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## 2010 SSI Annual Strategy Conference Report "Defining War for the 21st Century"

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## 2010 SSI Annual Strategy Conference Report

# DEFINING WAR FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

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Steven Metz  
Phillip Cuccia



# STRATEGIC STUDIES INSTITUTE



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**2010  
Strategic Studies Institute Annual  
Strategy Conference Report**

**DEFINING WAR FOR THE 21ST CENTURY**

**Steven Metz  
Phillip Cuccia**

**February 2011**

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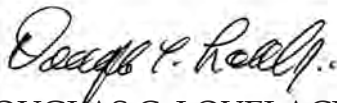
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## FOREWORD

For more than 2 decades, the Strategic Studies Institute (SSI) has hosted an annual strategy conference. Each conference was designed to convene some of the world's top experts on a major strategic issue, and to use cutting edge scholarship and analysis to help the U.S. Army and Department of Defense (DoD) leadership understand the issue. The April 2010 Strategy Conference was entitled "Defining War for the 21st Century."

The conference included a keynote address by Professor Martin van Creveld, a banquet presentation by Major General (Retired) Robert Scales, and panels on the historical context; the instigation of war; the end of wars; the participants in war; the rule sets governing war; and the policy, strategy, and organizational implications of defining war. The conference speakers, which included well known scholars, former policymakers, and former senior military leaders, agreed on some points, but often had very different perspectives. Most importantly, they identified the most pressing questions that the American and international defense communities are grappling with as they refine their definition of war.

In the report which follows, Steven Metz and Philip Cuccia of SSI have summarized the presentations and debates at the conference and placed them in their wider intellectual and strategic context. SSI is pleased to offer this report in fulfillment of its mission to assist U.S. Army and DoD senior leaders and strategic thinkers in understanding the key issues of the day.



DOUGLAS C. LOVELACE, JR.  
Director  
Strategic Studies Institute



## ABOUT THE AUTHORS

STEVEN METZ is Chairman of the Regional Strategy Department and Research Professor of National Security Affairs at the Strategic Studies Institute. He has been with SSI since 1993, previously serving as Henry L. Stimson Professor of Military Studies and SSI's Director of Research. Dr. Metz has also been on the faculty of the Air War College, the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, and several universities. He has been an advisor to political campaigns and elements of the intelligence community; served on national security policy task forces; testified in both houses of Congress; and spoken on military and security issues around the world. He is the author of more than 100 publications including articles in journals such as *Washington Quarterly*, *Joint Force Quarterly*, *The National Interest*, *Defence Studies*, and *Current History*. Dr. Metz's research has taken him to 30 countries, including Iraq immediately after the collapse of the Hussein regime. He currently serves on the RAND Corporation Insurgency Board and blogs for *The New Republic* and *National Journal*. He is the author of *Iraq and the Evolution of American Strategy* and is working on a book entitled *Strategic Shock: Eight Events That Changed American Security*. Dr. Metz holds a Ph.D. from the Johns Hopkins University.

PHILLIP R. CUCCIA is the Director of European Studies in the Regional Strategy Department of the Strategic Studies Institute. He is currently assigned to the International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan. Prior assignments included the staff of the Operations Chief of the Office of Defense Cooperation



at the U.S. Embassy to Italy, and assistant Political Advisor and Planning Officer at the NATO Joint Forces South HQ in Naples, Italy. Lieutenant Colonel Cuccia has served in armor and cavalry units in various positions from the platoon through regimental level. He participated in Operations DESERT SHIELD/STORM and UPHOLD DEMOCRACY, and the NATO mission in Iraq. Lieutenant Colonel Cuccia holds a B.S. degree from the United States Military Academy, and an M.A. and Ph.D. in military and European history from Florida State University.

## SUMMARY

The Strategic Studies Institute's XXI Annual Strategy Conference, held at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, from April 6-8, 2010, addressed the topic of the meaning of war. While it did not seek to produce a definitive answer to questions about the nature and definition of war, it did highlight the crucial questions and their implications, including issues such as whether the cause of war is shifting, whether all forms of organized, politically focused violence constitute war, and the distinction between passive and active war.



2010  
Strategic Studies Institute Annual  
Strategy Conference Report

DEFINING WAR FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

**Introduction.**

Since the end of the Cold War, debate has raged among scholars of security strategy as to whether the nature of war has changed and, if so, what that means. Concepts such as “new” and “hybrid” war have entered the lexicon, suggesting that there is an important, perhaps profound, distinction between the wars of the past and those of the present and future. Some analysts even suggest that the concept of war itself is obsolete. For such radicals, militaries and defense establishments must undertake wholesale retooling or transformation to adjust to contemporary war. Traditionalists, by contrast, focus on continuity. They contend that while the *character* of war has changed (as it often does), its essential *nature* persists. Strategy should not, for the traditionalists, succumb to fads. This debate has profound implications for strategy, force development, and leader development. For the United States (and other nations) to prepare for future security challenges, its military and civilian leaders must grapple with the changing meaning of war.

The Strategic Studies Institute’s XXI Annual Strategy Conference, held at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, from April 6-8, 2010, addressed this important topic by gathering nearly 200 of the world’s top experts on war. While the conference certainly could not produce a definitive answer to questions about the nature and

definition of war, it did highlight the crucial questions and their implications. Speaker biographies can be found in the appendix to this report.

### **The Meaning of War.**

Dr. Martin van Creveld—one of the world’s most eminent military historians and strategic theorists—provided the conference’s keynote address. Van Creveld stressed that throughout history, war has had two distinct meanings. The Clausewitzian meaning—which dominates American thinking—defines war as organized violence to achieve political ends. This divorces war from ethical or normative structures. Carl von Clausewitz and his followers devoted little attention to the question of whether war in general or a specific war was legal or ethical. The goal was an amoral, even scientific approach. Ethics and legality remained important but fell within the realm of politics rather than strategy. The other meaning, which has been used at least since the Roman empire, approached war as a *legal* condition, defining the permissible limits of organized violence. War allowed the use of different ethical and normative frameworks than peace. These specified who could kill, whom they could kill, and under what conditions they could kill. Ethics and legality, in other words, could not be divorced from strategy and the conduct of war.

While the Clausewitzian notion pervades the Western military and strategic communities, van Creveld argued, there is great value in the second approach. Without an organizing and constraining ethical/legal framework, violence can devolve into unmitigated barbarity. Law is part of the rationality which Clausewitz considered the constraining factor which

prevents all war from becoming total war. But, van Creveld noted, war unconstrained by a legal or ethical framework has become common in places such as Bosnia, East Timor, Eastern Congo, and Sierra Leone. There was no formal declaration of war and often no peace treaty in conflicts of that type. Nothing defines war's beginning and end. As a result, the conflicts became barbarous, particularly for noncombatants.

Van Creveld noted that there also have been wars where the state and government of the losing side is annihilated and thus unable to formalize the passage from war to peace. Examples include the Jewish conquest of Israel and Alexander's conquest of Persia. In such cases, the only constraint on violence was the will of the winning side. It could choose to destroy the population of conquered territories—the Jews in Israel—or to leave the population intact in order to extract tribute (Alexander in Persia). A third form of war is one in which one or both of the antagonists lack a formal government from the beginning. This means that they cannot participate in shifting the legal situation from peace to war and back. Such conflicts tend to simply peter out rather than having a formal, recognized end point. This leaves little distinction between war and peace. The "long war"—ongoing conflict between the West and al Qaeda—is an example. At other times, none of the antagonists constitute a formal government operating within a legal framework, so war becomes endemic, Hobbesian, parasitic violence. This is relatively rare in the West but increasingly common elsewhere.

Van Creveld argued that there are advantages to strengthening the ruling structure of a stateless antagonist to give at least the potential for a negotiated and enforceable peace. This idea has important stra-

tegic implications. For instance, it suggests that “high value targeting” – killing the leadership of insurgent or terrorist groups – as used by the United States in Afghanistan, Israel in the West Bank and Gaza, Russia in Chechnya, and some other nations may, in the long term, prove counterproductive. A decapitated insurgency or terrorist movement may be degraded or fragmented but it cannot participate in a peace settlement or enforce the terms of the settlement on its followers. Ultimately, van Creveld suggested, the ensuing anomie and endless war may prove worse than a peace negotiated with and enforced by the leadership of an enemy organization.

### **The Historical Context.**

The first panel of the conference focused on the historical context for the evolution of war. It included Dr. John Lynn, Dr. Brian Linn, Mr. Frank Hoffman, and Dr. Antulio Echevarria.

Dr. Lynn explained that the character of war had been far different in the 17th and 18th centuries. The dominant image – at least in the Western world – was interstate war involving conventional armies and navies fighting battles in line and column. But in reality, sieges were far more numerous than battles, while “small wars” against guerrilla and partisan forces were common. In fact, every epoch witnesses this mix. Often a single war combined the forms. The Boer War, for instance, started with battle and siege, devolved into guerilla insurgency, and ended with often-harsh population control. While warfare took different operational forms, Europeans preferred or felt most comfortable with war between states led by legitimate rulers. Other forms were seen as less important and

glorious. They were to be tolerated only when absolutely necessary. War, like law, should be an affair of states.

For Lynn, the heroic picture of U.S. General George S. Patton waiting for German Field Marshal Erwin Rommel's attack captured what Americans, as the inheritors of the European tradition, wanted war to look like. He contrasted that with a picture of a soldier in an Iraqi home using a small mag-light to inspect a dresser drawer while a clearly terrified woman and her son crouch nearby. This, to Americans, is inglorious war. Young soldiers did not enlist for it, and the American public has difficulty understanding it. Americans still yearn for conventional maneuver warfare with its power, clarity, and glory. In defining war for the 21st century, we must be able to face reality in our own cultural expectations of war. This observation highlighted a key point that recurred throughout the Strategy Conference: War has other functions than simply the pursuit or protection of national interests through the use of force. If it did not, the distinction between heroic and nonheroic, legitimate and illegitimate, and preferred or unpreferred war would not matter. That it does matter shows that war plays other psychological, cultural, and political roles beyond the pursuit of national interests.

Dr. Brian Linn discussed the American "way" of war but warned that many who analyze this are more interested in influencing current policy than providing reasoned and balanced analysis of the past or the present. History, he suggested, offered several different ways to look at the American way of war. One is to view it as an aspect of a national culture as Victor Davis Hanson does.<sup>1</sup> Americans treat war in a certain way because of their broader perspectives on politics, eco-



nomics, history, and national purpose. Another way is to derive a pattern from the American experience in major war. Emory Upton pioneered this, arguing that the public viewed war and peace as two separate and wholly distinct conditions.<sup>2</sup> This led Americans to enter wars unprepared but, after getting bloodied, learning to defer to military professionals and becoming adept at combat. This view is popular in the military. A third method focuses on weapons and the methods of using weapons. Advanced by U.S. Army General Billy Mitchell and popular among techno-centric thinkers, particularly in the Air Force, this is advanced by those who tend to think of net-centric warfare and the revolution in military affairs.<sup>3</sup> They contend that with the new methods, the validity of historic principles and lessons are limited. The definition that most American historians accept is derived from the work of Russell Weigley. This traces the evolution of U.S. military operations from a concentration on attrition to an approach based on annihilation.<sup>4</sup> This risks oversimplification by using large-scale, conventional wars as the paradigm.

A useful definition or concept, according to Linn, must transcend specific conflicts and the methods of a particular commander. This would allow it to be used to anticipate (but not predict) the future. But, Linn noted, this is difficult. Thinking about future war is shaped by assumptions and traditions which are often unrecognized. This can lead to an overestimation of the degree to which a concept or organization is new or innovative. Hence to define war for the 21st century, it is vital to understand how it was defined in the past. Scholars and strategists must recognize that every era involved contesting and often politicized definitions, all designed as much to influence policy as to illuminate the subject.

