against states that supply goods (including but not limited to weapons) and services (including but not limited to financial transactions) to perpetrators. Likewise, the USG can advocate against enabling states in cases where they are in violation of existing UNSC resolutions, such as arms embargos.

- **Ultimatums**. Targeted and actionable threats may deter perpetrators from conducting mass atrocities or convince them to behave responsibly. Ultimatums should identify specific steps perpetrators or negative actors should take and possible punitive measures if the ultimatums are not followed. Ultimatums should not exceed the USG's will and capability to follow through with any threats. As can be expected, unilateral ultimatums are less likely to have significant effect in and of themselves. By encouraging regional blocs and/or traditional political and economic partners of perpetrators to speak out, the ultimatums will be compounded by isolation from the international community.

Diplomatic Intervention Tools

- **Treaty Compliance**. In some situations, MAPRO actions may be permitted in accordance with treaties or international charters to which the U.S., Country X, or other relevant countries are signatories.
- **Obtaining Stationing and Overflight Rights**. If USG resources, including military assets, are committed to a GMA situation, they will likely require regional bases and transit authorization including overflight rights and, potentially, the ability to move overland or through territorial waters. Agreements should be negotiated with the relevant countries as soon as possible. In some situations public announcement of these measures could impose added pressure on the perpetrators in Country X. In other cases these actions should not be advertised in deference to the countries providing such access.
- **Other Diplomatic Support for Intervention**. Most diplomatic tools previously discussed are applicable

for interventions. They are particularly important to secure mandates, establish legitimacy, gain and maintain international support, and end the conflict on terms favorable to the U.S. Many diplomatic efforts during the intervention phase will also have implications on the post-intervention environment, particularly as these requirements are clarified.

Informational Measures

Informational measures generally are intended to heighten awareness of the situation, gain support for U.S. policy, and convince perpetrators and their supporters that they are being watched, which may dissuade them from conducting criminal behavior for which they could be held accountable. They include measures that support strategic communication to advance USG themes and messages as well as measures, including intelligence, to improve situational understanding. Effective use of informational tools enhances the impact of other DIME tools, and successful employment of the other measures can often provide informational benefits as well.

As discussed earlier, strategic communication includes integrated efforts that account for audiences, messages, and means of delivery. Delivery means 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 these efforts, as well. In the same way that messages must be tailored to the audiences, the delivery

means must likewise be suitable to the environment in order to be effective.

Intelligence measures are primarily intended to improve policymakers' understanding about a potential GMA situation so they are able to make appropriate decisions. Intelligence can be gathered from USG assets, but should also include information from non-USG sources such as studies by human rights NGOs. Some intelligence can be selectively converted to material that supports strategic communication, diplomatic efforts with other actors, or subsequent legal action against perpetrators. Collection of relevant information is only part of the challenge; analyzing and dissemination to necessary recipients can be more difficult.

Informational Suasion Tools

- **Policy Statements**. Written and oral policy statements from senior USG leaders should convey U.S. interests and concerns, expectations regarding actions of perpetrators and their supporters, and likely consequences of continuing threatening behaviors. Policy statements are constructed to address a variety of audiences; however, care must be taken to ensure a consistent overarching message.
- **Strategic Communication Plan and Program**. A MAPRO effort may require a dedicated strategic communication effort, including trained Public Affairs personnel who have the experience and media contacts to promulgate desired messages effectively. Strategic communication is apt to be so critical to MAPRO that it should not be addressed as an afterthought or assigned as an additional duty to those with other responsibilities.

- **Media Relations**. Press conferences and news releases provide opportunities to convey USG concerns about a potential GMA situation. Statements should highlight worrisome actions in Country X and note those actions of countries that continue to support the perpetrators or obstruct action by the international community. Press statements should also highlight condemnatory statements by key allies, regional countries, UN officials and prominent rights groups. Likewise, statements should note any unilateral sanctions imposed on Country X.
- **Conflict Assessment**. USG organizations can increase their attention devoted to Country X, gather information, and an IPT can systematically develop a Conflict Assessment to support the "Situation Analysis and Assessment" stage of policy and planning development.
- **Information Sharing**. USG agencies can coordinate and share information with other organizations to gain a common and improved understanding of the situation in Country X. Potential entities to contact include the UN OSAPG/R2P, the Human Rights Council, other countries, NGOs, and multilateral regional organizations such as NATO, the European Union, the Arab League, and the African Union. Conferences and workshops that highlight matters of concern and provide the opportunity to network with a wide community of interest are examples of information sharing.
- **Enhanced Media Activities**. Such activities include speeches, print and internet forums (interviews, blogs, tweets, Facebook, specially created websites), op-eds and articles; and radio/television appearances by USG leaders and representatives. Media availabilities should include U.S. and interna-

tional news outlets, as well as Voice of America and the *Stars and Stripes* newspaper.

- **Influence Local Civil Society**. Civil society is increasingly reachable and influential, particularly with the expansion of social media. USG agencies and appropriate partners should use social media to gain support for mass atrocity prevention and undermine support for perpetrators. These measures may subject perpetrators to public shame or amplify recognizable or influential and recognizable individuals who can help curb violence and sway would-be followers of perpetrators. Measures may also include efforts to influence the broader society and connect with professionals such as lawyers, doctors, academics, and political and military leaders.

- **Congressional Testimony**. Appearances before Congressional committees provide good opportunities for USG representatives to identify MAPRO-related problems and solutions, clarify USG policy, and solicit the requisite resources and political support.

- **MAPRO Orchestra**. The USG can attempt to assemble (or support the formation of) an array of actors that express the same desired messages regarding a situation. This could include prominent individuals both inside and outside of Country X, such as statesmen, elders, celebrities, athletes, academics, and regional leaders who agree to express views that support the desired messages effectively.

- **Arts Promotion**. Music, art, films, and theater can be powerful means to convey stories and images. Among other themes, they can emphasize the humanity of victims, the cruelty of perpetrators, and the apathy of bystanders. They can call attention to

GMA situations in ways that may resonate strongly with different audiences. The USG and other actors can promote these endeavors with funding and other assistance, which can in turn support mass atrocity prevention and reconciliation.

Informational Compellence Tools

- **Human Rights Monitoring**. The USG can monitor and report on the human rights situation in Country X, which supports transparency and capitalizes on the "power of witness." Results of these efforts can also inform other U.S. actions. Other actors, such as the UN and human rights NGOs may also be conducting such monitoring and reporting, and these efforts can help generate international consensus. In addition to scrutinizing the actions of perpetrators, monitoring can illuminate the role of negative actors who give them the necessary support.
- **Atrocity Reporting System**. A reporting system can be developed to gauge the scope of mass atrocity situations, expose them to public scrutiny, and support subsequent justice efforts. An atrocity reporting system (for example, the Department of State's Darfur Atrocities Documentation Project) should include the personnel and other resources required to conduct structured interviews of displaced persons and survivors of atrocities.
- **Increased Intelligence Gathering**. Coverage by intelligence assets can be shifted to Country X to obtain imagery and electronic intelligence. In addition to platforms such as satellites, this will require increased analytical capability and linguists. Additional resources may be required to analyze open source media adequately.

- **Human Intelligence (HUMINT) Networks**. USG intelligence agencies can expand their pools of human sources, with particular emphasis on developing high-ranking sources. This may be facilitated by persuading potential sources that they will eventually be held accountable if they do not support efforts to prevent or end mass atrocities.
- **Intelligence Sharing**. Intelligence gathered by USG organizations can be shared internally with other interagency partners, as well as with other actors. Procedures for controlling the release of information must be developed and managed, with particular emphasis on protecting sources and methods.
- **Counter Hate Media**. The USG can work with international partners, including the United Nations, and without prejudice to freedom of expression, to counter and/or halt the broadcast or publication of material that incites acts of hatred or violence. This includes holding broadcasters criminally liable for such incitement.

Informational Intervention Tools

- **Electronic Countermeasures**. With sufficient resources and justification, USG agencies can jam or otherwise disrupt communications such as radio and television broadcasts, cell phone service, and cyber systems.
- **Military Information Support Operations (MISO)**.[28] MISO units and other USG organizations can conduct activities (overt and covert) to influence or deceive perpetrators or influence population groups in Country X. These measures include broadcasts, deceptive communications, and leaflets. They could

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[28] Formerly referred to as Psychological Operations (PSYOP).

be intended to exploit divisions within the perpetra-
tors' leadership ranks, reveal their activities related
to mass atrocities or other crimes, and convince the
population not to support the perpetrators.

- **Release of Intelligence**. Intelligence regarding
MAPRO can be selectively released to the media
or used to support diplomatic contacts with other
countries and international organizations.

- **Truth and Reconciliation Commissions**. These in-
vestigative bodies can be useful measures to ac-
count for past grievances and to help all groups
understand history. They are best conducted with
the involvement of all parties, and it may be con-
structive to have an external organization such as
an NGO or IGO assist in their conduct. If improperly
handled, such efforts can exacerbate conflict.[29]

- **Other Informational Support for Intervention**. In-
formational measures described earlier frequently
are applicable during an intervention, to build and
maintain international support, create divisions in
the ranks of perpetrators, convince relevant actors
to act positively, support operations (especially
information management), capitalize on success,
mitigate any setbacks, manage expectations, and
set conditions for the post-conflict environment.

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[29] I. William Zartman, *Preventing Identity Conflicts Leading to Geno-
cide and Mass Killings* (New York: The United Nations, November 2010),
23.

Military Measures[30]

Military forces can be used to support diplomatic MAPRO efforts or as the leading component in a coercive intervention. Military planners use the term Flexible Deterrent Options (FDOs) to include any DIME measure that can be employed prior to an intervention, although their emphasis will be on military activities. As with other DIME measures, packages of selected military FDOs can be created as options, and they do not necessarily need to be pursued in a graduated progression.

Military Suasion Tools

- **Theater Security Cooperation (TSC)**. Most commanders now view shaping and security cooperation as integral parts of campaign planning, to instill values associated with respect for human rights and the rule of law; develop responsive and professional military and security institutions; mitigate drivers of conflict; and build the capacity of partners that can mitigate GMA. TSC is accomplished through a variety of activities and programs: Combined/Multinational Education, Exercises, Training, and Experimentation; Counternarcotics Assistance; Counter/non-Proliferation; Defense and Military Contacts; Defense Support to Public Diplomacy; Humanitarian Assistance; Information Sharing/Intelligence Cooperation; International Armaments Coopera-

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[30] This section is adopted from the *MARO Handbook*, pages 65-87 and 120-127. The U.S. military can employ non-lethal and lethal measures across the range of military operations. This section is not intended to comprise a complete list of all military tools and capabilities, but to suggest representative military tools that support USG suasion, compellence, and intervention. In some situations, "military compellence" could be interpreted as "saber-rattling."

tion; Security Assistance (including Foreign Military Financing (FMF), Foreign Military Sales (FMS), Peace Operations Funding, International Military Education and Training (IMET), and Excess Defense Articles); Partnership for Peace (PfP); Counterterrorism Fellowship Program (CTFP); and others. Initiation, continuation, expansion, or termination of such programs may serve as incentives (positive and negative) for Country X to act responsibly. The U.S. could offer training for Country X forces or military-to-military contacts to improve their professionalism. This may make Host Nation security 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 TSC 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 a GMA situation to fester.

- **Security Assistance to Partners**. 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's Standby Forces. This assistance could signal that the U.S. is willing to take steps regarding the situation, establish a U.S. presence in the region that could later be expanded to support future MAPRO 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 MAPRO deployment.

- **Exercises**. Previously scheduled exercises can be reframed with a MAPRO context to provide relevance to the situation in Country X. New exercises specifically aimed at a potential threat can also be conducted. While obviously better if these exercises included units that would actually participate in any subsequent operation, a strategic communication benefit can still be obtained if other units are involved.

- **Other Military Support for Suasion**. The credible possibility of U.S. military action may help deter perpetrators from taking undesired actions. Policymakers can reference the possibility of employing many of the military tools discussed below, and preparatory steps can make their likelihood more credible, thus supporting diplomatic suasion efforts. In some cases, personal contacts with Country X's military leaders may help in a GMA situation.

Military Compellence Tools

- **Access and Basing Arrangements**. If the current U.S. military presence in the region is minimal, the U.S. may need to negotiate the required regional basing and access arrangements in neighboring countries. Negotiations should begin as early as possible, preferably as part of regional contingency planning. Equipment and supplies can be prepositioned, logistical systems can be established, and operational units can begin to deploy to the region. Airfields could be expanded to ensure they

can handle military transport planes. Sea-basing can augment land bases or provide a limited early basing capability if regional land bases are not possible. This will improve the CJTF's capability for subsequent operations, expand the ability to maintain situational awareness, and potentially have an enhanced deterrent effect on perpetrators.

- **Expanded Military Presence**. Current military presence in the region can be reinforced with additional U.S. or coalition forces. 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 Marine Expeditionary Unit (MEU) provides some land capability, as would the addition of an Army unit to a regional base. 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 measure would familiarize forces with the area of operation, permit additional intelligence gathering, and potentially have a strengthened deterrent effect on perpetrators.

- **Port Visits**. 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 U.S. or international diplomats. Such meetings may help defuse the situation, while conveying an implied deterrent message to potential perpetrators.

- **Headquarters Activation**. The controlling head-quarters, such as a Combined Joint Task Force (CJTF), and those of the subordinate components may be activated or formally assigned a mission related to the GMA situation. This need not require any actual movement, but would probably require involved commands to realign their current priorities and devote greater time and resources to the operation's planning and preparation. This measure would be a necessary early step for any MAPRO intervention and if made public would send a strong message to perpetrators.
- **Increased Alert Status**. 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 unit 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 expending a relatively low level of resources.
- **Deployment Preparations**. Units can begin deployment preparations to be ready for rapid response. Area and cultural training for deploying units should be considered if time permits. Again, media coverage of these activities can help signal U.S. 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 may consist of native speakers from diasporas and local citizens once the force is estab-

lished in Country X. Interpreter recruiting efforts can redress a critical future requirement while providing additional benefit regarding strategic communication.