Mr. Frank Hoffman noted that defining war is vitally important for the military profession, but it is important to move beyond the study of battles to understand the political, socio-cultural, techno-economic, and geo-dimensional elements of armed conflict. Like most of the conference participants, Hoffman accepted the Clausewitzian notion that war has an enduring nature and a changing character, and that it is crucial to understand both elements and to distinguish between them. He considered hybridization the most important ongoing change in the character of war.<sup>5</sup> This blends conventional warfare with organized crime, irregular conflict, and terrorism.

Dr. Antulio Echevarria noted that attempts to re-define war or refine the definition have been common within academia, but they are often problematic. One example—and one of the most widely discussed attempts—was the “new war” theory which arose in the 1990s.<sup>6</sup> This, Echevarria argued, had limited applicability outside the European context. Within the military profession, there is a divide between those like Lieutenant General (Retired) Paul van Riper, U.S. Marine Corps, who believe that war has an immutable nature and a changing character, and those like Lieutenant General David Deptula, U.S. Air Force, who believe that the nature of war is also changeable. Echevarria also noted that there is debate within the military profession as to whether war has a second “grammar” based on insurgency. Proponents of this position contend that many of the problems the United States faced in Iraq and Afghanistan arose when the military’s infatuation with Clausewitz led it to conclude that war has only one grammar.

Echevarria then explained that the Clausewitzian notion of war is comprehensive and flexible enough to explain contemporary and future forms without the need for wholesale redefinition. Clausewitz's definition, which was developed in stages through his work rather than in one passage, views war as the composite of hostility, chance, and purpose. It is not subject solely to the laws of logical necessity, but also to the laws of probability and to the dictates and constraints of policy or politics. This implies the need to use means appropriate to the desired end. Echevarria argued that the world is not in a "post-Clausewitzian" period, but is in a "post new war" period.

### **How Do We Know That We Are at War?**

Until recently, this question would have struck strategists and political leaders as peculiar, perhaps even absurd. At least in the Western world, the inception of a war was clear. War began when political leaders declared that it had, or through a stunning surprise attack like that by the Japanese at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, or the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941. Even when one antagonist felt that war had begun before the other did—al Qaeda's war against the United States—an unambiguous attack marked the opening of mutual hostility. That changed everything. As van Creveld noted, norms, laws, and values shifted. Militaries mobilized and expanded. This often required the instigation of or expansion of conscription. In an era of total war, the economy also went on a war footing. This would almost certainly include increased production of weapons and war material, but also increased taxation and government borrowing. And there was a general change in political dis-

course and public attitudes—partisanship normally declined (at least early in a war) while demonstrations of patriotism expanded. The opening weeks of World War I saw public celebration across Europe, as did the beginning of the Civil War in the American South and World War II in Germany and Japan. Long before the first casualties struck at a nation's communities, it knew that war had begun.

Today this may have changed. The opening salvos of 21st century war may not be armed attack, but a range of other hostile actions designed to weaken a state. Strategic futurists have speculated that this may take the form of cyber attacks from unidentified sources, engineered economic crises, or even pandemics. Thus, the argument goes, a nation may be at war without knowing it. And without knowing precisely who the enemy is. To examine this issue, the second panel of the Strategy Conference included Dr. Michael Vlahos, Lieutenant General (Retired) Peter Leahy, Dr. Peter Dombrowski, and Dr. James Carafano.

To begin exploring this issue, Vlahos drew ideas from his seminal book, *Fighting Identity*.<sup>7</sup> Most modern wars, he argued, are “wars of the people” or “sacred” wars which shape and become part of national identity rather than simply being the pursuit of limited regime interests—consider the difference between the sacred wars of the Napoleonic period and the dynastic wars which dominated Europe following the end of the Wars of Religion and the Thirty Years War. Sacred wars involve rituals to indicate that the nation is “at war,” and thus should behave differently. These include investing the enemy with perfidy and portraying it as “the other,” and banding the people of the state together for victory over the perfidious other. Ritual and national sacrifice is important not only

for the actual fighting of a war, but also for clearly indicating the status of being “at war.” War, in other words, is distinct from “not war” at multiple levels, many inextricably connected to the identity of the nation which undertakes it. It is a national “time out,” when all else is put aside or becomes less important than prosecution of the war. This is a vital point: War is not only a method by which one state imposes its will on another, but also a vital component of creating a nation and driving its evolution. Participation in war changes a nation just as profoundly as it changes an individual.

Sacred war—one which plays a major role in the development or evolution of national identity—involves a great goal or mission, universal sacrifice of some sort from the citizenry of the nation at war, and a great enemy. Triumph moves the national narrative ahead: A nation victorious in sacred war is different than it used to be in significant ways. This could certainly be seen in America’s previous sacred wars like the Civil War and World War II. The post-September 11, 2001 (9/11) “global war on terror” (GWOT) attacks on the Twin Towers in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington, DC, though, were different. Initially, they appeared to be a sacred war, with transcendent, system-altering goals once a perfidious enemy was vanquished. But President George W. Bush elected to pursue them as a “war of the state” or a colonial style war rather than a sacred war, even while using the rhetoric of a sacred war to describe it. The American population never became an active participant through sacrifice. And the transcendent, system-altering goals were only words. Eventually President Bush recognized the corrosive impact of this dissonance and toned down the rhetoric, but the problem

was never fully resolved and, to an extent, continued into the Obama administration.

Vlahos felt that the United States now has three choices in its conflict with Islamic extremists: It could move it below the threshold of “at war.” It could redesign American’s national narrative into a transformative mission not driven by war. Or it could carry on with the dissonance between the national narrative and national actions and hope for the best. This, he suggested, was a recipe for a divided and irresolute nation.

Lieutenant General (Retired) Peter Leahy, former Chief of the Australian Army and currently professor and foundation director of the National Security Institute at the University of Canberra, approached the issue differently, contending that the West is at war because its military is engaged with an enemy utilizing armed violence. This is an important point, suggesting that war can begin unilaterally rather than requiring mutual consent. But the bounding of wars has changed as it becomes increasingly difficult to segregate the military and nonmilitary dimensions. Contemporary wars require a much more integrated use of the elements of national power. They also tend to last longer than previous wars, involve more civilian casualties, and entail rapid adaptation on the part of the combatants. War, in other words, is persistent and pervasive. The nations of the world—and their militaries—are still adjusting to this.

Dombrowski, like Vlahos, argued that war is socially constructed. He also agreed that the GWOT did not meet the standard of a “sacred war,” given that the American public was not called on to participate in or sacrifice for it. Even its monetary costs have been passed to later generations. Dombrowski did stress

that this conflict entails a significant amount of strategic choice. The Bush administration, and later the Obama administration, did not have to portray the conflict with al Qaeda as a war with postponed payment and a limited burden on the public. Historically, a high degree of strategic choice characterizes American involvement in war. A case can be made that all of America's wars are "wars of choice." This has major repercussions, making meaning and purpose more significant than for nations which enter wars purely for survival. America's wars must be sold to the public. Often this is an ongoing process as fatigue and distraction set in, demanding that the purpose of the war be refined, redefined, or at least re-explained. Dombrowski also noted that how the United States elects to portray and perceive a war has a major effect on the definition of victory or success. That is certainly clear in the war against al Qaeda. Initially, the Bush administration defined victory as the destruction of terrorism by altering the political and economic structures which gave rise to extremism. Now, it is less clear what victory means. Is it the absence of major terrorist attacks on the United States itself? On American targets around the world? The destruction of al Qaeda as an organization? The further delegitimization of terrorism? Each of these has its supporters, but there are no definitive answers, leaving America claiming to be engaged in a war in which it cannot identify victory or even acceptable success.

Carafano approached the panel topic from a different angle, contending that the important question is not whether the United States is or is not at war, but why that issue is debated. Like Leahy, Carafano suggested that attacks by organized groups constitute war even without a formal or ritual declaration. De-

bate over whether the United States is currently at war reflects a broader and deeper divide between a neo-liberal and realist approach to statecraft. For a neo-liberal, distinguishing war from “not war” matters greatly. The objective is to develop institutions and processes which diminish war to the maximum extent possible. War occurs because of flaws in international institutions and conflict resolution processes. To a neo-liberal, the existence of war implies that institutions and processes need strengthening. For a realist, what matters is the preservation and augmentation of national power. Distinguishing war and “not war” is unimportant. Strategy should reflect the convergence of rules and power rather than some updated or revised definition of war. As it has been for at least a century, America is torn between these two perspectives.

The panel’s discussion indicated that there is debate over whether *armed conflict* and *war* are the same. Leahy and Dombrowski argued that it was; the distinction is mostly semantic. Vlahos—like van Creveld during the conference keynote address—differentiated war and other forms of armed conflict, or “sacred war” from other types of war. One question left unanswered was whether “sacred war,” as Vlahos described it, is an enduring historical feature or peculiar to a stage in the evolution of a state. Might it be possible for states to transcend the need or the imperative to advance the national narrative and solidify or change national identity through war, perhaps finding alternative means? Sacred war, in other words, might be part of *becoming* a state but not necessarily part of *being* a state, serving as a violent rite of passage.



## How Do We Know When a War Is Over?

Historically, wars end in one of three ways. There may be a negotiated settlement which signals to military forces, the publics in participant nations, and other states that the war is over. Admittedly, it may take some time for the word to get out—the largest land battle of the War of 1812 took place after the peace treaty was signed, and some Japanese soldiers remained in the field for years after World War II—but the end is definitive and unambiguous. One side may be victorious and impose the terms of the settlement, or it may reflect a compromise giving both sides some of what they wanted. Although, as van Creveld noted, it is now less common, wars may end through the annihilation of one side or the other. The third option is for a war to simply peter out without any formal recognition that it has ended. This is most common in wars involving a nonstate combatant using a strategy of insurgency or some other irregular method. The losing side simply blends back into society, often hiding or abandoning its weapons. Just as states facing irregular enemies may not know when a war begins, they may also not know when one ends. In August 2010, President Obama referred to today as “an age without surrender ceremonies.”<sup>8</sup>

To examine the issue of how to tell when a war is over, the third panel of the Strategy Conference included Dr. Jeremy Black, Dr. Andrew Bacevich, and Major General (Ret.) William Nash.

Black argued that in assessing the question of when a war was over, it was important to move beyond a purely or peculiarly Western perspective. Most of the wars underway today do not involve the West and

thus have different characteristics than Western war. The definition of war and the way it is understood, in other words, have a cultural dimension. Cross cultural wars, which are the kind the United States is most likely to engage in, are particularly challenging. This means that the United States must work to understand how other cultures define war and its end.

To begin developing such understanding, Americans must first realize how eccentric their use of military power is. Unlike the rest of the world, the United States has seldom used its military against its own citizens. This is, however, the norm. For most nations, military success is not defeating a foreign enemy, but reaching an acceptable level of domestic stability with violent opposition under control and the state safely ensconced in power. This particular kind of war, Dr. Black argued, will become even more common as states struggle with resource competition, growing populations and urbanization, and the inherent instability of democratization. Economic growth makes the pressures and fissures of democratization tolerable. Democratization without economic growth can be highly unstable as segments of the population conclude that their interests are not being adequately addressed, and other people are responsible for this condition. The resulting violence will not conform to Western notions of war and its set of values, rules, and constraints. Thus, the assumption that war and peace are distinct and identifiable conditions may not hold. Black also suggested that economic class—while out of fashion in academia—may return as an analytical tool for explaining armed violence, thus reclaiming the prominence it held before the collapse of the Soviet empire appeared to unleash a spate of ethnic conflict in Europe, Africa, and Asia.