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

- **Expanded ISR**. Intelligence, Surveillance, and Reconnaissance (ISR) activity focused on Country X can be increased, and additional resources added to the regional capability. These can include additional Joint Surveillance Target Attack Radar Systems (JSTARS), unmanned aerial systems (UASs), 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 later.

- **Military Information Support Operations (MISO)**. MISO can begin with measures such as leaflet drops, jamming, radio or television broadcasts into Country X, and covert efforts to affect the perceptions

and actions of regime members, security forces, and the population. These efforts could dissuade mass atrocities, foment mutual distrust within the perpetrators' ranks, weaken their morale, and reduce popular support for the regime and actions related to mass atrocities. All potential perpetrators can be 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.

- **Shows of Force**. Shows of force can be conducted to provide visible, but restrained, displays of military power that convey the message that the CJTF 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 close to or 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 without an air defense threat, low altitude aircraft runs can intimidate potential perpetrators. While an aggressive posture may produce a sobering effect on would-be perpetrators, it 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 the CJTF's intended future operations.

- **Maritime, Air, or Land Blockade/Quarantine**. A blockade (which is considered an act of war) 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 carriers as a form of harassment. This measure could be implemented in conjunction with economic sanctions. It would possibly strain relations with countries who are engaged in trade with Country X or who own the transportation assets.

Military Intervention Tools

- **Expanded MISO.** MISO can be targeted to foment mutual distrust within the perpetrators' ranks, weaken their morale, and reduce popular support for the regime and actions related to mass atrocities.
- **Electronic Warfare**. Electronic warfare can be conducted over telecommunications networks to disrupt communications, gain intelligence, or to conduct MISO. Perpetrator communications can be disrupted to cause confusion; alternatively, perpetrators may refrain from conducting atrocities if they are unable to communicate secretively.
- **Persistent ISR**. In order to gather more evidence of mass atrocities and assist in developing targets for a potential intervention, additional ISR assets could be committed to provide around-the-clock coverage of refugee/victim areas or the activities of armed forces in the Host Nation. This option requires substantial redistribution of high-demand, low-density ISR assets such as UASs. A careful risk analysis must be conducted to determine what missions or Combatant Command requests will not be supported, or what assets must be repositioned from other Combatant Commands, to maintain the required persistent ISR coverage.

- **NEO**. Non-combatant Evacuation Operations (NEO) may be conducted to assist the Department of State. Emphasis will be placed on evacuating U.S. civilians, those from coalition countries, NGOs, or some of Country X's potential victims. This measure may be adopted to remove these civilians from potential danger, clear the way for subsequent operations by removing potential hostages, or prevent Country X from retaliating against them once higher intensity operations commence.

- **Humanitarian Assistance**. Military forces may conduct short-duration humanitarian assistance missions within Country X, or provide transportation and distribution support for other organizations engaged in this activity. This may provide critically-needed support and may also provide a strategic communication benefit. As with other options, the need for operations security may be balanced against the possibility of announcing the mission in advance. Any military involvement with humanitarian assistance should be done in close consultation and coordination with USG humanitarian assistance agencies and in accordance with the Oslo Guidelines on use of military assets in humanitarian activities. If air superiority is ensured, air drops or air-landing of humanitarian supplies can be conducted for needy civilians. This may, however, cause a chaotic situation if insufficient supplies are provided and should be a measure of last resort conducted in close coordination with USG humanitarian agencies.

- **Logistical Support for Third-Party Forces**. U.S. military forces can enable direct action of friendly security forces through delivery of supplies and services, or with transportation and other support to deploying units from international partners.

- **Training and Equipping of Third-Party Forces**. U.S. forces can enable other actors to conduct operations or participate in peacekeeping/stability or direct action operations. This could include support to the United Nations or regional and sub-regional organizations. In contrast to the generalized training provided as part of security assistance, this effort would focus on preparing a force to conduct a specific GMA-related mission.
- **Mine Clearance**. The CJTF 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 CJTF is taking such active measures to prepare for an intervention may dissuade perpetrators from committing mass atrocities.
- **No-Fly Zones**. No-Fly Zones exploit the CJTF's aerial advantages and can be effective in setting appropriate conditions for subsequent CJTF operations, particularly if it appears likely that Country X may use fixed or rotary-wing assets against vulnerable civilian populations. A prerequisite for a No-Fly Zone is neutralizing Country X's ground-based air defenses. No-Fly Zones should allow for the potential need to accommodate air deliveries of international humanitarian assistance to civilian populations.
- **Combat Camera.** Military camera teams can document atrocities as well as prevention and response efforts. These teams can operate in a variety of risk environments and their recordings can be used to support strategic communication, rebut deniers, and provide evidence.

- **Protection-Focused Limited Temporary Intervention**. The CJTF 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 CJTF commitment. Such actions might be announced in advance along with clear threats to perpetrators not to interfere.
- **SOF Operations**. SOF may be inserted into Country X to conduct Unconventional Warfare or other operations. SOF forces are quickly deployable, flexible, easily acclimated to other environments, and occupy a small footprint while requiring minimal logistical support. SOF operations can organize resistance forces to undermine a complicit government, give potential victims the means to defend themselves, or 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, direct air strikes, or to enable future operations by other forces. These operations can undermine perpetrator perceptions that atrocity actions can be kept under concealment. SOF can also be used for non-lethal actions including the relief of human suffering. For example, during Operation Provide Comfort, SOF personnel went to Kurdish IDP camps to conduct advance preparations for the delivery of humanitarian assistance.
- **Strikes or Raids**. 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 land missile systems or artillery in adjacent countries if they are within range. With sufficient

targeting data, cruise missiles provide precision and long-range standoff with limited threat to the firing platform. 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 multi-front 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 dissuade them from conducting atrocities.

- **Peace Operations**. The U.S., a coalition, or an international organization such as the UN could conduct Peace Operations (PO) which include Peacekeeping Operations (PKO), Peace Enforcement Operations (PEO), Peacemaking (PM), Peace Building (PB) or Conflict Prevention. PKOs are undertaken with the consent of all major parties to a dispute and are designed to monitor and facilitate implementation of an agreement. PEOs are designed to compel compliance with resolutions or sanctions and, within the UN, are generally understood to occur under Chapter VII of the UN Charter. Military support to PM may include military-to-military relations, security assistance, or other activities to influence the disputing parties to seek a diplomatic settlement. PB consists primarily of post-conflict diplomatic and economic measures to strengthen and rebuild infrastructure and institutions to avoid a relapse into conflict. Conflict Prevention efforts monitor and identify the causes of conflict and take timely

efforts to prevent it from occurring, escalating, or resuming. The U.S. can support peace operations even if it is not formally participating in them. It is important to ensure that peace operations address any situational mass atrocity considerations appropriately.

- **Full Intervention Mass Atrocity Response Operation (MARO)**. If a full coercive intervention is directed, a military force (most likely a CJTF) can be employed to establish wide area security, protect vulnerable populations, and/or defeat or coerce perpetrators.[31] U.S. forces could support coalition partners with limited functions such as long range transportation or intelligence, or begin the effort and subsequently hand it off to others.

Economic Measures

Economic measures can provide a combination of inducements and sanctions to influence potential perpetrators, interveners, bystanders, and positive and negative actors. Economic sanctions may require extended time to take effect and if not designed carefully may ultimately have a worse impact on innocent civilians than on the country's elite or potential perpetrators. Generally, punitive economic tools will require similar measures from other countries so that perpetrators cannot circumvent their desired effects. Economic tools can be directed towards Country X, non-state actors, regional countries, or other nations that are supporting Country X.

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[31] The *MARO Handbook* is intended to assist in the planning and conduct of such operations. It identifies seven distinct approaches that can be combined into a course of action: Saturation; "Oil Spot;" Separation; Safe Areas; Partner Enabling; Containment; and Defeat Perpetrators. See pages 70-87. Also see Appendix B of J*P 3-07.3 Peace Operations*.

Economic Suasion Tools

- **Foreign Aid**. The USG can offer foreign aid as a means to encourage acceptable behavior or to address the root causes of conflict in Country X. Existing programs could be terminated as punishment for actions that suggest the likelihood of mass atrocities is increasing. Foreign aid could be provided to neighboring countries to help them address any spillover effects from Country X, or to elicit their support MAPRO efforts (*e.g.*, providing bases for U.S. military forces). Foreign aid may particularly be required during the Transition Phase after a GMA crisis.
- **Debt Relief**. If Country X's foreign debt is contributing to increased likelihood of conflict, it may be appropriate to arrange reduction, deferral, or cancellation of its debt payments. Similarly, this tool may be used for neighboring countries that are supporting MAPRO efforts. Debt forgiveness may also be appropriate during the Transition Phase after a GMA crisis, particularly if a new government is in power in Country X.
- **Other Economic Support for Suasion**. Relaxation of economic restrictions or expansion of economic benefit can be offered as an incentive for suasion efforts that attempt a "carrot and stick" approach with potential perpetrators or their supporters.

Economic Compellence Tools

- **Technology Controls**. Sales of technology that could support mass atrocities and other human rights violations to Country X can be restricted. Potential banned items include weapons, communications means, and information technology that could be

used to target victims directly or control activities related to mass atrocities. These measures will be more effective with widespread cooperation by other countries.

- **Exchange Rate Adjustment**. An exchange rate adjustment is a procedure adopted to eliminate the valuation effects arising from movements in exchange rates from data expressed in a common currency (generally the U.S. dollar). Adjusting Country X's currency downward can reduce its purchasing power, generate inflation, and result in domestic economic problems that its government will have to address. This would have a very broad effect on the entire population of Country X, which may not be intent of U.S. policy. Exchange rates can be made more favorable for Country X as a reward for positive behavior.

- **International Monetary Fund (IMF) or World Bank Program Advocacy**. With the largest voting power in both the IMF and World Bank, the U.S. can block economic assistance programs requested by governments of potential perpetrators and their enablers. This potentially provides leverage over Country X if a GMA situation is possible. Additionally, the two institutions can subsequently be sources of funds to help rebuild the country after a GMA crisis is over.

- **Trade Policy Alteration**. Trade agreements with Country X, or nations that support it, can be abrogated as punishment for allowing a GMA situation to develop. Tariffs can be imposed, and exports and/or imports restricted. Specific restrictions may be applied to natural resources that support mass atrocities (*e.g.*, "conflict diamonds"). Consideration should be given to restricting the sale of luxury

items to Country X, as these are likely to be provided to the elite who presumably are in a position to affect the GMA situation. Conversely, trade can be promoted as a reward for constructive behavior. Such incentives might include tariff reductions, direct purchases, favored status, subsidies, or import and export licenses.

- **Freezing or Seizing Monetary Assets**. The Treasury Department's Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC) administers and enforces economic and trade sanctions based on US foreign policy and national security goals against targeted foreign countries and regimes, terrorists, international narcotics traffickers, those engaged in activities related to the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and other threats to the national security, foreign policy, or economy of the United States. OFAC acts under Presidential national emergency powers, as well as authority granted by specific legislation, to impose controls on transactions and freeze assets under US jurisdiction. Many of the sanctions are based on United Nations and other international mandates, are multilateral in scope, and involve close cooperation with other governments. International accounts held by the Country X government, businesses, and individuals can be targeted to deny access by perpetrators or their families and associates. Monetary assets can be held for the duration of the crisis and subsequently released to their original owners, if their behavior warrants, or transferred to another legitimate custodian. In some cases it may be appropriate to use these assets as compensation for surviving victims.
- **Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)**. Investment by foreign corporations acts as an engine that gener-

ates economic growth and provides development, employment, and wealth. Depending upon the situation in Country X, FDI can be encouraged, discouraged, or banned. Increased FDI will likely be important during any post-conflict transition phase. Threats of divestment may also have an influence on third countries that provide support to Country X.

- **Embargoes**. The USG can implement a partial or complete ban of commerce and trade with Country X until it takes adequate measures to prevent mass atrocities. An existing embargo can likewise be removed if the situation in Country X improves sufficiently. Embargos could also be imposed against other countries that are supporting Country X despite international concern about the MAPRO situation.

- **International Sanctions**. The USG can generate support for global economic sanctions against Country X or the negative actors that support it in violation of existing Security Council Resolutions. This could be formalized by a Security Council Resolution that mandates compliance. Resolutions could incorporate most of the economic tools in this section, to include the targeting of specific individuals in Country X.

Economic Intervention Tools

- **Humanitarian Assistance**. Humanitarian assistance may be needed for vulnerable populations such as displaced civilians, including those that may have fled to neighboring countries. These countries may be more likely to cooperate in resolving a GMA situation if they do not have to bear the entire humani-

tarian burden. Humanitarian assistance to Country X before a crisis may address some of the drivers of conflict. If accompanied by an adequate monitoring effort, the USG and other actors can ensure that Humanitarian Assistance is not diverted, and monitors can also report on mass atrocity indicators in the country. Significant humanitarian assistance will probably be required during a MARO intervention and its aftermath.

- **Other Economic Support for Intervention**. Economic sanctions will likely continue during intervention, and it may be appropriate to arrange economic support for victim groups, multinational partners, or regional countries attempting to cope with refugees or other spillover effects. Arrangements may be required for post-conflict reconstruction and stabilization efforts.

IV. Conclusion

Failure to respond to mass atrocities is often attributed to lack of political will, but ineffective policy processes are also culpable. This Handbook has been developed to assist members of the interagency policy community in developing whole-of-government prevention and response options to assist senior leaders who are deliberating GMA situations. The templates in this Handbook are intended as aids in this process, and should be tailored as appropriate to fit particular circumstances. They may serve as useful points of departure for seasoned practitioners as well as relative newcomers to policymaking.

Important studies on USG GMA responses have observed that the policymaking process is skewed towards inaction.[32] This is due, in part, to government processes emphasizing the potential risks and costs of positive action. It is also due to the sheer challenge of interagency information processing and decision-making. The main goal of this Handbook is to offer a comprehensive yet reasonable process and discuss substantive MAPRO considerations to help the policy community digest information, develop options, and tee up relevant information for decision-makers. Additionally, the MAPRO Handbook seeks to reduce the risks and costs related to MAPRO, by capitalizing on a range of current, in-place engagement options that can be applied to preventing and mitigating potential threats before they escalate to actual mass atrocities.

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[32] See especially Samantha Power, *A Problem from Hell* (New York: Basic Books, 2002).

The Handbook should not be interpreted as a mandate or recommendation to intervene more frequently with military forces. Rather, its main purpose is to assist in understanding potential GMA situations and facilitate appropriate preventive measures. It is also intended to serve as a guide for determining appropriate response measures which are not limited to a coercive military intervention. This requires a rational and deliberate assessment of circumstances, interests, risks, and prospects for success. Early understanding of MAPRO situations and proactive prevention can preclude the need for costlier actions later.

ANNEXES

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ANNEX A: PRESIDENTIAL STUDY DIRECTIVE ON MASS ATROCITIES (PSD-10)

MEMORANDUM FOR
      THE VICE PRESIDENT
      THE SECRETARY OF STATE
      THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
      THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
      THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
      THE SECRETARY OF HOMELAND SECURITY
      ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND CHIEF OF STAFF
      DIRECTOR OF THE OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND
         BUDGET
      UNITED STATES TRADE REPRESENTATIVE
      REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES OF
         AMERICA TO THE UNITED NATIONS
      ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND NATIONAL
         SECURITY ADVISOR
      DIRECTOR OF NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE
      COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT
      ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR LEGISLATIVE
         AFFAIRS
      DIRECTOR OF THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
      ADMINISTRATOR OF THE UNITED STATES AGENCY
         FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
      CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF
      CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER, MILLENNIUM CHALLENGE
         CORPORATION
      DIRECTOR OF THE PEACE CORPS
      DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND
      NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR TO THE
         VICE PRESIDENT
      DIRECTOR OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY AGENCY
      DIRECTOR OF THE DEFENSE INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

SUBJECT: Creation of an Interagency Atrocities Prevention Board and Corresponding Interagency Review

Preventing mass atrocities and genocide is a core national security interest and a core moral responsibility of the United States.

Our security is affected when masses of civilians are slaughtered, refugees flow across borders, and murderers wreak havoc on regional stability and livelihoods. America's reputation suffers, and our ability to bring about change is constrained, when we are perceived as idle in the face of mass atrocities and genocide. Unfortunately, history has taught us that our pursuit of a world where states do not systematically slaughter civilians will not come to fruition without concerted and coordinated effort.

Governmental engagement on atrocities and genocide too often arrives too late, when opportunities for prevention or low-cost, low-risk action have been missed. By the time these issues have commanded the attention of senior policy makers, the menu of options has shrunk considerably and the costs of action have risen.

In the face of a potential mass atrocity, our options are never limited to either sending in the military or standing by and doing nothing. The actions that can be taken are many—they range from economic to diplomatic interventions and from non combat military actions to outright intervention. But ensuring that the full range of options is available requires a level of governmental organization that matches the methodical organization characteristic of mass killings.

Sixty six years since the Holocaust and 17 years after Rwanda, the United States still lacks a comprehensive policy framework and a corresponding interagency mechanism for preventing and responding to mass atrocities and geno-

cide. This has left us ill prepared to engage early, proactively, and decisively to prevent threats from evolving into large scale civilian atrocities.

Accordingly, I hereby direct the establishment of an interagency Atrocities Prevention Board within 120 days from the date of this Presidential Study Directive. The primary purpose of the Atrocities Prevention Board shall be to coordinate a whole-of-government approach to preventing mass atrocities and genocide. By institutionalizing the coordination of atrocity prevention, we can ensure: (1) that our national security apparatus recognizes and is responsive to early indicators of potential atrocities; (2) that departments and agencies develop and implement comprehensive atrocity prevention and response strategies in a manner that allows "red flags" and dissent to be raised to decision makers; (3) that we increase the capacity and develop doctrine for our foreign service, armed services, development professionals, and other actors to engage in the full spectrum of smart prevention activities; and (4) that we are optimally positioned to work with our allies in order to ensure that the burdens of atrocity prevention and response are appropriately shared.

To this end, I direct the National Security Advisor to lead a focused interagency study to develop and recommend the membership, mandate, structure, operational protocols, authorities, and support necessary for the Atrocities Prevention Board to coordinate and develop atrocity prevention and response policy. Specifically, the interagency review shall identify:
- operational protocols necessary for the Atrocities Prevention Board to coordinate and institutionalize the Federal Government's efforts to prevent and respond to potential atrocities and genocide, in-

cluding but not limited to: identifying (standing and *ex officio*) members of the Atrocities Prevention Board; defining the scope of the Atrocity Prevention Board's mandate and the means by which it will ensure that the full range of options and debate is presented to senior-level decision makers; identifying triggers for the development of atrocity prevention strategies; identifying any specific authority the Atrocities Prevention Board or its members should have with respect to alerting the President to a potential genocide or atrocity;

- how the Intelligence Community and other relevant Government agencies can best support the Atrocities Prevention Board's mission, including but not limited to: examining the multiplicity of existing early warning assessments in order to recommend how these efforts can be better coordinated and/or consolidated, support the work of the Atrocities Prevention Board, and drive the development of atrocity prevention strategies and policies; examining options for improving intelligence and open source assessments of the potential for genocide and mass atrocities; and examining protocols for safely declassifying and/or sharing intelligence when needed to galvanize regional actors, allies, or relevant institutions to respond to an atrocity or genocide; and

- steps toward creating a comprehensive policy framework for preventing mass atrocities, including but not limited to: conducting an inventory of existing tools and authorities across the Government that can be drawn upon to prevent atrocities; identifying new tools or capabilities that may be required; identifying how we can better support and train our foreign and armed services, develop-

ment professionals, and build the capacity of key regional allies and partners, in order to be better prepared to prevent and respond to mass atrocities or genocide.

In answering these questions, the interagency review shall consider the recommendations of relevant bipartisan and expert studies, including the recommendations of the bipartisan Genocide Prevention Task Force, co-chaired by former Secretaries Madeleine K. Albright and William Cohen.

I direct the National Security Advisor, through the National Security Staff's Director for War Crimes and Atrocities, to oversee and direct the interagency review, which shall include representatives from the following:
    Office of the Vice President
    Department of State
    Department of the Treasury
    Department of Defense
    Department of Justice
    Department of Homeland Security
    United States Mission to the United Nations
    Office of the Director of National Intelligence
    Central Intelligence Agency
    United States Agency for International Development
    Joint Chiefs of Staff
    Peace Corps
    National Security Agency
    Defense Intelligence Agency

Executive departments and agencies shall be responsive to all requests from the National Security Advisor-led interagency review committee for information, analysis, and assistance.

The interagency review shall be completed within 100 days, so that the Atrocities Prevention Board can commence its work within 120 days from the date of this Presidential Study Directive.

BARACK OBAMA

ANNEX B: Genocide Prevention Task Force (GPTF) Summary of Recommendations[33]

Leadership

To the President

1-1.   The president should demonstrate that preventing genocide and mass atrocities is a national priority.

1-2.   Under presidential leadership, the administration should develop and promulgate a government-wide policy on preventing genocide and mass atrocities.

1-3.   The president should create a standing interagency mechanism for analysis of threats of genocide and mass atrocities and consideration of appropriate preventive action.

1-4.   The president should launch a major diplomatic initiative to strengthen global efforts to prevent genocide and mass atrocities.

To the Leaders of Congress

1-5.   Congress should increase funding for crisis prevention and response initiatives, and should make a portion of these funds available for rapid allocation for urgent activities to prevent or halt emerging genocidal crises.

1-6.   The newly established Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission should make preventing genocide and mass atrocities a central focus of its work.

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[33] GPTF, 111-114.

1-7. Congressional leaders should request that the director of national intelligence include risk of genocide and mass atrocities in his or her annual testimony to Congress on threats to U.S. national security.

To the American People

1-8. The American people should build a permanent constituency for the prevention of genocide and mass atrocities.

Early Warning: Assessing Risks and Triggering Action

2-1. The director of national intelligence should initiate the preparation of a National Intelligence Estimate on worldwide risks of genocide and mass atrocities.

2-2. The national security advisor and the director of national intelligence should establish genocide early warning as a formal priority for the intelligence community as a means to improve reporting and assessments on the potential for genocide and mass atrocities.

2-3. The State Department and the intelligence community should incorporate training on early warning of genocide and mass atrocities into programs for foreign service and intelligence officers and analysts.

2-4. The national security advisor should create a "mass atrocities alert channel" for reporting on acute warning of genocide or mass atrocities akin to the State Department's "dissent channel."

2-5.	The national security advisor should make warning of genocide or mass atrocities an "automatic trigger" of policy review.
2-6.	The State Department and USAID should expand ongoing cooperation with other governments, the United Nations, regional organizations, NGOs, and other civil society actors on early warning of genocide and mass atrocities.

Early Prevention: Engaging before the Crisis

3-1.	Early prevention strategies should aim to influence leaders by using positive and negative inducements, aggressive enforcement of international regimes, and fresh approaches to conflict transformation.
3-2.	Early prevention strategies should support development of institutions in high-risk states by supporting power sharing and democratic transition, enhancing the rule of law and addressing impunity, and reforming security forces.
3-3.	Early prevention strategies should aim to strengthen civil society in high-risk states by supporting economic and legal empowerment, citizen groups, and a free and responsible media.
3-4.	Funding for crisis prevention in countries at risk of genocide or mass atrocities should be expanded through a new genocide prevention initiative, funded through existing foreign assistance mechanisms.

3-5.   The State Department and USAID should enhance coordination with international partners both in terms of policy and in-country implementation.

Preventive Diplomacy: Halting and Reversing Escalation

4-1.   The new high-level interagency committee—the Atrocities Prevention Committee—should meet every other month (and as needed at other times) to review the status of countries of concern and coordinate preventive action.

4-2.   The Atrocities Prevention Committee, working with NSC staff, should prepare interagency genocide prevention and response plans for high-risk situations.

4-3.   The secretary of state should enhance the capacity of the U.S. government to engage in urgent preventive diplomatic action to forestall emerging crises.

4-4.   Preventive diplomacy strategies should include the credible threat of coercive measures, should avoid an overly rigid "escalatory ladder," and should not dismiss potential benefits of rewarding "bad people" for "good behavior."

4-5.   Preventive diplomacy strategies should engage international actors who have influence with potential perpetrators, be mindful of becoming hostage to peace negotiations related to a broader conflict, and maintain consistency in messages conveyed.

Employing Military Options

5-1. The secretary of defense and U.S. 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.

5-2. The director of national intelligence and the secretary of defense should leverage military capacities for intelligence and early warning and strengthen links to political-military planning and decision making.

5-3. The Departments of Defense and State should work to enhance the capacity of the United Nations, as well as the African Union, the Economic Community of West African States, and other regional and subregional bodies to employ military options to prevent and halt genocide and mass atrocities.

5-4. The Departments of Defense and State should work with NATO, the European Union, and capable individual governments to increase preparedness to reinforce or replace United Nations, African Union, or other peace operations to forestall mass atrocities.

5-5. The Departments of Defense and State should enhance the capacity of the United States and the United Nations to support a transition to long-term efforts to build peace and stability in the wake of genocidal violence.

International Action: Strengthening Norms and Institutions

6-1.   The secretary of state should launch a major diplomatic initiative to create among like-minded governments, international organizations, and NGOs a formal network dedicated to the prevention of genocide and mass atrocities.

6-2.   The secretary of state should undertake robust diplomatic efforts toward negotiating an agreement among the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council on non-use of the veto in cases concerning genocide or mass atrocities.

6-3.   The State Department should support the efforts currently under way to elevate the priority of preventing genocide and mass atrocities at the United Nations.

6-4.   The State Department, USAID, and Department of Defense should provide capacity-building assistance to international partners who are willing to take measures to prevent genocide and mass atrocities.

6-5.   The secretary of state should reaffirm U.S. commitment to nonimpunity for perpetrators of genocide and mass atrocities.

ANNEX C: Office of the UN Special Adviser on the Prevention of Genocide (OSAPG) Analysis Framework[34]

Legal definition of genocide: Genocide is defined in Article 2 of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948) *as "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[1]; imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; [and] forcibly transferring children of the group to another group."*

Elements of the framework: The Analysis Framework comprises eight categories of factors that the OSAPG uses to determine whether there may be a risk of genocide in a given situation. The eight categories of factors are not ranked, and the absence of information relating to one or more categories does not necessarily indicate the absence of a risk of genocide; what is significant is the cumulative effect of the factors. Where these factors are effectively addressed, no longer exist or are no longer relevant, the risk of genocide is assumed to decrease.

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[34] United Nations Office of the Special Advisor on the Prevention of Genocide, "OSAPG Analysis Framework" (New York: United Nations), available at http://www.un.org/en/preventgenocide/adviser/index.shtml

Framework: Factors and Explanation

1. Inter-group relations, including record of discrimination and/or other human rights violations committed against a group.

Issues to be analyzed here include:

- Relations between and among groups in terms of tensions, power and economic relations, including perceptions about the targeted group;
- Existing and past conflicts over land, power, security and expressions of group identity, such as language, religion and culture;
- Past and present patterns of discrimination against members of any group which could include:

  - Serious discriminatory practices, for instance, the compulsory identification of members of a particular group, imposition of taxes/fines, permission required for social activities such as marriage, compulsory birth-control, the systematic exclusion of groups from positions of power, employment in State institutions and/or key professions[2];
  - Significant disparities in socio-economic indicators showing a pattern of deliberate exclusion from economic resources and social and political life.
- Overt justification for such discriminatory practices;
- History of genocide or related serious and massive human rights violations against a particular group; denial by the perpetrators;
- References to past human rights violations committed against a possible perpetrator group as a justifi-

cation for genocidal acts against the targeted group in the future.