Ultimately, Black noted, when a war ends depends on how it is defined. For example, if the American Civil War was really about revolutionizing the racial order rather than simply preserving the union, then it did not end until the 1960s. Often the end of a war comes not when a fielded military is defeated, but when the political leadership and population of one side accepts that it has been defeated. Because the stakes are often higher in internal wars than in wars between states and since most wars in the coming decades will be civil wars involving control of resources, Black believes that it will be possible, perhaps even easy, to attain a military outcome, but difficult to convince publics that they are defeated and thus reach a sustainable conclusion. The result is likely to be periods of conflict interspersed with truces rather than true peace.

Bacevich agreed that in recent years the United States has had trouble bringing armed conflict to a final and sustainable conclusion, in part because it misunderstood the character of those conflicts and thus attempted to impose a convenient framework rather than one which reflected reality. To know when a war is over, American policymakers and strategists must know what it is about.

Nash also took a different approach to the problem, suggesting that the crucial question is whether war termination should be an integral part of the American way of war. In recent conflicts, the United States has tended to focus on battlefield success, assuming that the ultimate resolution of the conflict would more or less take care of itself. Operations DESERT STORM, IRAQI FREEDOM, and ENDURING FREEDOM all exhibited this tendency. The result was embroilment in insurgency. To avoid this, Nash argued, war termination or the ultimate resolution of the core conflict should be the driving factor in American strategy.

## **National Security Strategy and Tactical Art.**

During the conference banquet, Major General (Retired) Robert Scales assessed one of the enduring anomalies of the U.S. military: its failure to dominate land warfare at the tactical level to the same extent that it does other battlespaces like the air and sea, or at the operational and strategic levels. While the United States has the best trained military in the world, on the land it often faces an enemy which is more clever and adaptive, more familiar with the terrain and local culture, and nearly equal in weaponry. Because of the effect that casualties have on public support for involvement in a conflict, failure to dominate land combat at the tactical level has strategic consequences. Recognizing this, enemies seek to kill as many Americans as possible, using a strategy of attrition to counter the U.S. strategy of annihilation.

Although research suggests that the American public is not as casualty averse as policymakers believe (so long as it is convinced that the national interests at stake in a conflict are important), Scales' point is important.<sup>9</sup> It suggests that the United States should lessen the vulnerability of its small combat units. But Washington does not take this as seriously as it should. Policymakers and legislators assume that ground combat is inherently costly and that limiting casualties is solely the responsibility of land force military commanders rather than something which should be addressed at the national level. This means that close ground combat, while causing most American casualties, gets the short shrift in defense resources. Money for research and acquisition gravitates instead toward higher technology areas and big ticket systems. Be-

cause small combat units do not employ capital intensive equipment, improvements are incremental. Much of the basic weaponry and equipment of tactical ground units, Scales noted, is years or even decades old. Moreover, it is difficult to bring technology to bear on the problem of close combat because enemies can change their behavior faster than the U.S. acquisition cycle can react, particularly since the United States prepares small combat units using an industrial age “batch” approach rather than a “boutique” one. It might take years for opponents to react to new technology in the aerospace or naval battlespaces but land combat is shaped as much by tactics as technology, making adaptation quicker.

Yet it does not have to be this way. To remedy the problem, Scales recommended that the Secretary of Defense publicly state that dominance of the small unit battlespace is a strategic priority, and dedicate adequate resources to attain it. The Secretary should challenge the research and development community to meld physical and human sciences toward this goal. He should create a senior level Department of Defense (DoD) steering group to develop a holistic, multi-service program to attain and sustain tactical superiority. The DoD should create a small unit “community of practice” combining academia, industry, law enforcement, and both public and private research and development organizations. It should create a national level small unit gaming and simulation program managed by the land forces but funded by its own line in the DoD budget. It should reform the way that small unit leaders are trained and educated, and challenge the health and medical communities to improve their ability to prepare individuals for the physical and psychological stress of small unit combat. The DoD

budget should add a tactical perspective to strategic policymaking to assure that it meets the needs of small combat units. Finally, the DoD should develop an objective method for assessing and measuring small unit and small unit leader effectiveness to verify that none are sent into combat unprepared.

However, it is important to note that Scales' arguments and recommendations reflected the existing assumptions of American strategy: that Islamic extremists using a strategy of insurgency are the primary enemy; that it is better (and feasible) to fight extremists where they originate; that the American military must play a central role in this; and that this conflict will last for years or decades. If all of these assumptions hold, then attaining and sustaining tactical superiority in land combat against irregular opponents is a strategic necessity. But if the United States abandons any or all of these strategic assumptions — if combat between U.S. land forces and irregular enemies no longer is a central mission of the American military — then a program designed to attain and sustain tactical superiority in land warfare would be less pressing.

### **Who Participates in War?**

Throughout most of history, war was the business of warriors. In pre-modern societies, all men of a certain age were warriors and thus participated in war. With the beginning of civilization, warriors became distinct from nonwarriors. They were readily identifiable through what they wore and other characteristics that demonstrated that they were a profession — and a breed — apart from the rest of society. At the extreme, warriors were ethnically different than the rest of the population as in the Mamluk slave armies used in

Egypt and the janissary units of the Ottoman sultans.<sup>10</sup> The population writ large might serve as a resource pool, providing recruits and materiel for it, but they were not, in the strictest sense, participants. At the extreme, most of the population was isolated from and often disinterested in the conduct of war. In many of Europe's 18th century wars, for instance, it mattered little to most peasants that one dynastic family was defeated and another one took its place. All nobility was more or less the same.

This began to change in the 20th century when revolutionaries like Mao Zedong developed the notion of "people's war." Since they sought to overthrow the state, they initially operated from a position of comparative military weakness. To address this asymmetry, Mao and similar thinkers transformed the people from passive to active participants in war. The result was, in Rupert Smith's phrase, war "amongst the people."<sup>11</sup> Many strategic analysts consider this the norm today. But does it stop there? What other participants matter in the contemporary security environment? Should private security firms be considered participants in war? What about transnational corporations? The media? Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)? Organized crime? Hackers? All of these certainly have a major effect on the instigation, progress, and resolution of war, so why should they not be considered participants?<sup>12</sup> And, to understand *who* participates, analysts must also understand *why* they participate. While Clausewitz may be right that war, as a phenomenon, is about the pursuit of political or policy objectives, the motives of individual participants display an amazing psychological complexity to include idealism, duty, anger, frustration, the desire for personal empowerment, the desire for personal enrichment,

and peer pressure. The particular mix of motives varies across cultures and across time. It is possible that the combination of motives—or at least the ways in which they are mobilized and sustained—is changing today.

To examine the participants in modern war, the fourth panel of the Strategy Conference included Colonel Robert Cassidy, Dr. Paul R. Kan, Dr. Thomas X. Hammes, and Dr. Michael Klare.

Hammes argued that Americans tend to place war in a box, seeing it as an abnormal condition rather than natural, even inevitable, as most of the rest of the world does. This demonstrates the extent to which war reflects its economic, political, social, and technological context. The development of war, Hammes pointed out, has been characterized by a series of innovation curves. Innovations emerge and some prove successful, sparking emulation, refinement, and the pursuit of countermeasures. Eventually even successful innovations decline in effectiveness as countermeasures are refined.<sup>13</sup> Then a new innovation starts the process over. The current innovation, Hammes believes, involves both the methods of warfare and the participants. The most important of these changes is the emergence of superpowered individuals. This is already evident in economics and business, but the 2001 anthrax attacks in Washington, DC, demonstrated the extent to which this might influence the security realm. Smaller groups have greater lethality, thereby challenging traditional notions of military strategy, deterrence, and defense.

Klare focused his comments on the economic beneficiaries of war—various warlords, militias, smugglers, black marketeers, arms merchants, members of security forces, and political leaders who reap person-



al financial gain from the perpetuation of war, or from sustaining instability or chaos. For this group, victory or resolution is not the goal, but rather sustaining the conflict. This has become a pervasive and powerful trend in contemporary wars. In addition, the existence of economic beneficiaries creates tremendous ethical problems for the United States. For example, should the United States overlook involvement by some of its Afghan allies or partners in narco-trafficking?

Klare believes that this dilemma will, if anything, become even more common since the places most prone to armed conflict are ones with pervasive poverty and a lack of legitimate economic opportunities. Involvement in violence is often the only avenue of upward mobility for lower class young men. In such conflicts, organizations which began as political ones often mutate into criminal enterprises. Militias of both the left and right in Colombia are examples, as are both the state security forces and militias in the Niger Delta. Terminating a conflict which has developed a war economy, Klare pointed out, requires engineering a viable and robust legitimate economy. But, it must be noted, it is much more difficult to convince the American public and Congress of the importance of economic development than of defeating enemies, even if simply defeating enemies without building a viable economy assures that a conflict will eventually re-emerge.

Kan asked how big it is appropriate to make the "aperture of war." Specifically, have war and crime blurred to such an extent that low intensity conflict and high intensity crime are indistinguishable? Both Afghanistan and Mexico, he argued, demonstrate this. Cassidy focused on the question of who participates in the war in Afghanistan, particularly Afghanistan's

Pashtuns. He described this group and then derived a series of “truths” about the conflict in Afghanistan.

### **What Rules Govern War?**

Nations and subnational groups have long attempted to develop and apply rules to control war’s destructiveness, whether formal ones codified in law or informal ones.<sup>14</sup> This worked when the antagonists understood and accepted the rules. It was less effective in cross cultural conflicts or ones in which one or several of the antagonists deliberately decided to deviate from the rules, hoping that the rewards of doing so would outweigh the costs.

In recent centuries, great efforts have been made to formalize the rules governing war through international law and conventions and to transcend cultural differences by applying a single set of normal rules and law derived from the Western tradition. But more recently, the proliferation of nonstate antagonists little bound by these laws and conventions as well as global challenges to the domination of Western norms and rules appear to have made the legal and treaty regime, however impressive, ineffective. The best legal system on earth matters little if it is consistently ignored. Moreover, new participants in war such as private military and security firms, new technology such as unmanned aerial vehicles, robotics and nonlethality, and new modes of war such as cyberwar test the traditional, Western-built legal and treaty structure focused primarily on conventional warfare between nation states.

Panel 5 of the Strategy Conference examined emerging challenges to the rules which govern war, and suggested new measures which might augment

and reinforce the effectiveness of the rule set. The panel included Dr. Albert Pierce, Dr. Martin L. Cook, Colonel Richard Pregel, and Dr. Deane-Peter Baker. Importantly, the panelists differed on whether the traditional norms and laws for war were adequate in the contemporary environment and simply needed adjustment, or whether a wholesale revision was needed to deal with war that pitted states and nonstate entities dominated by unconventional methods. Phrased differently, should the goal be revision or revolution?

Pierce elected to focus on principles rather than rules, stressing that it was important to think about law and ethics together rather than separately. On the core issue of whether war has changed to the point that new principles are needed, Pierce contended that the traditional just war tradition, with modification, provides an adequate ethical framework. He did not subscribe to the idea that the world is experiencing an entirely new form of war which requires different ethical principles. After all, the just war tradition has been adaptive to sweeping changes in geopolitical conditions and military technology over the centuries. It adapted to medievalism, the rise of the nation state, and the emergence of international organizations, so it can adapt to a world where sub- and transnational actors are important security participants. Applying the traditional principles certainly presents challenges, but that alone does not imply that they should be abandoned.