2. Circumstances that affect the capacity to prevent genocide.

Structures that exist to protect the population and deter genocide include effective legislative protection; independent judiciary and effective national human rights institutions, presence of international actors such as UN operations capable of protecting vulnerable groups, neutral security forces and independent media.

Issues to be analyzed here include:
- Existing structures;
- The effectiveness of those structures;
- Whether vulnerable groups have genuine access to the protection afforded by the structures;
- Patterns of impunity and lack of accountability for past crimes committed against the targeted groups;
- Other options for obtaining protection against genocide, *e.g.* presence of peacekeepers in a position to defend the group, or seeking asylum in other countries.

3. Presence of illegal arms and armed elements.

The issues to be analyzed here include:

- Whether there exists a capacity to perpetrate genocide – especially, but not exclusively, by killing;
- How armed groups are formed, who arms them and what links they have to state authorities, if any;
- In cases of armed rebellions or uprising, whether a state has justified targeting groups from which armed actors have drawn their membership.

4. Motivation of leading actors in the State/region; acts which serve to encourage divisions between national, racial, ethnic, and religious groups.

The issues to be analyzed here include:
- Underlying political, economic, military or other motivation to target a group and to separate it from the rest of the population;
- The use of exclusionary ideology and the construction of identities in terms of "us" and "them" to accentuate differences;
- Depiction of a targeted group as dangerous, disloyal, a security or economic threat or as unworthy or inferior so as to justify action against the group;
- Propaganda campaigns and fabrications about the targeted group used to justify acts against a targeted group by use of dominant, controlled media or "mirror politics"[3];
- Any relevant role, whether active or passive, of actors outside the country (*e.g.*, other Governments, armed groups based in neighboring countries, refugee groups or *diasporas*) and respective political or economic motivations.

5. Circumstances that facilitate perpetration of genocide (dynamic factors).

Issues to be analyzed here include:

Any development of events, whether gradual or sudden, that suggest a trajectory towards the perpetration of genocidal violence, or the existence of a longer term plan or policy to commit genocide. Examples:

- Sudden or gradual strengthening of the military or security apparatus; creation of or increased support to militia groups (*e.g.*, sudden increases in arms flow) in the absence of discernible legitimate threats;
- Attempts to reduce or eradicate diversity within the security apparatus;
- Preparation of local population to use them to perpetrate acts;
- Introduction of legislation derogating the rights of a targeted group;
- Imposition of emergency or extraordinary security laws and facilities that erode civil rights and liberties;
- Sudden increase in inflammatory rhetoric or hate propaganda, especially by leaders, that sets a tone of impunity, even if it does not amount to incitement to genocidal violence in itself;
- Permissive environment created by ongoing armed conflict that could facilitate access to weapons and commission of genocide.

6. Genocidal acts.

Issues to be analyzed here include:

- Acts that could be obvious "elements" of the crime of genocide as defined in Article 6 of the Rome Statute,[4] such as killings, abduction and disappearances, torture, rape and sexual violence; 'ethnic cleansing' or pogroms;[5]
- Less obvious methods of destruction, such as the deliberate deprivation of resources needed for the group's physical survival and which are available

to the rest of the population, such as clean water, food and medical services;[6]
- Creation of circumstances that could lead to a slow death, such as lack of proper housing, clothing and hygiene or excessive work or physical exertion;
- Programs intended to prevent procreation, including involuntary sterilization, forced abortion, prohibition of marriage and long-term separation of men and women;
- Forcible transfer of children, imposed by direct force or through fear of violence, duress, detention, psychological oppression or other methods of coercion;
- Death threats or ill treatment that causes disfigurement or injury; forced or coerced use of drugs or other treatment that damages health.

7. Evidence of intent "to destroy in whole or in part …"[7]

Issues to be analyzed here include:

- Statements amounting to hate speech[8] by those involved in a genocidal campaign;
- In a large-scale armed conflict, widespread and systematic nature of acts; intensity and scale of acts and invariability of killing methods used against the same protected group; types of weapons employed (in particular weapons prohibited under international law) and the extent of bodily injury caused;
- In a non-conflict situation, widespread and/or systematic discriminatory and targeted practices culminating in gross violations of human rights of protected groups, such as extrajudicial killings, torture and displacement;

- The specific means used to achieve "ethnic cleansing" which may underscore that the perpetration of the acts is designed to reach the foundations of the group or what is considered as such by the perpetrator group;
- The nature of the atrocities, *e.g.*, dismemberment of those already killed that reveal a level of dehumanization of the group or euphoria at having total control over another human being, or the systematic rape of women which may be intended to transmit a new ethnic identity to the child or to cause humiliation and terror in order to fragment the group;
- The destruction of or attacks on cultural and religious property and symbols of the targeted group that may be designed to annihilate the historic presence of the group or groups;
- Targeted elimination of community leaders and/or men and/or women of a particular age group (the 'future generation' or a military-age group);
- Other practices designed to complete the exclusion of targeted group from social/political life.

8. Triggering factors.

Issues to be analyzed here include:
Future events or circumstances seemingly unrelated to genocide that might aggravate conditions or spark deterioration in the situation, pointing to the likely onset of a genocidal episode. These 'triggers' might include:
- Upcoming elections (and associated activities such as voter registration or campaigning; revision of delimitation of electoral boundaries; a call for early elections or the postponement or cancellation of elections; disbanding of election commissions; im-

position of new quotas/standards for political party or candidate eligibility);

- Change of Government outside of an electoral or constitutionally sanctioned process;
- Instances where the military is deployed internally to act against civilians;
- Commencement of armed hostilities;
- Natural disasters that may stress state capacity and strengthen active opposition groups;
- Increases in opposition capacity, which may be perceived as a threat and prompt preemptive action, or rapidly declining opposition capacity which may invite rapid action to eliminate problem groups.[9]

OSAPG Analysis Framework Notes:

[1] It might be necessary to determine if all or only a part of the group at risk within a specific geographical location is being targeted. The aim of the Genocide Convention is to prevent the intentional destruction of entire human groups, and the part targeted must be significant enough (substantial) to have an impact on the group as a whole. The substantiality requirement both captures genocide's defining character as a crime of massive proportions (numbers) and reflects the Convention's concern with the impact the destruction of the targeted part will have on the overall survival of the group (emblematic).

[2] This could include security, law enforcement or oversight apparatus, such as police, army and judiciary.

[3] "Mirror politics" is a common strategy to create divisions by fabricating events whereby a person accuses others of what he or she does or wants to do.

[4] Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court.

[5] Efforts should be made to gather information on a sufficient number of incidents to determine whether the abuses were substantial, systematic and widespread over a period of time.

[6] Deprivation of the means to sustain life can be imposed through confiscation of harvests, blockade of foodstuffs, detention in camps, forcible relocation or expulsion to inhospitable environments.

[7] Genocidal intent can develop gradually, *e.g.*, in the course of conflict and not necessarily before, and genocide may be used as a "tool"

or "strategy" to achieve military goals in an operation whose primary objective may be unrelated to the targeted group. Evidence of "intent to destroy" can be inferred from a set of existing facts which would suggest that what is unfolding or ongoing may be genocide. From a preventive perspective, there could be other indications of a plan or policy or an attempt to destroy a protected group before the occurrence of full-blown genocide.

[8] The hate speech has to denigrate characteristics of a specific ethnic/racial/religious/national group.

[9] Critical moments can also represent moments of opportunity to improve a situation and to lessen the risk of genocide.
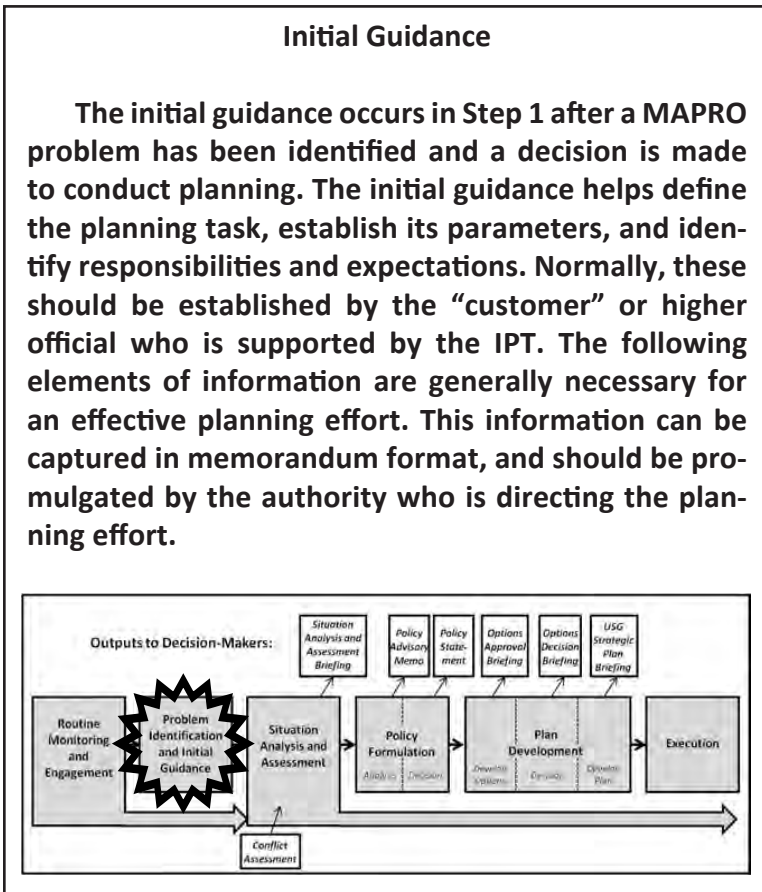
ANNEX D: Suggested Formats

During the planning process, the IPT will be required to absorb information and in turn present information to decision-makers. This annex includes suggested formats for briefings and memoranda that may be required. These formats may be adjusted as necessary. Potential products required to support the policy planning process include:

Tab 1: Initial Guidance
Tab 2: Conflict Assessment
  Enclosure I: Conflict Assessment Briefing
Tab 3: Situation Analysis and Assessment Briefing
Tab 4: Policy Advisory Memorandum
  Enclosure I: Policy Advisory Briefing
Tab 5: Policy Statement
  Enclosure I: Sample Policy Statement
Tab 6: Options Approval Briefing
Tab 7: Options Decision Briefing
Tab 8: USG Strategic Plan
Tab 9: Backbrief Format
Tab 10: Situation Update Format

Many of these briefings and products will typically occur within the MAPRO Policy and Planning Framework as follows:
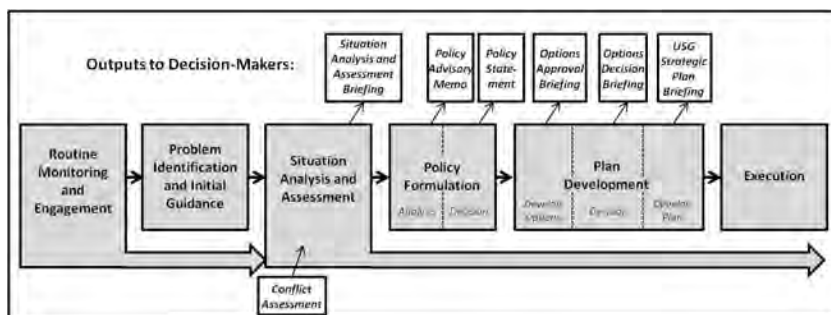
Tab 1 to Annex D (Suggested Formats):

Initial Guidance

The initial guidance occurs in Step 1 after a MAPRO problem has been identified and a decision is made to conduct planning. The initial guidance helps define the planning task, establish its parameters, and identify responsibilities and expectations. Normally, these should be established by the "customer" or higher official who is supported by the IPT. The following elements of information are generally necessary for an effective planning effort. This information can be captured in memorandum format, and should be promulgated by the authority who is directing the planning effort.

Initial Guidance Format

- Purpose (What is the planning objective? What level of effort is expected?)
- IPT (What team is conducting the planning effort, and who are the members?)
- Lead Agency (who is responsible for directing the planning effort?)

- Approving Authority (who approves and guides the IPT's efforts?)
- Additional Guidance
  - Assumptions
  - Constraints and Restraints (Limitations)
  - Coordination with non-USG actors
  - Intent
  - Timeline
  - Other (e.g., interests, risks, mitigation, resources)


Example
"Initial Guidance Memorandum"

1. **Purpose**. To conduct informal initial contingency planning related to mass atrocities in Country X. Planning effort initially to result in a Situation Analysis and Assessment, but may subsequently be directed to proceed further.
2. **IPT**. Planning to be conducted by the Genocide and Mass Atrocity Prevention (GMAP) Sub-Working Group. Additional IPT members should include representative from Africa Regional Bureau. Embassy in Country X and Africa Command should be consulted.
3. **Lead Agency**. S/CRS.
4. **Approving Authority**. Supervisory Board including:
   --Deputy Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization
   --Director for West African Affairs
   --Deputy Asst Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs
   --Dep Asst Sec of Defense from Office of the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy
   --NSC Director for War Crimes and Atrocities
5. **Additional Guidance**:
   --Assume U.S. military actions limited to security cooperation and logistical support to other militaries.
   --Consult with UN OSAPG/R2P throughout planning process.
   --Submit results to undersigned no later than June 15th, 20xx.