The traditional ethical principles for war dealt both with the decision to go to war, and with its conduct. On the decision to go to war, President Barak Obama has moved away from the expansive Bush notion of preventative war but, Pierce argues, it would be helpful to have even greater ethical clarity to guide policy

choices. He favors a return to the old distinction of the preemptive use of force—which was legitimate but required a manifest intent to injure, a degree of active preparation that makes that intent a positive danger, and a situation where waiting or taking action other than the use of force greatly magnified the threat—as opposed to preventative war which had much less stringent requirements.

It is also important, Pierce noted, to consider the probability of success and proportionality together with the decision to go to war. There might be uses of force which would be ethically justified—perhaps retaliation for the the May 2010 North Korean sinking of a South Korean ship—where considerations of the likely outcomes change the equation. Phrased differently, strategy must consider the likely costs and risks of an action. This is particularly true when force is used not simply to ameliorate an existing threat but to alter the political, economic, and even social conditions which gave rise to it. Operations IRAQI FREEDOM and ENDURING FREEDOM are examples. It remains unclear, though, whether it is inherently unethical to use force when there is a mismatch between the strategic ends and means. This is a question with immense implications: Should the morality of actions be all that matters, or should the notion of whether the ultimate end state will be a net improvement in aggregate ethical conditions matter? Should strategy utilize some version of the “first do no harm” imploration in the Hippocratic *Corpus*? This is a philosophical question with immense practical implications. Saddam Hussein’s actions certainly merited punishment but did the likelihood that punishing him would result in great violence and misery to the Iraqi people change the ethical equation? Should the Bush administration

have considered the likely long-term impact that removing Hussein would have on the Iraqi people in addition to Hussein's transgressions?

Pierce believes that the traditional standards for the conduct of war—discrimination and proportionality—remain important. It may be more difficult to apply them to “war amongst the people” but that does not obviate the principles. The important thing for the United States and other advanced nations is to assure that an understanding of the principles permeates to the operational and tactical levels.

There are, Pierce argued, several areas which need additional analysis and debate. One is how U.S. and coalition forces should handle rampant, deeply rooted corruption in states that they are attempting to stabilize. Afghanistan and Iraq are, of course, paradigms for this problem. What are the relevant ethical principles, Pierce asked, which allow the United States to reject corruption without fueling instability? It is easy to gravitate to the poles of potential solution and contend that American forces should either totally reject corruption or simply accept it as part of the local culture. But both are unsatisfactory. The first threatens mission success, the second abandons the moral high ground. The solution must be somewhere in between but precisely where is not clear. Along these same lines, U.S. and coalition forces should have a sound set of ethical principles for dealing with other cultural norms and practices which vary from Western ones. One example is the Afghan tolerance for the sexual abuse of minors. Another important and open issue, Dr. Pierce noted, is developing measures of merit or success as the United States and its coalition partners attempt to guide nations like Afghanistan through a political, economic, and cultural transformation. This

requires clarity on the limits of the acceptable. How and when should this shift? Should American expectations be different after nearly a decade of involvement in Afghanistan?

One of the most crucial issues in need of further ethical analysis is the use of targeted killing in nations which are not at war with the United States. This is vital as targeted killing, or high value targeting, becomes an ever more important part of American counterinsurgency and counterterrorism operations. Currently there is no consensus on the ethical or legal framework for this.<sup>15</sup> As one develops, Pierce argued, it should be based on rules or principles which apply both to the United States and to other nations which might use targeted killing (such as Israel and Russia). There should be no American exceptionalism. Such an ethical framework would emerge from reaching agreement on the answers to a series of questions:

- What type of actions qualify someone to be a legitimate target of official killing? Must they have committed violence themselves, or is it enough for them to enable violence? Are, for instance, terrorist financiers acceptable targets?
- What should be the burden of proof before a targeted killing is authorized?
- What level of confidence must the United States have in intelligence related to a person's activity, location, and proximity to noncombatants?
- Are people who support a terrorist, such as family members, legitimate targets or do they have noncombatant immunity? Conversely, if the family members of terrorists are considered legitimate targets, should violence directly against the family of American military personnel also be considered acts of war rather than

terrorism? Phrased more broadly, targeted killing reflects the pervasive difficulty in distinguishing a combatant and noncombatant in the contemporary security environment.

- What is the role of the government in which the target is located? Does the United States need the permission of the government? Only tacit acceptance? Or is the position of the government of no regard? What level of inaction on the part of a government in dealing with the presence of a terrorist or insurgent justifies U.S. action? All of these questions are, of course, most pertinent in the U.S.-Pakistan relationship given the persistent reports that Islamabad allows the Taliban and al Qaeda leadership to remain in places like Quetta or, at least, makes little effort to capture or expel them.

Cook addressed the relationship of law to ethics in war. Existing ethics, he noted, have deep roots in the West, emerging from the Roman and early Christian traditions. The law of war is more recent, emerging after the Reformation and Europe's religious wars of the 16th and 17th centuries. Grotius, the father of modern international law, sought a source of principles other than religion in order to transcend doctrinal differences between Protestants and Catholics. He found them in the common practices of nations (customary international law) and natural law available to all human reason. But, Cook noted, law always lags changes in the world condition and conduct of war. It is a "stop motion photograph" of an evolving phenomenon. When major shifts occur, the law must catch up. That is the situation today.

The Westphalian system of law which emerged at the end of the Thirty Years War (1648) sought stability by respecting the sovereignty of the state. It only regulated the use of force *between* states. Over time, it became increasingly restrictive on the legitimate use of force, culminating in the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928, which limited it to self defense. Then, as internal wars superseded international wars as the primary form of violence in the global security system, this legal framework became less and less relevant. With the end of the Cold War, the ethics and law of humanitarian intervention became intensely important.<sup>16</sup> But the 9/11 attacks were the death knell of the Westphalian/Kellogg-Briand system, demonstrating the salience and capability of nonstate actors. Clearly the state-centric legal framework was no longer adequate.

The Bush national security strategy attempted to deal with changes in the global security system outside the framework of international law. It expanded the traditional concept of preventative or anticipatory defense, assuming that nonstate actors would often not be visible as they prepared for aggression, and that the risk they posed was so great—particularly if they combined terrorism and weapons of mass destruction—that the standards for preventative defense had to be lowered. The problem was that this notion could be very dangerous if generalized to a rule or principle that applied to all states. Critics of the Bush doctrine generally supported the categorical imperative from the moral philosophy of Immanuel Kant: “Act only according to that maxim whereby you can at the same time will that it should become a universal law.”<sup>17</sup> Reflecting this, the Obama administration has backed off of the Bush doctrine, using a more traditional notion of preventative self defense.



Cook took issue with Pierce's argument that it was possible to return to the traditional distinction between legitimate preemption and illegitimate preventative war given that highly dangerous nonstate actors operate from within states. The relationship between these nonstate actors and their host states is highly complex—some states sponsor and support them, some simply tolerate them, some simply cannot do anything about the presence of violent nonstate groups in their territory, and some are unaware of the groups. Cook believes that there is a different legitimate response for each of these relationships, thus demanding a legal framework more complex than the preemption/preventative war binary. The terrorism threat thus requires a new set of norms and customary international law which will not be as focused on state sovereignty as previous legal frameworks. In this new framework, discrimination and proportionality should remain the guiding principles, but their specific meaning needs revision in a security environment dominated by counterinsurgency and counterterrorism. For instance, traditional war between uniformed militaries accepted a certain amount of collateral damage based on the notion of military necessity. Counterinsurgency, with its emphasis on winning public support, requires a more restrictive notion of collateral damage and a greater acceptance of military risk. This demands a robust training regime beyond simple rules of engagement.

Finally, Cook addressed the challenges of cross cultural conflict when local norms are at odds with American ones. This can, he noted, have “morally corrosive” effects on the troops involved. While he offered no definitive answer or solution, Cook suggested that it might be time to open a wide ranging debate on

assumptions about the universality of Western values which has driven international law for several centuries. The 20th century notion—codified in the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights—that an ethical convergence was underway which would lead to the global acceptance of Western, liberal values, does not reflect reality. In fact, a case can be made that the conflict between al Qaeda and the West is resistance to this idea. Yet it continues to undergird the legal and ethical frameworks for war.

Pregent assessed the rules that apply to U.S. military operations. He noted that the Obama administration believes that current rules are firmly grounded in both international and domestic law. The administration has accepted the Bush administration's contention that the United States is fighting a war of self defense. This is very important from a legal perspective. But, Pregent noted, other states and some NGOs believe that counterterrorism is a matter of criminal and human rights law rather than the law of war. This dissonance can have effects in the field when the U.S. military is involved in coalition operations. Military leaders must maneuver carefully through the challenges it presents.

Baker was the panel's revolutionary, arguing for a new framework for thinking about the rule set for war that is agile enough to deal with the murky contemporary operational environment. As this takes shape, though, its architects must consider the constraints that rule sets place on military effectiveness. The tendency is to claim that strategic success requires staying within restrictive rules of engagement and attempting to win the information war by dissemination of the truth (implying that what military forces say is an ethical issue as much as what they do). Baker

indicated that he hoped this was true but that it warranted careful examination and debate—something that has not yet happened. This absence of analysis reflects a long-standing characteristic of the American approach to strategy which assumes, without debate, that in a free market of ideas, the truth will eventually win out. The American system uses the free market as a universal paradigm for social interaction, whether in the political realm, the economic, or the informational.

But there is no real free market of ideas in the information war. Extremists feel no compunction to hew to the truth, instead selecting their themes and narratives based purely on strategic and tactical effect rather than on the basis of ethics. And in the cultures which give rise to violent extremism, truth often has an affinity element; rather than being judged in some objective sense—reflecting the best available information—truth is defined, in part, by the audience's affinity with the person making a statement or telling a story. People are more likely to believe someone with whom they have an ethnic, sectarian, racial, or tribal affinity than alternative explanations coming from someone with less affinity. U.S. troops in Iraq often encountered this—"ground" truth sometimes had less effect than a counterfactual explanation coming from someone with an inherent affinity with the target audience.

Another consideration is that military effectiveness has a negative element as well as a positive one. Rather than shaping their behavior according to which of the antagonists relies on the objective truth or behaves most ethically, people often act out of fear of violence or punishment. Strategic thinkers like Ralph Peters, Martin van Creveld, Michael Scheuer, and Edward Luttwak argue from this perspective.<sup>18</sup> The American

ethos, though, is based on the notion that most people will support the side in a conflict that behaves better. That is the foundation of the Western notion of legitimacy which plays a powerful role in U.S. counterinsurgency doctrine. Ironically, insurgents who use the Maoist strategy make the same assumption. But many of the enemies that the United States and its allies are facing now, and will face in the future, function more with a mafia mentality—that negative motivation through fear is more powerful than positive motivation through good and ethical behavior. The question, then, is whether this ethical asymmetry is a recipe for defeat. Should the U.S. military rely more on fear than on good and ethical behavior to attain the desired effects? Has the United States abandoned the mailed fist too quickly in favor of the velvet glove? Or, to phrase it differently, can ethics which are serious impediments to strategic success be sustained? Until now, the tendency has simply been to deny that this tension exists and to assert that good, ethical behavior leads to strategic success. As Baker suggested, it is time to re-open this discussion.

Baker also noted that as Western military forces struggle to adapt to the new normative environment, they often attempt relabeling to make it seem more like the traditional war environment, using phrases like “human terrain” and “weaponizing culture.” In this traditional environment, norms and rules were conceptualized as barriers which limited the behavior of military forces. Thus planners, commanders, and strategists had to consider not only physical terrain and the enemy, but also legal and ethical limitations which prohibited some actions which might otherwise have been militarily effective. This was an attempt to apply the logic of domestic law, which has both

negative and positive dimensions, prohibiting certain actions by the state and enabling certain actions derived from the constitutional order of the state, to the security environment. Today's security environment, Baker argued, demands a "radical re-visioning" of the normative dimension of war. Notions of barriers on the battlefield should be replaced with a core ethic which can form the center of strategy. Ethics, in other words, must be a core driver of strategy – war must be "ethic centric." The just war tradition is inadequate for this. The principles of discrimination and proportionality, for instance, tell militaries little about what operational goals should be and whether to focus on killing insurgents or protecting the population. Is population protection, for example, a moral imperative or simply a means to politically defined ends? By using the domestic legal analogy, traditional thinking only asks whether an action is justified rather than whether it is preferred. This was appropriate for a nation state centric system but needs reevaluation and revision in an era of market states and powerful nonstate actors.

### **Why Does It Matter?**

Scholarship on war and theoretical thinking are of great value when translated into concepts applied by strategic practitioners within the military and throughout the government. Rather than only adding to knowledge (a laudable accomplishment), they also can change the world. The final panel of the conference was designed to suggest policy, strategy, doctrine, and force development implications of changing thinking about the nature of war. It included Dr. Thomas Mahnken of the Naval War College (a former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense), Professor John Troxell of the U.S. Army War College's Center for Strategic

Leadership, Lieutenant Colonel (Ret.) Nathan Freier of the Center for Strategic and International Studies, and Dr. Steven Metz of the Army War College's Strategic Studies Institute.

Troxell noted that defining war was not simply an academic or theoretical exercise, but was important for developing a coherent national strategy and for convincing the American people and their elected representatives that national resources are being used effectively. This is particularly true as economic problems like government deficits, mounting debt, and growing entitlements begin to crowd out other spending, including that for defense. The result is a strategy-resource gap that makes the need for efficiency—for applying power resources where and how they will have the greatest impact—even more imperative. Phrased differently, a nation with a surplus of strategic resources can be sloppy or inefficient in its strategy. A nation without such a surplus—as the United States is becoming—needs coherent strategy to maximize the results from any expenditure of strategic resources.

Troxell also noted the importance of a convincing and clear narrative to build the consensus needed for effective strategy. This is true of most nations but is amplified in the United States where strategy and national security policy are shaped more by public opinion and the involvement of the legislature than in any other great power today or in the past. Strategies which the public does not understand or support, even if they might in some sense be effective, are doomed to failure. Finally, Troxell emphasized that understanding the changing nature of war or, at least, the changing definition of war, is important for military force development since organizations, equipment, and doctrine created today are likely to be used for many years in the future.

Mahnken emphasized that it was important to understand what has not changed about war as well as what has changed or is changing. War remains an act of violence to impose one's will on an adversary. The motives that lead to war, first identified by the Greek historian Thucydides 2,500 years ago—fear, honor, and interests—persist. And the possibility of major war between states, while it may have diminished, remains.

But while war's essential nature remains constant, Mahnken argued, its character clearly has changed. Precision and discrimination are now expected. The use of unmanned systems is routine. Organizations other than states wage war. The outcomes are less predictable. War takes place in new domains like space and cyberspace. And, from the American perspective, potential opponents increasingly prefer types of war other than large scale conventional combat, thus making nuclear and irregular war more strategically significant.

Other important characteristics also may be changing. One is the social context of war. Parts of the developed world such as Western Europe and Japan appear to be undergoing debellicization. Publics there increasingly oppose the use of force. Political leaders recognize this and have shifted the emphasis of their militaries to peacekeeping and similar missions. The developed world also has an increased sensitivity to casualties (even if not an outright aversion). This may be related to demographics. People are more averse to losing a child in war when they only have one or two rather than many. The utility of nuclear weapons may be declining in the developed world but increasing elsewhere as new nuclear states emerge. The long-standing taboo on the use of nuclear weapons,

Mahnken contended, may be eroding. Finally, the balance between state and nonstate actors in war may be shifting toward the latter. But, Mahnken noted, this may not continue. Nonstate organizations have been able to function like states in large part because existing states allowed it. States could reverse this if they elected to.

Freier examined how changes in war have been reflected in U.S. military strategy. The DoD's prevailing view of war and warfare, Freier argued, are obstacles to real change. War, as the DoD prefers to see it, pits one state's military against another's. The DoD's view reflects the American tradition of war as binary, organized, discrete (with an identifiable beginning and end), and predominantly military in origin and character. But in the contemporary security environment, that type of war is much less likely than other forms of armed violence. Freier believes that this "legacy defense status quo" is "out of synch" with today's reality. Thus the United States must decide whether the DoD should be the successor to the War Department and continue to focus primarily or even exclusively on interstate war, or should be something fundamentally different and broader.

The new defense status quo, Freier believes, includes both "threats of purpose" – deliberate hostile actions by enemies – and "threats of context" which are dangerous situations or structures. The distinction between strategy, operations, and tactics still matters, but it is different than in the past. There is both the "strategic corporal," whose actions at the tactical level have direct strategic consequences, as well as the "tactical general" who is able to control or, at least, attempt to control units at the tactical level using technology.



Freier argued that the defense challenge today is more than war. The DoD should jettison its reluctance and accept this idea. In addition to its persisting missions – counterterrorism and homeland security – the DoD must also prepare for two other major challenges: irregular conflict and high end asymmetric war. It must also, Freier contended, retain the capability for large scale conventional warfighting. This threat, though, is more manageable than ones that emerge without attribution or overt violence, those which come from substate and transnational networks, or without explicit enemy design (such as ecological collapse or natural disasters). In the broadest sense, the goal is no longer to be able to undertake two nearly simultaneous major regional wars (which was the U.S. military’s force sizing construct from the end of the Cold War until the 9/11 attacks), but to conduct a wide range of dissimilar simultaneous operations. The DoD now must be the “Department of Doing or Defending Against Many Things” when the situation involves violence or exceeds the capabilities of other agencies.

Freier suggested that there are five “new immutable defense truths”:

1. The DoD will remain the nation’s first responder to crises and contingencies;
2. Complex “all hazard” responsibilities will post the most persistent and urgent demands for the DoD;
3. Enemy military forces will not always be a central player in such all-hazard contingencies;
4. Despite the DoD’s recent focus on counterinsurgency, it will be only one type of unconventional challenge; and,
5. The DoD must learn to both lead and follow more effectively in all-hazard contingencies.

Metz suggested three overarching questions with extensive strategic implications which the conference had touched on but not answered. One was whether the United States needs to revise and update the Constitution to deal with the changing nature of war and the contemporary security environment. The Constitution was framed in a time when war was episodic and unambiguous. It was clear when a war started and ended, and who the enemy was. The major risk at the time was that political leaders, unrestrained by legislatures or laws, could commit their nations to ill-advised wars. Thus, the Constitution made the President Commander in Chief, but gave Congress the responsibility to declare war. The implication was that the United States would only participate in declared wars. Whether that notion was even realistic at the time the Constitution was framed, given the extensive number of undeclared wars along the frontier, a case can be made that it is no longer valid in a security environment where nearly all wars are undeclared and ambiguous. Perhaps it is time to revise the formal and often ignored division of warmaking power as it currently exists in the Constitution.

Other elements of the Constitution also need serious examination and debate. Take, for instance, personal privacy rights. These are a bedrock of the Constitution. Yet in a time when war involves an enemy which hides within the American population, privacy rights can hinder effective defense. No one supports abolishing such rights, but a debate over their precise meaning in an age of terrorism is overdue.

Metz's second question was whether the dominant Western conceptualization of war simply needed to be adjusted and updated, or should be abandoned altogether. Is it possible, he asked, that the old notion persists less because it accurately reflects the global

security environment than because it is in the interest of military and defense establishments to preserve it?

Metz's third question was whether the world is in the midst of another historic shift in the nature of the people in war. Throughout history, there have been three different roles for the people. They were, at times, detached and disengaged. War was a sport of the elite, with little real impact on most people. It ebbed and flowed around them. After the genocidal horror of the Religious Wars, much of Europe's interstate armed conflict was like this, at least until World War I. A second role was one of active participant. The people were mobilized to provide resources and support. They sacrificed for the effort but were not involved in the combat itself. The "sacred war" that Michael Vlahos talked about was an example of this. For most Americans, the Civil War and the world wars followed this pattern. The third model was "war amongst the people" where the people are a resource to be controlled by militaries. This is the realm of "human terrain." Even though unarmed, the people were more directly involved in the war. A single war could, under some circumstances, involve multiple models. In World War II, the Americans, Canadians, and most British were active participants but the war was not "amongst" them. For the people of China, Eastern Europe, Russia, and Southeast Asia, though, the war was, in fact, amongst them. Generally in developed nations, active participation was normative in the 20th century, but there seems to be a shift back toward a passive role (as Vlahos noted). In today's interconnected and information saturated world, though, the people will probably never return to detachment.

This distinction does have important implications. Clearly war amongst the people, as Rupert Smith not-

ed, involves different operational methods, organizations, and concepts. The distinction between passive and active participation is equally important. Clearly, the passive model makes it easier for political leaders to resort to war since the immediate costs to and demands on the people will be less. But it may make it more difficult to sustain a war since, over time, the people will become aware that they are bearing the costs and thus mobilize in opposition. Ultimately, the way that political leaders, militaries, and strategic communities define war shapes not only its nature, but its political utility as well.

### **The Way Ahead.**

Most of the discussion at the Strategy Conference dealt with the changing form of warfare, the demands that various forms place on the United States and other nations, and the evolving constraints or controls on war. Some major questions were left for later debate and analysis.

One of these is whether the causes of war are also changing. Throughout American history, a liberal notion of the causes of war has dominated. Americans tended to believe that wars were caused by the action of deviant, evil people who were able to seize control of a state or movement and use it for their own ends, or by the failure of governments, legal systems, and other institutions to effectively resolve disputes. Peace was the norm; war occurred when there was some flaw in markets or political institutions which allowed evil people to seize power. This suggested that there would be no war in a world composed of democracies and effective institutions for the resolution of disputes. The “first definitive article” of perpetual peace,

according to the German Idealist philosopher Immanuel Kant, was that the civil constitution of every nation should be republican.<sup>19</sup> Under such conditions, evil people could no longer seize power, and mankind could theoretically transcend war. The conservative view of war, by contrast, sees it as an inevitable result of mankind's inherently flawed nature. War might be made less destructive and even less common but, absent an alteration of human nature, it would never be abolished.

There is little doubt that the liberal notion remains dominant in American strategy. The result is a focus on deviants and evil doers. The Joint Forces Command's 2010 assessment of the joint operating environment, for instance, states:

In many parts of the world, actors will judge costs and benefits differently than we do. Some of our enemies are eager to die for radical ideological, religious, or ethnic causes; enemies who ignore national borders and remain unbound by the conventions of the developed world – who leave little room for negotiations or compromise. Among these, we face irreconcilable enemies capable of mobilizing large numbers of young men and women, to intimidate civilian populations with machetes or to act as suicide bombers in open markets. It can become a matter of survival when human passion takes over.<sup>20</sup>

This philosophical distinction between the classically liberal and classically conservative notion of the cause of war has major strategic implications. If the liberal notion is correct, then American strategy should combine military strength able to reverse or deter aggression with robust efforts to promote democratization and the development of institutional

frameworks for conflict resolution. If this succeeds, American military strength may not have to be used. On the other hand, if the conservative notion is correct, democratization and institutional frameworks for conflict resolution will invariably fail and may not be worth the cost. This would suggest a strategy which maximizes military strength and accepts the idea that it will be used. War is inevitable, not something that can be transcended. Yet for much of American history, the nation has accepted the liberal notion of the cause of war. It may be time to examine this assumption and to discuss whether the United States could develop a more effective strategy with a different idea on the cause of war.