U/SecState Political Affairs

Tab 2 to Annex D (Suggested Formats):

Conflict Assessment

A Conflict Assessment is used to orient the members of the IPT and others who need to become familiar with the country of interest. For many MAPRO situations, a 20-30 page Conflict Assessment would be reasonable level of effort. If time permits, a detailed research effort may be conducted, including field research in the country itself. In many cases time will be constrained, and the Conflict Assessment may be developed with expertise that is readily available to the IPT. IPT members themselves may make contributions to refine the Conflict Assessment. This outline is based on the Interagency Conflict Assessment Framework (ICAF).
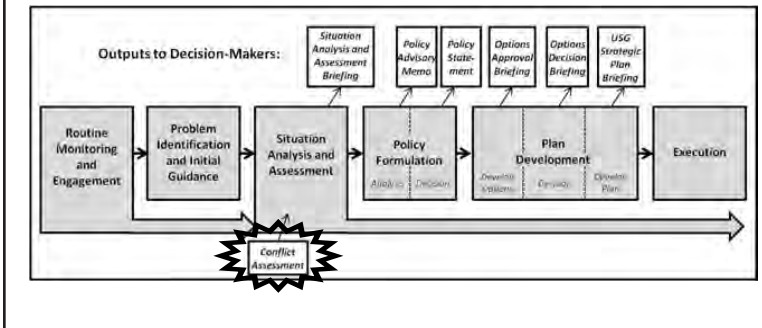
(Conflict Assessment Format on Next Page)

Conflict Assessment Format

I Conflict Diagnosis
1. Establish Context
2. Understand Core Grievances and Sources of Social and Institutional Resilience
    a. Identity Groups who believe others threaten their identity, security, or livelihood
    b. How Social Patterns reinforce perceived deprivation, blame and inter-group cleavages and/or how they promote comity and peaceful resolution of inter-group disputes
    c. How poor or good Institutional Performance aggravates or contributes to the resolution of conflict
    d. Core Grievances
    e. Sources of Social and Institutional Resilience
3. Identify Drivers of Conflict and Mitigating Factors
    a. Key Actors (who, where, what & how)
    b. Key Actors Objectives, Means and Resources
    c. Drivers of Conflict
    d. Mitigating Factors
4. Describe Windows of Vulnerability and Windows of Opportunity
    a. Windows of Vulnerability
    b. Windows of Opportunity

II Segue Into Planning
    1. Identify USG Programs
    2. Identify Other Actors
    3. Identify HN Capability Gaps
    4. Identify Challenges
    5. Identify Risks of Acting/Not Acting
    6. Identify Opportunities

Enclosure I to Tab 2 (Conflict Assessment) to Annex D (Suggested Formats):

Conflict Assessment Briefing

Following is an agenda for a Conflict Assessment Briefing that may be given to IPT members early in the planning process and subsequently delivered to other interested recipients. It is largely based upon the ICAF, but includes an introductory portion with basic country-related data. This orients the IPT members and may serve as a mechanism to highlight conflicting information.

(Conflict Assessment Briefing Format on Next Page)

Conflict Assessment Briefing Format

Purpose of Briefing
Agenda
Country X Profile
Geography
People
History
Government & Political Conditions
Economy
Foreign Relations
U.S.-Country X Relations

Conflict Assessment

Task 1: Conflict Diagnosis
      1. Context of the Conflict
      2. Core Grievances and Sources of Social/ Institutional Resilience
      3. Drivers of Conflict and Mitigating Factors
      4. Opportunities for Increasing or Decreasing Conflict

Task 2: Segue Into Planning
      1. USG Activities
      2. Non-USG Actors
      3. Country X Capability Gaps
      4. Challenges
      5. Risks (of acting and not acting)
      6. Opportunities

Discussion/Guidance

Tab 3 to Annex D (Suggested Formats):

Situation Analysis and Assessment Overview Briefing

After the IPT conducts the initial Situational Analysis and Assessment, senior leaders should be informed of the results and their additional guidance solicited as appropriate. This outline is intended to orient senior leaders with highlights from the Conflict Assessment and the IPT's analysis to date. This outline may also serve as an orientation to other audiences that may require familiarization with the situation in Country X.
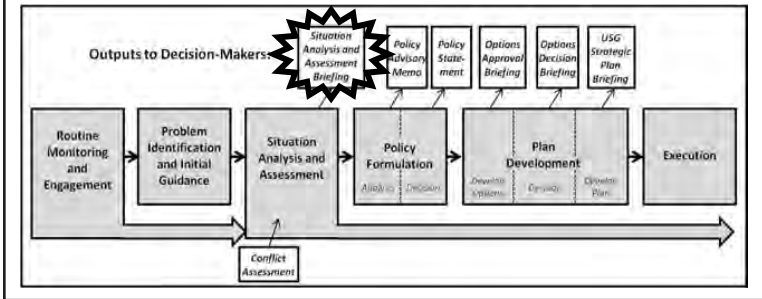
(Situation Analysis and Assessment Overview Briefing Format on Next Page)

Situation Analysis and Assessment Overview Briefing Format

- Purpose of Briefing
- Agenda
- Background
- Country Profile Highlights
- Conflict Assessment Highlights
  - Actors
  - Grievances
  - Sources of Resilience
  - Drivers of Conflict
  - USG Activities
  - Other Actors
  - Gaps and Challenges
  - Risks
-
- U.S. Interests
- Previous Guidance
- Critical Dynamics
- Legal Considerations
- Assumptions
- Resources
- Policy Options
- Critical Information Requirements and Gaps
- Discussion/Guidance

Tab 4 to Annex D (Suggested Formats):

<u>Policy Advisory Memorandum</u>*

This memorandum or briefing is designed to pro-
vide policy options to decision-makers, and may in-
clude analysis and recommendations. Once a decision
is made, it forms the basis for the subsequent policy
statement and planning efforts.
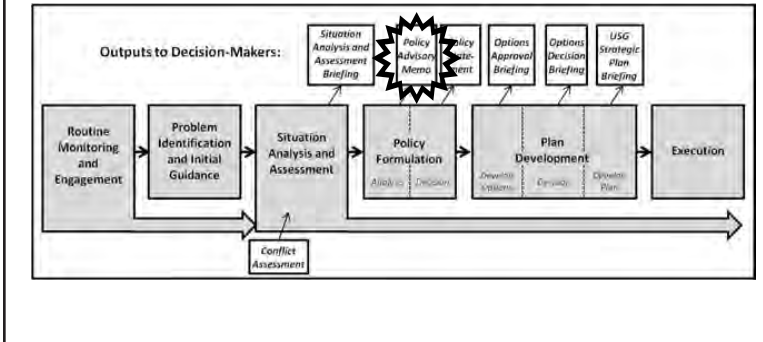
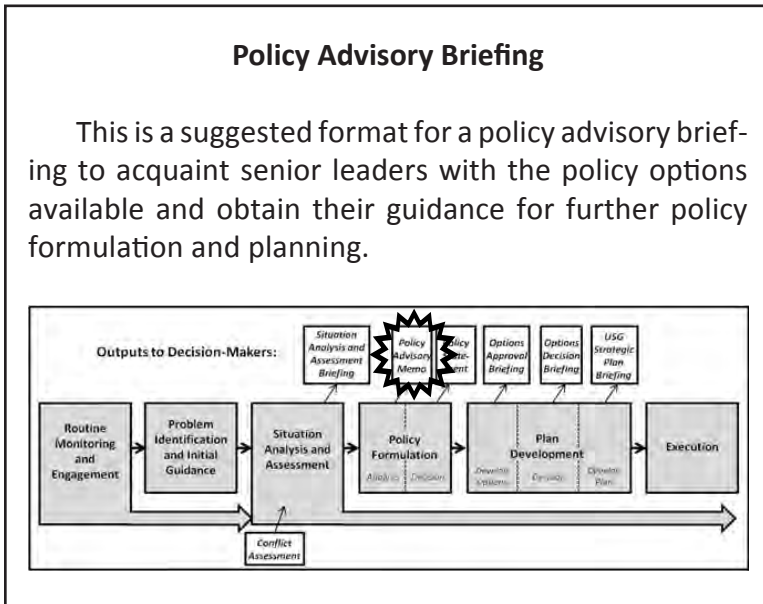<u>Policy Advisory Memorandum Format</u>

1. Overview

2. U.S. Interests

3. Past U.S. Policies

4. Other Actors

5. Critical Issues to Address

6. Policy Options (Goals and Strategic Objectives)

7. Analysis / Recommendations /Dissenting Opinions

8. Proposed Next Steps

May be presented in Briefing or Memorandum Format

Enclosure I to Tab 4 (Policy Advisory Memorandum) to Annex D (Suggested Formats):

Policy Advisory Briefing

This is a suggested format for a policy advisory briefing to acquaint senior leaders with the policy options available and obtain their guidance for further policy formulation and planning.

<u>Policy Advisory Briefing Format</u>

- Purpose of Briefing
- Agenda
- Country X Overview or Situation Update
- U.S. Interests
- Past/Existing U.S. Policies
- Other Actors
- Critical Issues to Address
- Policy Options
  - Policy Goal
  - Strategic Objectives (Lines of Effort)
- Recommendations/Proposed Next Steps/Dissenting Opinions
- Discussion/Guidance

Tab 5 to Annex D (Suggested Formats):

Policy Statement

This format may be used to articulate the policy that has been decided upon by senior leaders.
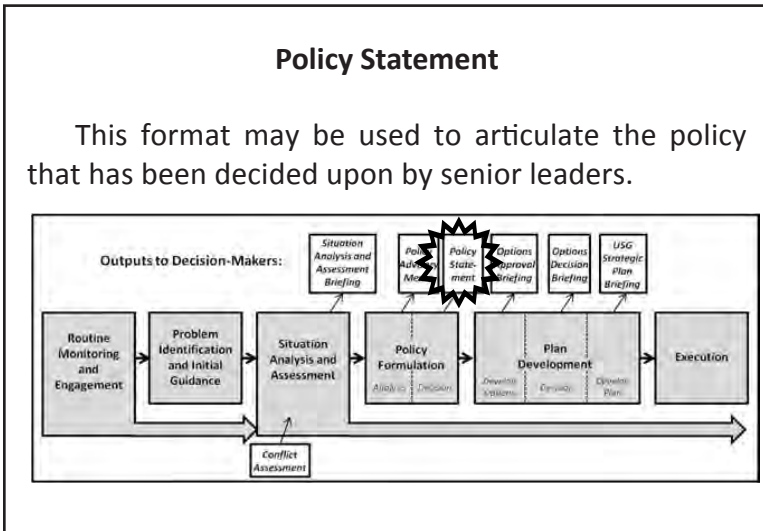
Policy Statement Format

1. General

2. Policy Goal

3. Strategic Objectives

4. Lines of Effort

5. Critical Planning Considerations
   a. Conditions within the country
   b. Behavior of other regional and international actors
   c. USG and other resources
   d. Strategic Communication

Enclosure I to Tab 5 (Policy Statement) to Annex D (Suggested Formats):

Sample Policy Statement

This is an example policy statement that reflects the policy decisions of senior leaders, forms the basis for continued planning, and provides relevant guidance to USG agencies.

> **1. General.** From 1998-2003 a failed rebellion in the West Calen province of Country X resulted in the 300,000 deaths and a half-million displaced persons. Since then, the Calens have remained impoverished and marginalized, and there is a growing desire to secede from Country X and unite with the state of East Calen in Country Y. The Country X government, dominated by the Noot tribe, is threatening to take stern measures to suppress any hint of future rebellion and has begun to encourage armed groups from the nomadic Chim tribe to conduct acts of violence in West Calen. In the past month there have been several raids on Calen villages, resulting in widespread killing, raping, and looting and the flight of thousands of refugees to Country Y. Some of these raids were supported by Country X armed forces. NGOs have also been targeted and some are leaving the country.
>
> **2. Policy Goal**. Prevent and if necessary halt mass atrocities in Country X.
>
> **3. Strategic Objectives**.
> - Preventing the resumption and/or escalation of violence.

- Avoiding spillover of the conflict into the wider region.
- Ensuring effective and timely provision of humanitarian aid.
- Protecting the rights of the displaced and other vulnerable populations.
- Furthering Country X's political stability and transition to legitimate governance.
- Protect American citizens and property.

4. Lines of Effort (LOEs).
- Situation Understanding (Lead: DoS Support: CIA)
- Diplomacy and Strategic Communication (Lead: DoS)
- Unity of Effort (Lead: DoS)
- Military Efforts (Lead: DoD)
- Economic Efforts (Lead: DoS Support: DoC, USAID)
- Safe and Secure Environment (Lead: DoS Support: DoD, DoJ)
- Governance and Rule of Law (Lead: DoS Support: DoJ)
- Social and Economic Well-Being (Lead: DoS Support: DoC, DoT, USAID)

5. Critical Planning Considerations.
- ECOWAS is considering whether to deploy a peacekeeping force.
- All options, including use of U.S. military force, should be considered.

Tab 6 to Annex D (Suggested Formats):

Options Approval Briefing

This format may be used to obtain senior leader approval of options (or courses of action) that will be examined by the IPT. Options should be distinguishable from each other, suitable for the policy that has been decided, feasible, and acceptable in terms of the resources that may realistically be devoted.
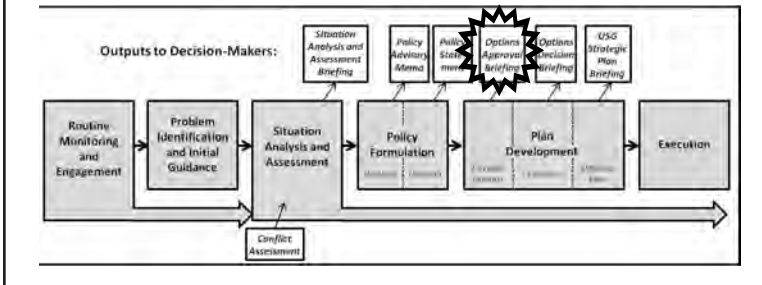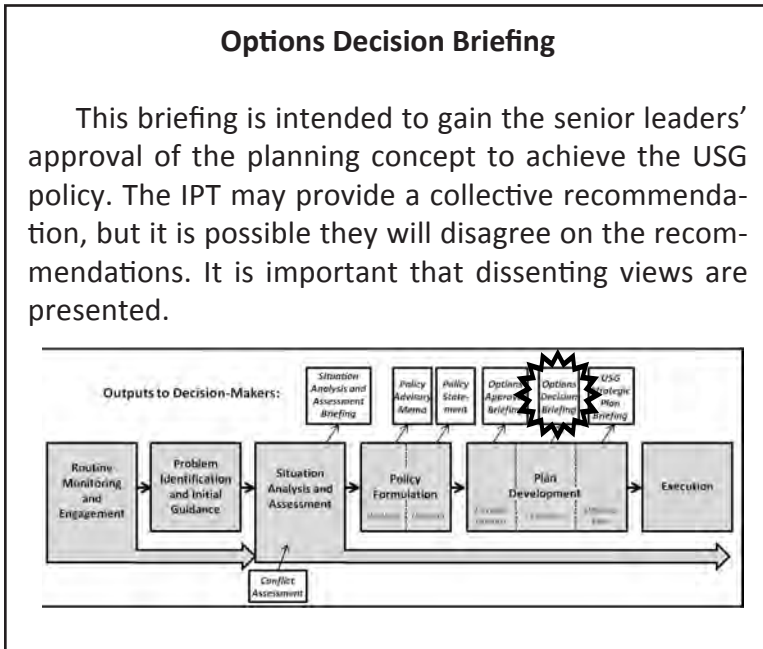

Options Approval Briefing Format

- Purpose of Briefing
- Agenda
- Situation Update
- Review
  - Policy Objectives
  - Assumptions
  - Previous Guidance
  - Timeline
- Options (each includes the following)
  - Rationale
  - Organization/Resources
  - Overall Concept/Sketch

- Phasing (as appropriate) (*e.g.*, Prevention, Response, Transition)
  - Phase Concept
  - Phase Objectives
  - Phase Lines of Effort
  - Phase Major Organizational Tasks
- Sustainment
- Control
- Discussion/Guidance
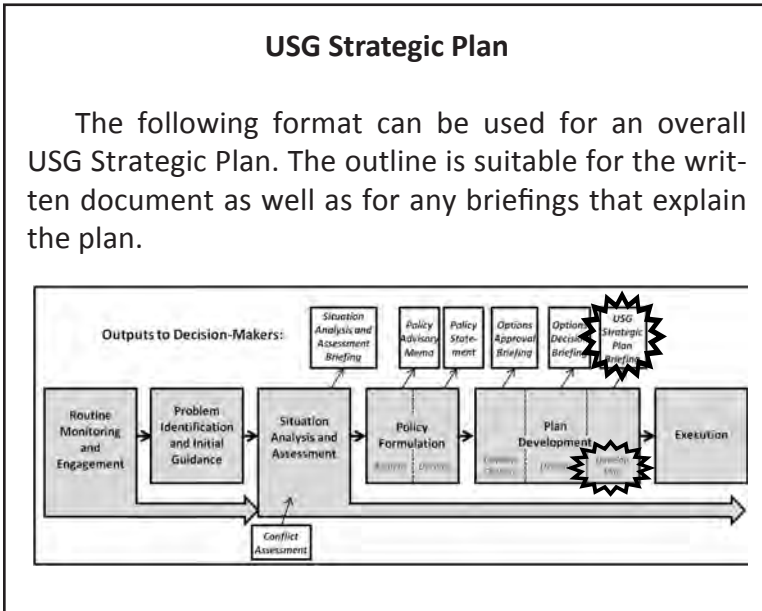
Tab 7 to Annex D (Suggested Formats):

Options Decision Briefing

    This briefing is intended to gain the senior leaders' approval of the planning concept to achieve the USG policy. The IPT may provide a collective recommendation, but it is possible they will disagree on the recommendations. It is important that dissenting views are presented.

Options Decision Briefing Format

- Purpose of Briefing
- Agenda
- Situation Update
- Review of Options (present each option in order and include the following)
  - Rationale
  - Resources
  - Overall Concept/Sketch
  - Phasing (as appropriate)
  - LOEs
  - Major Tasks for Organizations/Partners
- Analysis of Options
  - Results of wargaming and analysis

- • Advantages and Disadvantages
- Recommendations (Include Dissenting Opinions)
- Discussion/Guidance

Tab 8 to Annex D (Suggested Formats):


USG Strategic Plan

The following format can be used for an overall USG Strategic Plan. The outline is suitable for the written document as well as for any briefings that explain the plan.

USG Strategic Plan Format

- Plan Overview Template (graphic one-page depiction, plus map). See example, page 60.
- Strategic Plan Narrative
  - Situation Analysis
  - Overarching Policy Goal
  - Strategic Objectives
  - Critical planning considerations
  - LOEs (list and prioritization)
  - Sequencing and Linkages
  - Tasks for Agencies
- Comprehensive Resource and Management Strategy (rough order of magnitude of the requirements and availabilities for each LOE)

- LOE Concepts
- Determination of what decisions remain in Washington
- Relevant Technical Annexes
  - Security
  - Personnel
  - Knowledge Management
  - Logistics
  - Organizational Relationships
  - Other

Tab 9 to Annex D (Suggested Formats):

Backbrief Format

Backbriefs from participating organizations are helpful to ensure that they have adequately grasped the requirements of the broader USG Strategic Plan. Additionally, by attending each other's Backbriefs the various organizations will have a clearer understanding of the situation. Backbriefs are also a good way to identify and work through potential issues.
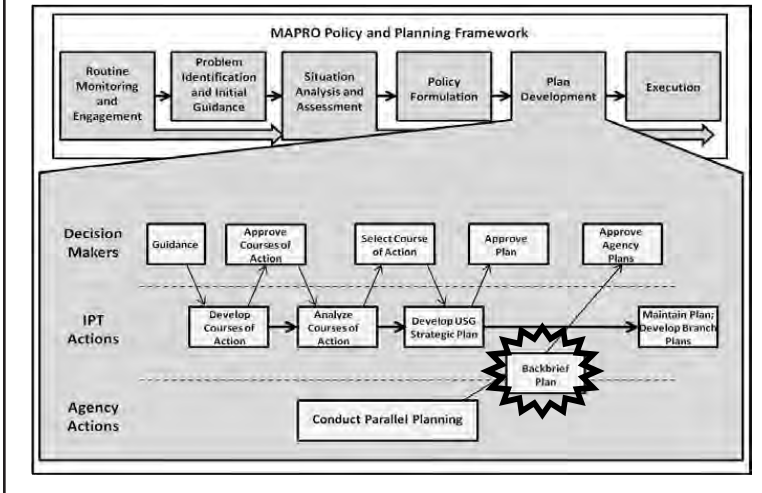
(Backbrief Format on Next Page)

Backbrief Format

- Purpose of Briefing
- Agenda
- Situation
  - Challenges
  - Opportunities
  - Organization
- Assumptions
- Limitations
- Key Tasks
- Mission
- Concept
  - By Phase and/or Line of Effort (use map if appropriate)
  - Support required from other organizations
  - Support provided to other organizations
- Issues
- Recommendations
- Discussion/Guidance

Tab 10 to Annex D (Suggested Formats):

Situation Update Format

This suggested format can be used to update audiences efficiently regarding a MAPRO situation. It may be incorporated at the beginning of other sessions or adopted for a routine report (*e.g.*, a daily or weekly "newsletter"). While only changed circumstances would be mentioned in situation updates, this format may also be used for informational presentations to give one-time audiences an overview of the situation.
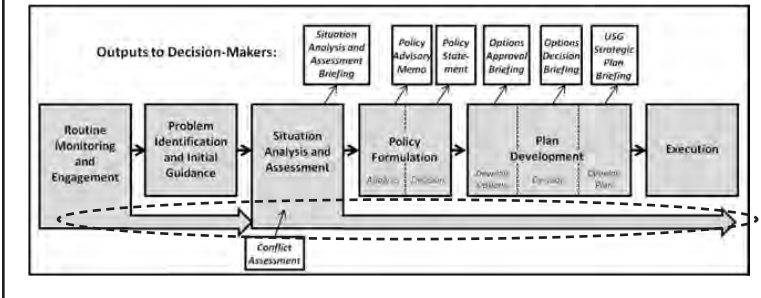
Situation Update Format

- Recent Events
- Situation Changes
  - Actors
  - Grievances
  - Sources of Resilience
  - Drivers of Conflict
  - USG Activities
  - Other Actors
  - Gaps and Challenges
  - Risks

- LOE Status/Progress/Setbacks
- Upcoming Events
- Issues
- Recommendations

ANNEX E: IPC/IPT/COI Procedures

This annex provides suggestions for managing a MAPRO-related group (*e.g.*, Interagency Planning Team [IPT] or community of interest [COI]). Such groups may be permanent or temporary and may have varying levels of formality regarding participation.

Purpose. A group may form for a variety of purposes ranging from information sharing to networking to accomplishing particular tasks. It could be centrally directed or may run more or less on consensus. The IPT or COI may be relatively autonomous or may be expected to provide a service to or otherwise support some other entity. In the latter case it would primarily and frequently respond to demand signals from an outside source, such as the Atrocities Prevention Board, a higher level interagency group, or a senior leader in the USG.

Participants. The group may have a limited membership or a self-selecting constituency from a broader community. Normally, representatives from relevant USG agencies would be included, but under some circumstances participation from other organizations may also be appropriate. To ensure critical mass for the group's efforts, it may be necessary to have USG agency representatives tasked to participate as part of their normal responsibilities; this may require some emphasis by senior leaders. The group's organizers may find it helpful to maintain a frequently-updated list of interagency points of contact which can be shared with the group's members to facilitate networking and coordination.

Regular Meetings. The group should convene at regular intervals (at least quarterly) via physical meetings, telecon-

ference, VTC, interactive media, or a combination of these techniques. The group's organizers should prepare agendas for the meetings, distribute invitations with sufficient advance notice, and make the necessary logistical arrangements such as venue and security access if appropriate. In some cases it may be good practice to rotate meetings among the key participating organizations, although a fixed routine is usually the preferred practice. Meetings should be informative for the participants and efficiently run. A potential topic for a MAPRO meeting might be a Conflict Assessment (prepared beforehand) on a country of interest. Another topic for these regular meetings may be presentations by guest speakers on a MAPRO issue, and it may also be useful to include an update on matters of interest to the group; for example, participants could be informed about recent MAPRO developments in all countries of interest. A standard agenda for a MAPRO meeting may consist of the following:

- Welcome/Introductions
- Updates
- Watchlist Countries
- Ongoing IPT Projects
- USG Developments (new policies, initiatives, etc)
- Presentation(s)
- General Discussion
- Next Meeting (date/time, location, topic, due-outs)

Special Sessions. In addition to its regular meetings, the group may conduct other sessions such as workshops, exercises, planning efforts, document drafting sessions, or various project meetings. These sessions will typically be required so the group can surge on required efforts. These sessions could be limited to a few core members rather than the entire group. Other special sessions should include briefings to senior decisionmakers.

Information Dissemination. It may be helpful to create a short electronic newsletter or develop a website for the group and other interested audiences. The newsletter could include useful information such as recent MAPRO-related publications, upcoming events, and MAPRO updates. It would be impossible to control distribution of such products, however, so the newsletter should not include sensitive information.

Communication with Other Organizations. Members of the group may have to reach out actively to other organizations inside and external to the USG. IPT's may want to expand connections, vet planning products, obtain information, or collaborate on MAPRO-related issues. These other organizations may include other agencies, interagency teams including IPCs, country teams, combatant commands, United Nations offices, regional organizations, NGOs, or research institutions.

Deliverables. MAPRO IPTs may produce such products as watchlists; MAPRO Policy and Planning Framework memoranda and briefings as those described in Annex D; plans; or reports. Many of these may be developed by a core team and subsequently reviewed by other group members. It may be helpful to prepare minutes of the group sessions, so that members may inform their respective organizations regarding the IPT's activities. If applying the MAPRO Policy and Planning Framework to deliberate contingency planning for a country, the deliverables can be incrementally presented over multiple regular IPT meetings

ANNEX F: Legal Considerations

Introduction

This annex provides a broad overview of legal matters related to genocide and mass atrocity prevention and response. This annex provides a passing familiarity with possible legal considerations. However, international law is a murky field, and frequently without consensus. Expert legal guidance may be needed to assist policy planners regarding specific MAPRO circumstances.

The Responsibility to Protect (R2P)

The central theme of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) "is the idea that sovereign states have a responsibility to protect their own citizens from avoidable catastrophe—from mass murder and rape, from starvation—but that when they are unwilling or unable to do so, that responsibility must be borne by the broader community of states."[35]

The responsibility to protect (R2P) is not international law *per se*, but is rather a recent concept that seeks to move beyond the stresses mass atrocities placed on traditional notions of sovereignty. R2P also attempts to move beyond the idea of "humanitarian intervention" developed in the late 1990's, which was not widely accepted among states or by international law practitioners. Crucially, R2P is a normative or moral/ethical and political principle, rather than a firm legal doctrine. It articulates a "responsibility,"

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

rather than a legal obligation. Despite not being a firm legal doctrine R2P, remains a very influential concept, especially in marshalling normative force and/or legitimacy, which will undoubtedly be a consideration in a MAPRO context.

There are two strands of R2P thinking. The first originated in 2001 with the publication of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) report *The Responsibility to Protect*, which articulated three stages (prevention, reaction, and rebuilding) to address mass atrocities. The state in question may be complicit, unwilling, or unable to prevent mass atrocities—each situation implies a different response and different context. Prevention is specifically emphasized as less costly in terms of lives, expense, and political will. The United Nations Security Council is considered the most appropriate body to authorize intervention, but other alternative seats of authority are discussed, including regional organizations such as the African Union.

A second understanding of R2P comes out of the 2005 UN World Summit and the efforts of United Nations Secretary General Ban Ki-moon to "operationalize" R2P in 2009—this formulation reflects many of the compromises around R2P that were made at the World Summit, and reinforces the role of the Security Council as the sole arbiter of collective action to enforce R2P. This system has three pillars, emphasizing, in order: that the state in question has primary responsibility to protect its citizens; that the international community should improve capacity-building and assistance measures in states under pressure or risk; and finally that the international community must react decisively to crises.