Further discussion is also needed on the conceptual and strategic division between *war*, defined as organized violence by states or quasi-state organizations for political purposes, and other forms of organized or semi-organized violence. Is this still useful in a time when, as in Mexico and Central America, criminal violence creates more casualties than war in the traditional sense? Organized violence for purely commercial purposes has probably existed as long as traditional war. Is it different enough that it needs separate concepts, strategies, and organizations; or should one overarching strategy incorporate the two? Should the United States and other nations distinguish between traditional “kinetic” war and “nonkinetic” uses of force involving economic and infrastructure sabotage and cyberviolence? Former White House official Richard Clarke contends that, “What the United States and other nations are capable of doing in a cyber war could devastate a modern nation.”<sup>21</sup> If the level of potential damage is the defining feature of “war” rather than the organization of those undertaking it into tradi-

tional armies, navies, and air forces, then nonkinetic, cyber war is real. Yet it is clearly different. Is a “unified field theory” of war incorporating the traditional and the emerging useful or even possible?

Finally, further analysis is needed on the distinction between what might be called *passive* and *active war*. A passive war is one in which a state of hostility exists which includes sporadic violence and, importantly, a significant potential for increased violence. The Cold War would be an example as would current relations between the United States and North Korea and Iran. Resolution is not predominantly military. The threat or use of military force serves as a political incentive or constraint. Active war is one in which victory is sought. Resolution is predominantly military. The industrialization of warfare and the advent of nuclear weapons in the 20th century made passive war more common and strategically significant. One of the most pressing questions for the United States today is whether its conflict with al Qaeda and its affiliates should be treated as a passive or active war. The American strategic community should continue to debate this.

## ENDNOTES

1. For instance, Victor Davis Hanson, *Culture and Carnage: Landmark Battles in the Rise of Western Power*, New York: Doubleday, 2001.

2. For instance, Stephen E. Ambrose, *Upton and the Army*, Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1964.

3. Alfred F. Hurley, *Billy Mitchell: Crusader for Airpower*, Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1975; and David R. Mets, *The Air Campaign: John Warden and the Classical Airpower The-*

orists, Maxwell Air Force Base (AFB), AL: Air University Press, 1998.

4. Russell F. Weigley, *The American Way of War: A History of United States Military Strategy and Policy*, Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1973.

5. See Frank G. Hoffman, "Hybrid vs. Compound War," *Armed Forces Journal International*, October 2009.

6. The best known of this genre are Mary Kaldor, *New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999; and Herfried Munkler, *The New Wars*, Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2005.

7. Michael Vlahos, *Fighting Identity: Sacred War and World Change*, Westport, CT: Praeger, 2009.

8. Remarks by the President in Address to the Nation on the End of Combat Operations in Iraq, August 31, 2010.

9. See Christopher Gelpi, Peter D. Feaver, and Jason Reifler, *Paying the Human Costs of War: American Public Opinion and Casualties in Military Conflicts*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009.

10. Mamluks were often Kipchak Turks; janissaries came from children levied from the Balkan part of the Ottoman Empire, often the Christian regions. In both cases, the thinking was that being outsiders without local family, clan, or tribal obligations, their loyalty would be only to the ruler.

11. Rupert Smith, *The Utility of Force: The Art of War in the Modern World*, New York: Alfred Knopf, 2007, p.3.

12. Within the framework of insurgency and counterinsurgency, Steven Metz distinguished "first forces" (the direct participants—the state and the insurgents), "second forces" (other states supporting either the insurgents or the counterinsurgents), and "third forces" (nongovernmental organizations, international organizations, criminal organizations, corporations, and other non-state entities) which affected the outcome of the conflict. Steven



Metz, *Rethinking Insurgency*, Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College 2007.

13. Edward Luttwak considered this part of the “paradoxical logic of strategy.” Edward Luttwak, *Strategy: The Logic of War and Peace*, Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 1987.

14. John Keegan has argued that war arising from Western culture has a tendency toward escalating destructiveness, and thus needs formal restraints, while war in other cultures has an inherent element of restraint and thus is less in need of formal rules. John Keegan, *A History of Warfare*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993.

15. In August 2010, the American Civil Liberties Union and the Center for Constitutional Rights filed a suit in Federal court, challenging the military’s use of targeted killings outside of battlefields. See David G. Savage, “Groups Seek to Sue Over ‘Targeted Killings,’” *Los Angeles Times*, August 4, 2010; Spencer S. Hsu, “Rights Groups Sue Over U.S. Authority to Use Terror Kill List,” *Washington Post*, August 31, 2010, p. A3.

16. Simon Chesterman, *Just War or Just Peace? Humanitarian Intervention and International Law*, Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2001; and Thomas G. Weiss, *Humanitarian Intervention*, Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2007.

17. Immanuel Kant, *Grounding for the Metaphysics of Morals: With on a Supposed Right to Lie Because of Philanthropic Concerns*, (1785), James W. Ellington, trans., Indianapolis, IN: Hackett, 1981.

18. For instance, Ralph Peters, *Wars of Blood and Faith*, Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole, 2007; Martin van Creveld, *The Changing Face of War: Lessons of Combat from the Marne to Iraq*, New York: Ballentine, 2006; Anonymous (Michael Scheuer), *Imperial Hubris: Why the West Is Losing the War on Terror*, Washington, DC: Brassey’s, 2004; and Edward Luttwak, “Dead End: Counterinsurgency Warfare as Military Malpractice,” *Harper’s*, February 2007, pp. 33-42.

19. Immanuel Kant, “Toward Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch” (1795), in Immanuel Kant, *Perpetual Peace and Other Essays*, Ted Humphrey, trans., Indianapolis, IN: Hackett, 1983.

20. *The Joint Operating Environment*, Suffolk, VA: Joint Forces Command, 2010, p. 6.

21. Richard A. Clarke, *Cyber War: The Next Threat to National Security and What to Do About It*, New York: Ecco, 2010, p. 31.



## APPENDIX

### BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

#### KEYNOTE SPEAKER

MARTIN VAN CREVELD joined the History Department of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, in 1971, where he spent most of his academic career before retiring in 2007. In addition to his academic activities, he has consulted for the defense establishments of various countries. Currently, Dr. van Creveld is working on a book on the history of airpower and another on wargames. He is the author of over 20 books which have been translated, or are being translated, into some 20 languages. The most significant ones are *Supplying War*; *Command in War*; *The Transformation of War*; *The Rise and Decline of the State*; and *The Culture of War*. He has also written and been interviewed for hundreds of newspapers, news magazines, radio programs, and television shows all over the world. Dr. van Creveld holds a Ph.D. in international history.

#### BANQUET PRESENTATION

ROBERT SCALES is one of America's best known and most respected authorities on land warfare. He is currently President of Colgen, LP, a consulting firm specializing in issues relating to landpower, wargaming, and strategic leadership. Prior to joining the private sector, Dr. Scales served over 30 years in the U.S. Army, retiring as a Major General. He commanded two units in Vietnam and subsequently served in command and staff positions in the United States, Germany, and Korea. He ended his military career as

Commandant of the United States Army War College. In 1995 he created the “Army After Next” program, which was the Army’s first attempt to build a strategic game and operational concept for future land warfare. Dr. Scales is the author of two books on military history: *Certain Victory: The Official Account of the Army in the Gulf War* and *Firepower in Limited War*. Concepts and ideas contained in his writings and studies have significantly influenced the course of contemporary modernization and reform within the military. He has written two books on the theory of warfare: *Future Warfare* and *Yellow Smoke*. Congressman Ike Skelton has included *Yellow Smoke* in his National Security Book List sponsored by the National Defense University. His latest work, *The Iraq War: A Military History* co-authored with Williamson Murray, has been reviewed very favorably by the *New York Times*, *Atlantic*, and *Foreign Affairs*. He is a frequent consultant with the senior leadership of every service in the Department of Defense as well as many allied militaries. He is senior military analyst for The BBC, National Public Radio, and Fox News Network. He has appeared as a commentator on The History Channel, The Discovery Channel, PBS, TLC, and Star Television. His commentary is carried frequently on all major television outlets in the Peoples Republic of China. He has written for and been frequently quoted in *The New York Post*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Washington Times*, *Time Magazine*, *Newsweek*, *Roll Call*, and virtually every service defense periodical and media network on issues relating to military history and defense policy. He is a graduate of the U.S. Military Academy (USMA), and earned his Ph.D. in history from Duke University.

## PANELS

### Panel I.

#### Moderator:

CONRAD C. CRANE has been the Director of the U.S. Army Military History Institute since February 1, 2003. Before accepting that position, he served with the Strategic Studies Institute (SSI) at the U.S. Army War College from September 2000 to January 2003, where he held the General Douglas MacArthur Chair of Research. He also has held the General Hoyt S. Vandenberg Chair of Aerospace Studies at the U.S. Army War College. He joined SSI after his retirement from active military service, a 26-year military career that concluded with 9 years as professor of history at the U.S. Military Academy (USMA). He visited Iraq in November 2007 at General David Petraeus's request to evaluate the new doctrine in action. In November 2008, he was named International Archivist of the Year by the Scone Foundation. Dr. Crane has authored or edited books and monographs on the Civil War, World War I, World War II, Korea, and Vietnam, and has written and lectured widely on airpower and landpower issues. Before leaving SSI, he coauthored a prewar monograph, *Reconstructing Iraq*, that influenced Army planners and attracted much attention from the media. He was the lead author for the 2006 Army-USMC counterinsurgency manual. For that effort, he was named one of *NEWSWEEK*'s people to watch in 2007. Dr. Crane holds a B.S. from USMA and an M.A. and Ph.D. from Stanford University. He is also a graduate of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College and the U.S. Army War College.

BRIAN M. LINN joined the faculty of the Department of History at Texas A&M University in 1989. He has been an Olin Fellow at Yale University, the Susan Dyer Peace Fellow at the Hoover Institute, the Harold K. Johnson visiting professor of history at the Army War College, a John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation Fellow, a Woodrow Wilson International Center Fellow, and a Fulbright Fellow at the National University of Singapore. He was recently appointed the Ralph R. Thomas Professor in Liberal Arts and is the current President of the Society for Military History. Dr. Linn is the author of four books, including *The Echo of Battle: The Army's Way of War*; *Guardians of Empire*; and *The Philippine War, 1899-1902*. He has twice received the Society for Military History's Distinguished Book Award. Dr. Linn is a graduate of the University of Hawaii and Ohio State University.

JOHN A. LYNN is a Distinguished Professor of Military History at Northwestern University. He retired in June 2009 after 31 years with the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. He served as the President of the United States Commission on Military History (2003-07) and the Vice-president of the Society for Military History (2005-07). Dr. Lynn has authored the following volumes: *The Bayonets of the Republic: Motivation and Tactics in the Army of Revolutionary France, 1791-94*; *Giant of the Grand Siècle: The French Army, 1610-1715*; *The Wars of Louis XIV, 1667-1714*; *Battle: A History of Combat and Culture*; and *Women, Armies, and Warfare in Early Modern Europe*. Dr. Lynn received his Ph.D. from the University of California-Los Angeles in 1973.

ANTULIO J. ECHEVARRIA II became the Director of Research for the Strategic Studies Institute (SSI) of the U.S. Army War College after a military career of 23 years. He held a variety of command and staff assignments in Europe and the United States. Dr. Echevarria is the author of *Clausewitz and Contemporary War*; *Imagining Future War*; and *After Clausewitz*. He has also published extensively in scholarly and professional journals on topics related to military history and theory and strategic thinking. Dr. Echevarria is a graduate of the U.S. Military Academy, the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, and the U.S. Army War College, and holds M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in history from Princeton University.

FRANK HOFFMAN joined the Secretary of the Navy, Office of Program Appraisal (OPA) in October 2009, as the Special Assistant to the Director of the OPA. In 2001, he became a research fellow at the Center for Emerging Threats and Opportunities, at the Warfighting Lab at Quantico, VA, where he was responsible for leading and conducting assessments and developing concept papers on future threats and emerging opportunities. While at Quantico, Mr. Hoffman authored numerous Marine concepts on distributed operations, urban operations, and hybrid threats, as well as contributing to the Marine Corps' newest vision and strategy and penning chapters to the Army/Marine Corps counterinsurgency doctrine. He also worked with Joint Forces Command and partnered with British, Australian, and Israeli colleagues on alternative futures, distributed operations, hybrid threats, and a number of wargames and experimental activities. In addition to his formal duties, he served on



the 2004 Defense Science Board for Post-Conflict Stability Operations and has lectured extensively at professional military education institutions in the United States, Japan, Taiwan, Switzerland, and Britain.

## **Panel II.**

### **Moderator:**

HARRY R. (RICH) YARGER Is the Ministry Reform Advisor in the Security, Reconstruction, and Transition Division of the Peacekeeping & Stability Operations Institute (PKSOI) at the U.S. Army War College. Prior to joining the Institute in September 2009, he served as Professor of National Security Policy in the Department of National Security and Strategy at the U.S. Army War College where he held the Elihu Root Chair of Military Studies and taught courses in Fundamentals of Strategic Thinking; Theory of War and Strategy; National Security Policy and Strategy; Grand Strategy; Terrorism; and the Interagency. His research focuses on strategic theory, national security policy and strategy, terrorism, irregular warfare, effective governance, and the education and development of strategic level leaders. In addition to teaching positions, he served five years as the Chairman of the War College's Department of Distance Education. Dr. Yarger has also taught at the undergraduate level at several local colleges. Praeger Security International released his latest work, *Strategy and the National Security Professional: Strategic Thinking and Strategy Formulation in the 21st Century*. A retired U.S. Army colonel, he is a Vietnam veteran and served in both Germany and Korea. He is a graduate of the Army War College and holds a Ph.D. in history from Temple University.

MICHAEL VLAHOS is a member of the National Security Assessment team of the National Security Analysis Department (NSAD) at the Johns Hopkins University Applied Physics Laboratory. After 2001, he began working with anthropologists and Islamic Studies specialists to develop a culture-area concept to help the defense world to better understand and respond operationally to the changing environment of the Muslim World. Dr. Vlahos develops this concept in his two recent monographs, *Terror's Mask: Insurgency within Islam*; and *Culture's Mask: War and Change After Iraq*; and his paper: "Two Enemies: Non-State Actors and Change in the Muslim World." In addition to eight books and monographs, Dr. Vlahos has published over 80 articles, appearing in, among others, *Foreign Affairs*, *Washington Quarterly*, *The Times Literary Supplement*, *Foreign Policy*, *National Review*, and *Rolling Stone*. He has received best essay awards from the *Naval Institute Proceedings*, the *Marine Corps Gazette*, the *Naval War College Review*, and the *Applied Physics Laboratory Technical Digest*. Dr. Vlahos is a graduate of Yale College, and holds a Ph.D. in history and strategic studies from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University.

PETER LEAHY retired as a General from the Australian Army in July 2008 after a 37-year career. As an infantry officer, he focused on soldiers in command, training, and staff appointments. He commanded at almost every level in the Army and served on exchange in Hong Kong with the Gurkhas and in the United States at the Army's Command and General Staff College. He concluded his career in the Army as the Chief of Army. He served in this appointment

for 6 years, which was the longest period of service as Chief since General Harry Chauvel in the 1920s. His period of command was marked by the continuous global deployment of Australian soldiers on high tempo, complex, and demanding combat operations. During his tenure as Chief of Army, he was responsible for the rapid expansion and development of the Army, enabling it to cope with the changing demands of modern conflict. His focus was to provide a hardened and networked force with increased adaptability and flexibility. Since leaving the Army, General Leahy joined the University of Canberra where he was appointed as a professor, and the Foundation Director of the National Security Institute.

JAMES CARAFANO directs the Heritage Foundation's Douglas and Sarah Allison Center for Foreign Policy Studies. His research focuses on developing the national security required to secure the long-term interests of the United States – protecting the public, providing for economic growth, and preserving civil liberties. He also serves as deputy to Kim R. Holmes, vice president for defense and foreign policy studies, in overseeing the centers and projects of the Davis Institute, where he has been Assistant Director since 2006. He is a senior fellow at George Washington University's Homeland Security Policy Institute. In 2005, he received Heritage's prestigious W. Glenn and Rita Ricardo Campbell Award. In his army career, his assignments included head speechwriter for the Army Chief of Staff and executive editor of *Joint Force Quarterly*. Dr. Carafano is a regular guest on various media outlets and a weekly columnist on national security affairs for the *Washington Examiner* newspaper. His most recent book is *Private Sector/Public Wars: Contracting in*

*Combat – Iraq, Afghanistan and Future Conflicts*. He is also editing a new book series, *The Changing Face of War*, which will examine how emerging political, social, economic, and cultural trends will affect the nature of armed conflict. Dr. Carafano holds a master's degree in strategy from the U.S. Army War College, and a master's degree and a Ph.D. from Georgetown University.

PETER DOMBROWSKI is a professor of strategy at the Naval War College where he serves as the chair of the Strategic Research Department. He is the author of over 40 articles, monographs, book chapters, and government reports. In June 2009, Stanford University Press published his volume edited with John Duffield, *Balance Sheet: The Iraq War and U.S. National Security*. His last book, co-authored with Eugene Gholtz, is *Buying Military Transformation: Technological Innovation and the Defense Industry*. In 2005 he edited two volumes, *Guns and Butter: the Political Economy of the New International Security Environment*; and *Naval Power in the Twenty-first Century: A Naval War College Review Reader*. He received the Navy Meritorious Civilian Service Medal in 2007 for his role in the development of *A Cooperative Strategy for 21st Century Seapower*. He received his B.A. from Williams College and an M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of Maryland.

### **Panel III.**

#### **Moderator:**

DALLAS D. OWENS joined the Strategic Studies Institute's (SSI's) Strategic Research and Analysis Department in July 2003 after 27 years in the U.S. Army. He is currently the Chairman of the Strategic Research and Analysis Department, SSI. His recent military assignments include U.S. Army Reserve Adviser for the U.S. Army War College, Mobilization Branch Chief, Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations, Army Operations Center; and Transportation Action Officer, Mobility Division, Logistics Directorate (J4), Joint Staff. He served as a Port Operator with a Transportation Terminal Unit during Operations DESERT SHIELD/DESERT STORM and as an infantryman in Vietnam. Dr. Owens' military education includes Infantry Officer Candidate School and Basic Courses; the Transportation Basic Course; Quartermaster Advance Course, the U.S. Army Combined Arms and Services Staff School; and Command and General Staff College; and the National Security Fellowship at Harvard University. He holds a B.A. from the University of North Carolina, an M.S. from the Utah State University, and a Ph.D. from the University of Tennessee, all in sociology; and has served on the faculties of Clemson University, North Carolina State University, the University of Virginia, and the University of Colorado.

JEREMY BLACK is a professor of history at the University of Exeter, United Kingdom (UK). He did postgraduate work at Oxford, and then taught at Durham, eventually as professor, before moving to Exeter in 1996. He has lectured extensively in Australia, Can-

ada, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, New Zealand, and the USA, where he has held visiting chairs at West Point, Texas Christian University, and Stillman College. A past Council member of the Royal Historical Society, he is a Fellow of the Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, and a Senior Fellow of the Foreign Policy Research Institute. He was appointed to the Order of Membership of the British Empire for services to stamp design. Dr. Black is, or has been, on a number of editorial boards including the *Journal of Military History*, the *Journal of the Royal United Services Institute*, and *History Today* and was editor of *Archives*. His books include *War and World 1450-2000*; *The British Seaborne Empire*; *Maps and History*; *George III*; and *European Warfare in a Global Context, 1660-1815*. Dr. Black is a graduate of Cambridge University.

ANDREW J. BACEVICH is a professor of international relations and history at Boston University. Before joining the faculty of Boston University in 1998, he taught at West Point and at Johns Hopkins University. Dr. Bacevich is the author of *The Limits of Power: American Exceptionalism*. His previous books include *American Empire: The Realities and Consequences of U. S. Diplomacy*; *The Imperial Tense: Problems and Prospects of American Empire* (editor); *The New American Militarism: How Americans Are Seduced by War*; and *The Long War: A New History of US National Security Policy since World War II* (editor). His essays and reviews have appeared in a wide variety of scholarly and general interest publications including *The Wilson Quarterly*, *The National Interest*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, *The Nation*, *The American Conservative*, and *The New Republic*. In 2004, Dr. Bacevich was a Berlin Prize Fellow at the American Academy in Berlin. He has also been a fellow of

the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University, the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, and the Council on Foreign Relations in New York. Dr. Bacevich is a graduate of the U.S. Military Academy (USMA), and holds a Ph.D. in American diplomatic history from Princeton University.

WILLIAM L. NASH served in the U.S. Army for 34 years with commands from platoon to division; he is a veteran of Vietnam and Operation DESERT STORM. He has extensive experience in peacekeeping operations both as a military commander in Bosnia-Herzegovina (1995-96) and as a civilian administrator for the United Nations in Kosovo (2000). Since his retirement in 1998, Major General Nash has been a fellow and a visiting lecturer at Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government (1998); Director of Civil-Military Programs at the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (1999-2000); a professorial lecturer at Georgetown University (2000-09); a Senior Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations (2001-09); and a military consultant for ABC News (2003-09). Today, he is a visiting lecturer at Princeton University and an independent consultant on national security issues, civil-military relations, and conflict management.

## **Panel IV.**

### **Moderator:**

WILLIAM BRAUN III is the Deputy Director of the Strategic Studies Institute, United States Army War College. He is returning to this position after a tour as Director, CJ-7 (Force Integration, Training, and Education Directorate), Combined Security Transition Command-Afghanistan (CSTC-A). Previous assignments include Director of Requirements, Deputy Chief of Staff G-3/5/7, the Pentagon; Aviation Battalion Commander, Soto Cano Air Base, Honduras; operational assignments at Fort Bragg, NC, Camp Casey, Korea, and Fort Campbell, KY; and previous institutional support assignments at the Pentagon, Fort Rucker, AL, and the U.S. Army Recruiting Command. Colonel Braun holds a Bachelor of Arts in Athletic Training and Coaching from Alfred University and master's degrees in strategic studies from the U.S. Army War College, in military science from the School of Advanced Military Science (SAMS), and in business from Webster University.

ROBERT CASSIDY is a member of the Royal United Services Institute. He currently serves at the U.S. Naval War College in Newport, RI. He has served in a host of organizations as a special operations strategist, a battalion commander, a special assistant to a four-star general, a brigade operations officer, a division cavalry executive officer, a West Point professor, an airborne air cavalry troop commander, a support platoon leader, and a scout platoon leader. Cassidy has served on operational deployments to Afghanistan, Iraq, the Persian Gulf, Egypt, and the Caribbean. Col-



onel Cassidy has written several articles on irregular warfare in journals ranging from the *RUSI Journal* to *Parameters*, and two books: *Counterinsurgency and the Global War on Terror* and *Peacekeeping in the Abyss*. Most recently, he published "The Virtue of Punishment: The Enduring Salience of the Soviet War in Afghanistan" in the fall issue of *Defense Concepts*. Colonel Cassidy holds master's degrees in international relations and security from Boston University and the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, and a Ph.D. from the Fletcher School. Colonel Cassidy also has received the Diplôme d'Études Supérieures de Défense from the French Joint Defense College at the École Militaire in Paris.

PAUL R. KAN is an associate professor of national security studies at the U.S. Army War College. He is the author of the recent book, *Drugs and Contemporary Warfare*, for the research of which he was awarded the General George C. Marshall Faculty Research Grant, U.S. Army War College Foundation. He has also received a Madigan Faculty Writing Award for his article, "Drugging Babylon: The Illegal Narcotics Trade and Nation-Building in Iraq," published in the June 2007 edition of *Small Wars and Insurgencies*. As an outside advisor to the Director of the Office on National Drug Control Policy, he has provided expertise for counternarcotics decisionmaking in a number of areas. His research on Mexican cartel violence will be part of an upcoming book on the subject and his research on North Korea's illicit international activities will be published as a monograph by the Strategic Studies Institute. He is a regular contributor to *WarAndHealth.com* and is currently working on his next book, *Whiskey Rebellions, Opium Wars and Other Battles for Intoxication*. Dr. Kan holds a Ph.D. in international studies

from the Graduate School of International Studies at the University of Denver.

THOMAS X. HAMMES served at all levels in the operating forces, include command of a rifle company, weapons company, intelligence battalion, infantry battalion, and the Chemical Biological Incident Response Force, during his 30 years in the Marine Corps. He participated in stabilization operations in Somalia and Iraq. He is currently a Senior Research Fellow at the Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University. Dr. Hammes is the author of *The Sling and the Stone: On War in the Twenty-First Century*; chapters in 10 books; and over 90 articles and opinion pieces in the *Washington Post*, *New York Times*, *Janes Defence Weekly*, and other professional journals. He has lectured widely at U.S. and International Staff and War Colleges. He has appeared on CNN, ABC, News Hour, PBS Frontline, BBC, All Things Considered, and numerous other media outlets. Dr. Hammes attended The Basic School, U.S. Army Infantry Officers Advanced Course, Marine Corps Command and Staff College, and the Canadian National Defence College; and holds a master's degree in historical research and a Ph.D. in modern history from Oxford University.

MICHAEL KLARE is professor of peace and world security studies at Five College, and Director of the Five College Program in Peace and World Security Studies (PAWSS). He serves on the board of the Arms Control Association and advises other organizations in the field. Dr. Klare has written widely on U.S. military policy, international peace and security affairs, the global arms trade, and global resource politics. His books include *American Arms Supermarket; Low-*

*Intensity Warfare; Peace and World Security Studies: A Curriculum Guide; World Security: Challenges for a New Century; Rogue States and Nuclear Outlaws; Light Weapons and Civil Conflict; Resource Wars; and Blood and Oil.* His articles have appeared in many journals, including *Arms Control Today, Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, Current History, Foreign Affairs, Harper's, The Nation, Scientific American, and Technology Review.* Dr. Klare holds a B.A. and M.A. from Columbia University and a Ph.D. from the Graduate School of the Union Institute.

## **Panel V.**

### **Moderator:**

DOUGLAS C. LOVELACE, JR., became the Director of the Strategic Studies Institute in May 2000. Prior to that, he held the Douglas MacArthur Professor of Research Chair at the U.S. Army War College. His Army career included a combat tour in Vietnam and a number of command and staff assignments. While serving in the Plans, Concepts and Assessments Division and the Conventional War Plans Division of the Joint Staff, he collaborated in the development of documents such as the National Military Strategy, the Joint Strategic Capabilities Plan, the Joint Military Net Assessment, national security directives, and presidential decision directives. He is a member of the Pennsylvania and New Jersey bars. Professor Lovelace has published extensively in the areas of national security and military strategy formulation, future military requirements and strategic planning. He is a graduate of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College and the National War College, and holds

an MBA from Embry Riddle Aeronautical University and a J.D. from the Widener University School of Law

ALBERT C. PIERCE is the first Director of the Institute for National Security Ethics and Leadership at the National Defense University (NDU) in Washington, DC. In February 2006, he became the first professor of ethics and national security at NDU. He has served as a member of the Editorial Advisory Board of the *Journal of Military Ethics* and currently is on the Editorial Board of *Media, War, and Conflict*. Dr. Pierce co-authored *The Armed Forces Officer*; co-edited *Ethics and the Future of Conflict*; authored *Strategy, Ethics, and the "War on Terrorism"*; and *A Model for Moral Leadership: Contemporary Applications, Occasional Paper No. 15*. Dr. Pierce holds an M.A. and a Ph.D. in political science from Tufts University.

MARTIN L. COOK is the Admiral James Bond Stockdale Professor of Professional Military Ethics at the United States Naval War College. He has previously served as professor of philosophy and Deputy Department Head, Department of Philosophy at the United States Air Force Academy, professor of ethics and Elihu Root Chair of Military Studies at the United States Army War College, and as a tenured member of the faculty at Santa Clara University, California. He has lectured on military ethics in the United Kingdom, Australia, Singapore, and Norway. Dr. Cook serves as an editor of *The Journal of Military Ethics* and as a member of the editorial board of *Parameters*, the scholarly journal of the U.S. Army War College. He is the author of two books, co-author of a third, and of more than 35 scholarly articles. His most recent book is *The Moral Warrior: Ethics and Service in the US Military*.

RICHARD PREGENT is currently the Chief of the International and Operational Law Division at the U.S. Army's Office of The Judge Advocate General. In July 2002, he became the senior legal advisor for all NATO operations south of the Alps at Allied Forces South, Naples, Italy. Shortly thereafter, he deployed to Iraq and served as the Deputy General Counsel for the Coalition Provisional Authority in Iraq until 2004. From 2004 until 2008, he was the Staff Judge Advocate for the U.S. Army Intelligence and Security Command. From 2008 to 2009, he served in Iraq first as the Director of the Interagency Rule of Law Coordinating Center and then as the Director of the Law and Order Task Force. Colonel Pregent received a B.A. from Williams College in 1976, and his J.D. in 1979 from Albany Law School at Union University, Albany, New York.

DEANE-PETER BAKER joined the U.S. Naval Academy in January 2010, where he is an assistant professor in the Department of Leadership, Ethics, and Law, after retiring from the South African Army Reserves as a major. Prior to that he was an associate professor of ethics at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa, where he taught for 11 years. Dr. Baker's research focuses on military ethics and strategic studies (the latter with particular reference to Africa). He has served as Chairman of the Ethics Society of South Africa. He also served as the first Convenor of the South African Army Future Vision Research Group. Dr. Baker is Editor-in-Chief of the *African Security Review*, the journal of the Institute for Security Studies. He has held visiting fellowships at the Triangle Institute for Security Studies and the Strategic Studies Institute of the U.S. Army War College.

Representative publications include *Just Warriors Inc: Armed Contractors and the Ethics of War* (Continuum, forthcoming in 2010) and the co-edited volume, *South Africa and Contemporary Insurgency*. Dr. Baker is currently working on an analysis of South Africa's security environment which will be published in Praeger's *Global Security Watch* series. Dr. Baker holds two research master's degrees in philosophy and political science from the University of KwaZulu-Natal and a Ph.D. from Macquarie University in Sydney, Australia.

## Panel VI.

### Moderator:

STEVEN METZ is Chairman of the Regional Strategy Department and Research Professor of National Security Affairs at the Strategic Studies Institute. He has been with SSI since 1993, previously serving as Henry L. Stimson professor of military studies and SSI's Director of Research. He has also been on the faculty of the Air War College, the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, and several universities. He has been an advisor to political campaigns and elements of the intelligence community; served on national security policy task forces; testified in both houses of Congress; and spoken on military and security issues around the world. His research has taken him to 30 countries, including Iraq immediately after the collapse of the Hussein regime. He currently serves on the RAND Corporation Insurgency Board. Dr. Metz is the author of *Iraq and the Evolution of American Strategy* and is working on a book entitled *Strategic Shock: Eight Events That Changed American Security*. He authored more than 100 publications, including articles in journals such as *Washington Quarterly*, *Joint Force Quarterly*, *The National Interest*, *Defence Studies*, and *Current History*. Dr. Metz holds a Ph.D. from The Johns Hopkins University.

JOHN F. TROXELL is a professor of strategic military logistics operations and planning with the Center for Strategic Leadership, U.S. Army War College, and holds the George S. Patton Chair of Operational Research and Analysis. His higher-level assignments

during a 30-year career with the U.S. Army include duty in the War Plans Division, Department of Army from 1990 to 1992; as a force planner for the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Strategy and Requirements, in the Office of the Secretary of Defense from 1994 to 1996; and as Chief of the Engineer Plans Division, Combined Forces Command, Seoul, South Korea from 1997 to 1999. Prior to assuming his current position he was the Director of National Security Studies, Department of National Security and Strategy, U.S. Army War College. Professor Troxell has published several book chapters, including "Presidential Decision Directive-56: A Glass half Full," in *The Interagency and Counterinsurgency Warfare*; "Sizing the Military in the Post-Cold War Era," in *United States Post-Cold War Defence Interests: A Review of the First Decade*; and "Military Power and the Use of Force," in the *U.S. Army War College Guide to National Security Policy and Strategy*; as well as articles in *Parameters*, *Military Review*, and with the Strategic Studies Institute. Professor Troxell earned a bachelor's degree from the United States Military Academy in 1974, and a master's degree from the Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University in 1982. He is also a graduate of the U.S. Army War College.

NATHAN FREIER is a Senior Fellow in the Defense and National Security Group at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), and a visiting research professor at Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute (PKSOI). He joined CSIS in April 2008, and PKSOI in August 2008, after serving 20 years as an officer in the U.S. Army. From 2000 until his retirement, he served in numerous positions as an Army strategist. His last military assignment was as



Director of National Security Affairs at the Strategic Studies Institute (SSI) of the U.S. Army War College. Between 2000 and 2008, he was a key player in numerous strategy development and strategic planning efforts at Headquarters, Department of the Army; the Office of the Secretary of Defense; and on two senior-level military staffs in Iraq. Between 1988 and 2000, and prior to service as an army strategist, he held various leadership and staff positions as a field artillery officer in the United States, Europe, and in Southwest Asia during the first Persian Gulf War. Mr. Freier holds a bachelor's degree in government from Saint John's University (MN) and master's degrees in international relations and politics, respectively, from Troy State University and Catholic University. He is also a graduate of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College.

THOMAS G. MAHNKEN is currently a professor of strategy at the U.S. Naval War College and a visiting scholar at the Philip Merrill Center for Strategic Studies at The Johns Hopkins University's Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS). He served as the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Policy Planning from 2006-2009. He spearheaded the Secretary of Defense's Minerva Research Initiative and led an interagency effort to establish a National Security Council-run interagency policy planning body. Prior to joining the Defense Department, he served as a professor of strategy at the U.S. Naval War College. Dr. Mahnken was the primary author of the 2008 *National Defense Strategy* and contributing author of the 2006 *Quadrennial Defense Review*. He is the author of *Technology and the American Way of War Since 1945; Uncovering Ways of War: U.S. Intel-*

*ligence and Foreign Military Innovation, 1918-1941*; and coauthor with James R. FitzSimonds of *The Limits of Transformation: Officer Attitudes toward the Revolution in Military Affairs*. He has appeared on Fox News, CNN, BBC, and CBC, among other networks. Dr. Mahnken holds a master's degree and Ph.D. in international affairs from SAIS, and was a National Security Fellow at the John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies at Harvard University. He is a graduate of the University of Southern California with bachelor's degrees in history and international relations.

**U.S. ARMY WAR COLLEGE**

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