Conceptually, also, the R2P source document attempts to frame state sovereignty as founded on respect for the human rights of the state's citizens, rather than its traditional absolute form. R2P also expands ideas on protection of civilians (PoC), a theme that has accelerated in recent years, as evidenced most recently by the inclusion of PoC language in Security Council Resolution 1973 on Libya. R2P is, however, far from universally accepted. Some critics contend that R2P is nothing but the previously rejected notion of humanitarian intervention in new clothes or, worse, an attempt to hide Western neo-colonialism in the language of the protection of human rights. Other critiques contend that the operationalized version of R2P is too watered-down to be effective, or that R2P will not emerge into concrete international law. Nevertheless, it is clear that R2P shapes the international normative terrain surrounding intervention to prevent or respond to atrocity, and can be a strong argument against the use of state sovereignty as a shield for state-sponsored human rights violations. Contemporary discussions of MAPRO will need to reference R2P, or at the very least be familiar with it in order to speak to the most current norms in international law.

Sovereignty

Sovereignty is perhaps the key legal consideration for MAPRO. The current international system and the current incarnation of international law, expressed by the UN Charter, rests on the bedrock of the absolute nature of state sovereignty. In its basic form, this means that the international borders of states are inviolable as the highest principle of international law. Consequently, in almost all circumstances military interventions in a sovereign state's territory is widely viewed as forbidden. The projection of military force across international borders is allowable only

in self-defense, and then only until the UN Security Council takes action. However, the UN Security Council may—as will be discussed in the legal authority for intervention section—authorize specific uses of economic, military or other types of force or influence in response to threats to international peace and security under Chapter VII of the UN Charter. These actions can constitute what would otherwise be seen as violations of the sovereignty of the state. Furthermore, should be noted that measures short of military combat, including many flexible deterrent options (FDOs) discussed in this document (such as sanctions, blockades, and no-fly zones) may constitute violations of sovereignty.

The understanding of what is a threat to international peace and security has expanded since the signing of the Charter, and there is now extant state practice and opinion that some situations of atrocity and human rights violations do indeed constitute a threat to international peace and security. However, many states—including some permanent members of the Security Council—continue to argue for a strict definition of sovereignty. These arguments are challenged both by the Responsibility to Protect which attempts to 'condition' sovereignty on the respect for human rights, and the discussions around failed, failing, or weak states that are sovereign—or the sole agent in control of their territory—in name only. The conceptual problems surrounding failed states are important to MAPRO, as failed states which cannot effectively protect their own citizens from a variety of threats are at increased risk of mass atrocity. However, weak or failing states are still sovereign entities in international law and may resist efforts by international actors to intervene, seeing such efforts as threatening their sovereignty.

Legal Authority for Intervention

As has been previously noted, international law contains no right to intervene in situations of mass atrocity. Humanitarian intervention, while sometimes considered 'legitimate' (such as in the case of Operation Allied Force over Kosovo in 1999) lacks specific legal authority under international law. The primary source for authority to act collectively in a situation of mass atrocity continues to be the United Nations Security Council, which holds broad powers to become involved in the peaceful settlement of disputes or prevent and respond to threats to international peace and security under Chapters VI and VII of the UN Charter. In a related note, authority to enact peacekeeping operations is invoked from Chapters VI and VII, and these may be sources of continuing authorization as a MAPRO evolves over time. A final note to consider, given the strictness of the law, is the divergence between international law and state practice on the issue—there have been far more unauthorized interventions than authorized interventions, and those favorably disposed to an intervention may see it as possibly "illegal but legitimate."

There are, however, other debatable sources of legal authority. The R2P source document notes that the General Assembly could consider a matter in Emergency Special Session under the "Uniting For Peace" procedure if a situation is a threat to international peace and security and the Security Council is deadlocked due to disagreement between the permanent five veto-holding members. This ability of the General Assembly can be interpreted as giving it final responsibility for international peace and security; however, there are few historical examples in which the General Assembly has used the Uniting for Peace provision, and none in situations of mass atrocity over the veto

of a Security Council member state. Additionally, Chapter VIII gives some authority and recognition to regional organizations for the maintenance of the peace in Article 52, and there is specific state practice in the interventions of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in Liberia and Sierra Leone, which were retroactively approved through UNSC resolutions. Other debatable authoritative sources outside the United Nations to intervene in situations of mass atrocity—pro-democratic intervention, R2P, humanitarian intervention, *etc.*—remain justifications with differing levels of support among states, none of which approach consensus or universal agreement. A common justification, humanitarian intervention, is seen by some as tainted and problematic because of previous experiences.

The other form of accepted authority for intervention is state consent, a concept that arises out of the practice and opinion surrounding internal armed conflicts, but may equally apply to mass atrocity situations, especially where the state is weak or without sufficient capacity to react effectively. State consent is easily defined, but in practice can be highly problematic. Simply put, state consent constitutes instances when the legally recognized entity authorized to exercise sovereign control of a state invites, grants permission, or approves a request by outside actors to conduct activities that would otherwise constitute, in the absence of consent, an illegal intervention. A number of questions immediately arise and must be considered: Does the inviting party speak for the legitimate government? Is the consent actually voluntary, or has coercive pressure been applied to produce the request? More murky issues arise when considering that mass atrocity scenarios typically arise in states where the state authority is weak, contested, or effectively divided between factions controlling

parts of the territory of the legally fully sovereign state—who, in this scenario, can be said to be the legitimate state representative?

Domestically, there are a number of issues to consider in MAPRO authorization. Primary among these is the War Powers Act of 1973. The War Powers Act only specifies the introduction of U.S. armed forces into direct "hostilities" and, depending on the nature of the MAPRO, may not apply. The definition of the term "hostilities" is also contentious, as the recent debate over the applicability of the War Powers Act to the U.S. role in enforcing Resolution 1973 on Libya demonstrates. The Genocide Accountability Act, which expanded upon the Proxmire Act, allows the U.S. to prosecute any perpetrator of genocide within its own borders, but this is as close as the U.S. legal code comes to describing a crime that may invoke a right or responsibility to intervene.

Genocide, War Crimes, Crimes Against Humanity

This section covers the variety of offenses considered mass atrocity crimes, which have various legal origins. There may also be overlap among them—a crime against humanity may also be genocide, or begin as one and evolve into another, or be defined as different terms by different actors.

Genocide is the most clearly defined and understood crime, established under the 1948 Genocide Convention. The definition given in the Genocide Convention, however, includes the destruction of only certain types of clearly specified groups. Additionally, the perpetrators must specifically intend to eliminate all or a significant part of a specified group in order for it to constitute genocide. Vari-

ous mass atrocity crimes may constitute genocide, including but not limited to: murder; 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. Note that while 'ethnic cleansing' may be the opening phase of an organized genocide, it is not genocide in and of itself.

Grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions are considered war crimes for which the International Criminal Court has jurisdiction. Included within this definition of war crimes are: willful killing, torture; unlawful deportation; and willfully causing great suffering, among others. Depending on the context in which the war crimes occur, and the nature and extent of the war crimes, they could be considered mass atrocity crimes.

The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, which entered into force in 2002, defines crimes against humanity as widespread or systematic attacks against the civilian population including: murder; extermination; enslavement; deportation; and torture, among others. Crimes against humanity can be prosecuted by the ICC or an *ad hoc* tribunal authorized by the UN Security Council, among others. It is important to note that most major U.S. allies are parties to the Rome Statue, but the United States is not, which, from a policy perspective, may impact how the USG proceeds. Crimes against humanity themselves must be part of a broader pattern of atrocities—single cases of human rights abuses, no matter how heinous, are not crimes against humanity. However, a widespread or systematic practice of these atrocities by some authority or group may constitute a crime against humanity.

Reconstruction and Stabilization Activities Legal Considerations

Reconstruction and Stabilization efforts will be driven by the answer to the following questions: What is the end-state of a MAPRO action? Is the MAPRO focusing on the symptoms, or the cause of the conflict or GMA situation? If focusing on the cause of the problem then policy-makers need to be prepared for a more expensive, longer-term effort instead of treating the symptoms alone. Treating the cause will also require more of a whole-of-government approach requiring heavy involvement from agencies like USAID, DOS, and DOJ. If focusing on the symptoms, then the operation will be more dependent on the military, and less dependent on a whole-of-government approach.

Another question that will drive reconstruction and stabilization activities will be whether peace and stability is the focus, or whether pursuing justice against the wrongdoers will be the focus. The answer will determine what resources are brought to bear on the problem, and could pose a tradeoff in that perpetrators who fear being held accountable will be less inclined to accept peace. The international trend regarding such tradeoffs is away from peace/stability, and towards justice/accountability. An example of the difference in resources is that there would be heavy involvement from peacekeeping forces to monitor a peace agreement were one to be negotiated and executed. If justice/accountability is the focus then there would be greater reliance on investigating and prosecuting wrongdoers. If prosecuted domestically then there may be a robust Rule of Law initiative to assist the police, courts, and corrections establishments.

Security Force Assistance efforts may form a significant part of stabilization and reconstruction activities. U.S. law regarding Security Force Assistance efforts require that Host Nation security forces be vetted for a clean human rights record—in MAPRO situations where the line between perpetrator and victim is often blurred, especially those in which the state is or has been complicit in human rights violations, this may be very difficult to achieve. A variety of other actions that will likely be coupled with a MAPRO (e.g., support to local police forces, demining operations, and expansive medical care by U.S. forces to the local populace) are also restricted under U.S. law.

International Human Rights Law Topics

The field of international human rights law is large and beyond the scope of this Handbook, but some relevant topics include the following:

Prohibition of Torture

The prohibition of torture is defined under the Convention Against Torture, which has near universal agreement. Despite this, the widespread practice of torture, by itself or as part of a wider campaign of atrocity, is likely to be encountered during a MAPRO effort. Furthermore, the definition of what is torture, and what are lesser offenses or legal interrogation techniques, is debatable. The considerations on how this should be punished—through the application of relevant domestic law, or referring the case to the ICC or other *ad hoc* international criminal tribunal—will be one of the most important MAPRO considerations given the likely effects of this punishment on the transitional situation.

Prohibition of Slavery

The prohibition of slavery also occupies the highest tier of international human rights law. This prohibition includes slavery in all its forms, arises from Article 4 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and is matched by a wide array of domestic and regional arrangements such as Article 4 of the European Convention on Human Rights. However, the practice does remain widespread under various guises, and MAPRO planners will likely encounter slavery or forms of slavery within the contexts of other human rights violations, failed states, or as part of a wider campaign of discrimination or atrocity. Human trafficking, sexual slavery, or similar examples of slavery can exist as parts of other atrocities or the black market of a weakened state.

Gender Discrimination

Discrimination on the basis of gender, prohibited under a variety of international and regional human rights frameworks such as Article 7 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, remains a major part of the socio-political framework of many states. It may also be prohibited by domestic law, but enshrined in cultural practice. In MAPRO planning, this may contribute to the higher likelihood of certain types of crimes such as mass rape, targeting of women and similar gender based violence. Strongly held cultural frameworks in a given state may contribute to or enforce various types of gender discrimination which are illegal under international human rights law and counter-productive to a stable peace.

Freedom of Religion

The "freedom of thought, conscience and religion" is provided for under Article 18 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. However, it is not considered as high a legal norm as the previous human rights topics, and is typically contested among issues of cultural or national identity, national security, and secularism of the state. No broadly accepted principle of the freedom of religion (or how to operationalize it) exists in international law, though it is accepted as a right. MAPRO planners should thus be aware that during potential post-conflict efforts there may be significant disagreement as to what 'freedom of religion' actually means or looks like.

Refugees/Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)

Under the United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees of 1951, a refugee is defined (in Article 1A) as a person who "owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country." An IDP is a person who left his or her home because of political persecution or violence, but did not cross an international border.

The existence of refugees and/or internally displaced persons will accompany a MAPRO, to a greater or lesser extent. Depending on the situation, the creation of refugees/IDPs and their removal from a given location may be the perpetrators' objective. Accordingly, MAPRO planners must carefully consider refugee/IDP care and resettlement in order to avoid, in effect, supporting the perpetrators or

rewarding their behavior. The international law on refugees centers around the UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 additional Protocol, and primarily requires that state parties to the treaty co-operate and assist the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in its duties. The principle of non-refoulement, or prohibition of the forced return of refugees from the country from which they fled, is binding on all states.

IDPs, however, are not covered under the Convention, and their own state is legally responsible for their protection as citizens with the same rights as the non-displaced. At a minimum, this protection is to ensure access to rights necessary to survival and to request aid where the state does not have sufficient resources. The UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs has published the "Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement" which compiles the obligations under international law on IDPs and policy recommendations for effectively working with UN-HCR. However, IDPs may be considered, in many cases, *de facto* refugees, and protection given to IDPs by the state or international refugee law may be insufficient. More expansive definitions of refugees that include situations of IDPs may be found in the 1969 Organization of African Unity Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa and the 1984 Cartagena Declaration on Refugees, and planners may wish to make reference to these when preparing comprehensive programs responding to the needs of IDPs.

International Criminal Law

International criminal law (ICL) is a recent addition to general international law, arising out of the trials at the end of the Second World War and forming into a coherent

body of law only in the last twenty years as a result of case law promulgated by the international criminal tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda (ICTY and ICTR), the ICC, and *ad hoc* tribunals in Sierra Leone and Cambodia. ICL seeks to hold accountable those persons responsible for violating international human rights law and international humanitarian law. ICL is an evolution beyond general international law, which typically only treats states and interstate relations as topics of interest. However, the precise boundaries and sources of ICL are difficult to pinpoint. What is clear is that most serious violations of international humanitarian law and international human rights law activate ICL processes, and accordingly ICL will be a major factor in MAPRO. As a result, much thought will need to be given to policy questions related to ICL. For example, under what conditions will suspected perpetrators be apprehended? Who has the authority to apprehend? Where will perpetrators be held once apprehended? What tribunal will try the perpetrators—a domestic court, an *ad hoc* tribunal, or the ICC? Planners and policy makers should be cognizant that questions surrounding ICL are not purely "legal," but often involve larger political questions.

Much debate revolves around the Rome Statute, the founding treaty for the International Criminal Court, which has fairly wide-ranging independent discretion to investigate alleged crimes. According to the Rome Statute, cases may be referred to the ICC in one of three ways: 1) by a state that is party to the Rome Statute; 2) by a referral from the United Nations Security Council; or 3) by an investigation conducted by the ICC prosecutor. Consequently, since the United States is not a party to the Rome Statute, it is unable to directly refer a case to the ICC. Despite being a non-party, President Obama, as articulated in his 2010 National Security Strategy, has opted for a policy of coop-

eration and engagement with the ICC. Examples of United States cooperation and engagement include the United States support for the ICC's efforts to prosecute war crimes in Darfur and the United States participation in the ICC's Review Conference in Kampala, Uganda. The United States pledged at Kampala to build judicial capacity in countries with a history of mass atrocities, like the Democratic Republic of Congo.

The involvement of UN actors in the prosecution of ICL is likely preferable from a perception of legitimacy standpoint than unilateral seizure and prosecution of the accused, though this may depend on the transitional justice situation on the ground. It will be difficult to determine whether American criminal law, local criminal law, or ICL should be the primary law applied, and this decision will need to be made in a complex political environment. The ICC is based upon the principle of complementarity, which means it is a court of last resort to be used only when national courts are unable or unwilling to prosecute those accused of committing mass atrocities. This is a crucial point—the ICC and other ICL based tribunals are only empowered to act where there is no other judicial system willing or able to prosecute those accused of mass atrocity crimes. The intervening force may be called upon to support investigations, or apprehend accused individuals. As a further consideration, whereas the U.S. remains outside of the Rome Statute, other members of an intervening coalition may support the ICC. *Ad hoc* international criminal tribunals have been set up in previous GMA situations, such as in the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda, and these may provide useful guidelines.

Other Topics with Legal Implications

A number of issues arise in MAPRO that do not neatly fit in the above categories and are detailed below. United States Armed Forces personnel, specifically Judge Advocate General officers among others, may be required to support, as a part of a broader program of justice sector reform, various measures with significant legal implications. This support could entail a range of tasks, including protecting witnesses, preserving evidence, and supporting the investigation, arrest, and transfer of suspected war criminals.

Consequently, personnel assigned to a unit that is part of a MAPRO could easily find themselves participating in the evidence gathering and investigation efforts with a view to prosecuting the perpetrators. In such a case, the diligence of judge advocates and their respective units are with respect to collecting and processing evidence could determine the success or failure of any subsequent prosecutions.

Judge advocates will likely need to request resources necessary to conduct an adequate investigation; inform the chain-of-command of the progress of the investigation; train local investigators on the unique qualities of an international criminal investigation, including the elements of genocide and crimes against humanity; monitor the progress of the investigation for gaps; and assist investigators organize and package the evidence that facilitate its potential use by prosecutors. All of these tasks may require specific legal authorization or considerations. Support beyond that which is available in a brigade combat team will likely be necessary, especially if the MAPRO extends beyond immediate intervention to stop atrocity, and may require the deployment of one or more Legal Operation Teams.

Witness Protection. The protection of witnesses to a crime against humanity, war crime, genocide or other violation of international law is of course crucial to the success of any transitional justice which is typically required after a MAPRO. The protection of witnesses, however, who are likely to be among the victimized group or groups, must be considered before the MAPRO begins.

Mass Graves Identification/Exploitation. The documentation and preservation of evidence is a task related to supporting war crimes courts and tribunals. Failing to implement a reliable evidence collection process could significantly handicap subsequent prosecutions. If possible, access to a mass atrocity site should be restricted only to those persons with a need to be there, primarily investigative and forensics personnel. Videos and photographs should be taken during the processing of the site in order to document the procedures used by the investigators, and therefore rebut later skeptical allegations about the credibility of the prosecution's evidence. Combat Camera detachments may be effective in accomplishing this task.

- Identification. Satellite and other high altitude imagery can greatly assist in locating / identifying mass graves, as was done in the Balkans in the '90s. In the case of the Balkans, both the United Kingdom and the U.S. ultimately were generous in handing over satellite imagery to ICTY prosecutors, some of which was introduced as evidence at ICTY prosecutions. Tasking authority for strategic assets like satellites is generally retained at a very high level. Consequently, a decision will have to be made whether, as a matter of policy, identifying mass graves (and other incriminating images) is important enough of a priority to justify tasking satellite assets.

- Exploitation. Exploiting a mass grave site is essentially a law enforcement function. Within DOJ (especially the FBI), the federal government has law enforcement assets and other subject matter experts that could greatly assist in the exploitation process. Specifically, the FBI possesses the subject matter expertise related to large, complex criminal cases involving large number of witnesses and large volumes of evidence. The DOJ also has a section that prosecutes war crimes and other human rights violations (http://www.justice.gov/criminal/hrsp/). If a MAPRO is going to truly be an whole-of-government endeavor, then participation from FBI investigators and DOJ lawyers would be indispensable.

- Processing. When processing a suspected mass atrocity site, investigators should focus on physical and documentary evidence, some of which will be unique to mass atrocity crimes. Obviously, particular emphasis should be given to facts and circumstances surrounding victims' deaths. Their corpses, the clothing they were wearing, and the items they carried all tell a story. If the victims were carrying important personal documents like home titles and marriage certificates, large amounts of clothing, and articles of food, a reasonable conclusion is that they were embarking on a journey, presumably at the behest of their killers. Victims sharing the same or similar fatal wounds would suggest premeditation associated with a larger, methodical genocidal plan, and therefore not combat-related. For example, the weapon of choice by the Rwandan Interahamwe was the machete, which resulted in similar

wounds. Input from medical personnel can be indispensable to investigators in determining cause of death, and an approximate date. Furthermore, records kept by the perpetrators themselves have been historically extremely useful (for example, dispatch records for vehicles that may have been used to transport victims). Evidence that may be in the hands of NGOs who may be very reluctant to work with military forces must also be sought.

Evidence Chain of Custody. While important, evidence chain of custody considerations will likely not rise to the level of policy. However, an important consideration is the use of an Atrocity Reporting System (ARS), which may include a comprehensive process for tracking and accounting for evidence. Use of an ARS may be important enough of an issue in the facilitation of the prosecution of crimes related to a MAPRO for policy makers to direct that investigators use an ARS. Failing to do so may handicap investigators and could negatively prejudice the quality of subsequent prosecutions.

Civ-Mil Teaming. Appropriate civilian-military cooperation is critical, and a MAPRO will almost certainly include a strong civilian element, especially when planning for the post-conflict phase. Ensuring all relevant USG (and other) partners are kept abreast of legal developments, and have input at appropriate levels of decision, will help achieve success.

Rules of Engagement (ROE) (including detention/segregation/incarceration of personnel). Planners should also be aware that there are a number of legal issues that arise in the context of military operations, as the laws of war/ international humanitarian law apply when U.S. forces

employ force. Rules of Engagement (ROE) will have to be crafted within the parameters of international law to guide use of force in a MAPRO. Directives on the use of force (DUFs) are employed to define the use of force by United Nations police and staff in defense of a Chapter VII protection of civilians mandate. These also include the use of unarmed force, detention and restraint, which are areas also covered by sections of international humanitarian law and international human rights law. Examining examples of UN DUFs or previous ROEs of U.S. forces may prove useful to MAPRO planners. There are also international law guidelines for the employment of force by law enforcement, whether under UN aegis or not. These are not nearly as extensive as those that exist to regulate the means and methods of armed forces in wartime, but planners should keep in mind that legal guidance is also required for use of force by law enforcement officers.   DOD Directive 2310.01E (DOD Detainee Program) is a useful reference that spells out the issues to consider from a policy perspective, which include the legal authority to detain, detainee treatment; and detainee transfer.

Working with Local Authorities. Status of Forces Agreements (SOFAs) are typically negotiated between the Host Nation and international forces. However, a MAPRO may involve hostile entry into a nation's territory, or a government too weak to effectively implement a SOFA. Nevertheless, SOFAs provide important guidance on the privileges, immunities, and responsibilities members of international forces carry, and previous examples should be studied in detail before preparing a MAPRO.

The decision of whether to work with local authorities will depend on what role they played in the mass atrocity (or potential mass atrocity) to begin with. For instance,

if the local authorities were merely inept or without the capacity to prevent the mass atrocity in the first place (as may be the case in failing or weak states), then as a matter of policy it may make sense to work closely with these authorities. If, on the other hand, the local authorities were overtly a part of the problem and/or clearly played a role in facilitating the mass atrocity (as was the case in 1994 Rwanda), as a matter of policy (and in consideration of the legal implications) cooperation must be given careful consideration.

A further issue to anticipate will be whether U.S. forces will have the authority to apprehend wanted/indicted war criminals while working with local authorities. In the interventions surrounding the wars in the former Yugoslavia, indicted war criminals were sometimes not apprehended, even given actionable intelligence regarding their whereabouts. The basis for the non-apprehension policy was fear of a public backlash against international forces. Ultimately the policy changed, resulting in the apprehension of wanted war criminals, but similar issues may arise in future MAPRO situations.

ANNEX G: Strategic Communication

There are many different definitions and understandings of the term "strategic communication." In a general sense, everything an organization says about itself and everything an organization does (or fails to do) contributes to what people think and know about that organization. Strategic communication is a process for planning and coordinating what is said and done in a manner that provides a consistent understanding about the organization.

The Defense Department's Joint Publication 1-02 defines strategic communication as "Focused United States Government efforts to understand and engage key audiences to create, strengthen, or preserve conditions favorable for the advancement of United States Government interests, policies, and objectives through the use of coordinated programs, plans, themes, messages, and products synchronized with the actions of all instruments of national power." In a 2010 report to Congress, the DoD discussed strategic communication as a "process that involves both horizontal coordination (across DoD and the U.S. Government, as well as with international partners when appropriate) and vertical coordination (up and down the chain of command)."[36]

The report went on to say that the "strategic communication process is designed to synchronize—and thus maximize the impact of—efforts to achieve one or more of the following, depending on the circumstances:
- Improve U.S. credibility and legitimacy;
- Weaken an adversary's credibility and legitimacy;

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[36] *Department of Defense Report on Strategic Communication—December 2009* (Report of the Secretary of Defense to the House Committee on Armed Forces in accordance with the National Defense Authorization Act for FY 2009). Report submitted February 11, 2010.

- Convince selected audiences to take specific actions that support U.S. or international objectives;
- Cause a competitor or adversary to take (or refrain from taking) specific actions.

Thus, a strategic communication plan for responding (or not responding) to a mass atrocity situation has to explain to national and international audiences how the actions we are taking support U.S. policies and interests, as well as how they support the image we want to project, as a nation and as a part of the international community, as to what the United States stands for. For example, do the actions support the U.S. image as a world leader? A dependable ally? A nation committed to protection of people at risk? In short, are our actions consistent with our words (stated policies and principles)?

Eleven supporting capabilities that are critical to the strategic communication process:

1. The ability to integrate all actions to maximize desired efforts on selected audiences.

2. The ability to coordinate actions with the efforts of other agencies and partners within the context of a broader national strategy.

3. The ability to access, produce, and maintain information and knowledge on the perceptions, attitudes, and beliefs of potential audiences.

4. The ability to access, produce, and maintain information and knowledge on complex social communication systems, including the characteristics of various media channels and the intentions, capabilities and efforts of other influencers within—and having an effect on—the situation.

5. The ability to detect, monitor, translate, and assess the effects of the strategic communication efforts of others—including friendly governments, non-state groups, neutrals, competitors, and adversaries—as the basis for responding to those effects.

6. The ability to estimate the direct and indirect effects of potential actions and signals on the perceptions, attitudes, beliefs, and actions of selected audiences, both intended and unintended.

7. The ability to conceive and formulate timely and culturally attuned messages.

8. The ability quickly to produce and deliver information designed to influence selected audiences as desired.

9. The ability to conceive and coordinate physical actions or maintain physical capabilities designed to influence selected audiences as desired.

10. The ability to document, through various means, USG actions and to disseminate this information in real or near-real time as required.

11. The ability to coordinate, monitor, measure, and assess the effects of friendly signals with other partners on intended and unintended audiences in relation to expected effects.

Key questions decision-makers, planners and implementers have to focus on throughout the MAPRO process are:

- First, are the proposed plans, policies, actions and words integrated into—and consistent with—a strategic communication plan for the proposed MAPRO actions.
- Second, is the strategic communication plan for the proposed MAPRO actions integrated into—and consistent with—the strategic communication of the United States.

ANNEX H: References

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ACRONYMS

APB	Atrocities Prevention Board
ACT	Advance Civilian Team
CJTF	Combined Joint Task Force
COI	Community of Interest
COM	Chief of Mission
CSO	Department of State Bureau for Conflict and Stabilization Operations
DC	Deputies Committee
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FDOs	Flexible Deterrent Options
GMA	Genocide and/or Mass Atrocities
GMAP	Genocide and Mass Atrocity Prevention
GPTF	Genocide Prevention Task Force
HUMINT	Human Intelligence
ICAF	Interagency Conflict Assessment Framework
IORF	International Operational Response Framework
IPC	Interagency Policy Committee
IPT	Interagency Planning Team
ISR	Intelligence, Surveillance, and Reconnaissance
JSTARS	Joint Surveillance Target Attack Radar System
LOE	Line of Effort
MAPRO	Mass Atrocity Prevention and Response Options
MARO	Mass Atrocity Response Operations
MEU	Marine Expeditionary Unit
MISO	Military Information Support Operations
NSS	National Security Strategy
PC	Principals Committee
PoC	Protection of Civilians

QDDR	Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review
QDR	Quadrennial Defense Review
PMESII	Political, Military/Security, Economic, Information, Infrastructure
PSD-10	Presidential Study Directive on Mass Atrocities
R&S	Reconstruction and Stabilization
R2P	Responsibility to Protect
S/CRS	Department of State Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization
SOF	Special Operations Forces
SRSG	Special Representative to the Secretary General
TSC	Theater Security Cooperation
UAS	Unmanned Aerial System
UN	United Nations
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USG	United States Government
WFP	World Food Program
WHO	World Health Organization

ABOUT THE HANDBOOK

Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute