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From the Editor

The Autumn issue of *Parameters* opens with a forum featuring two contributions that highlight some important *Challenges for US Civil-Military Relations*. The first contribution, "Policy Revolt: Army Opposition to the Korea Withdrawal Plan" by Eric Setzekorn, argues senior US Army leaders adopted a Fabian strategy of indirect resistance to Carter's desire to reduce the number of troops stationed in Korea. The strategy worked. But the author leaves us wondering whether that success was a positive development for US civil-military relations. The second article, "The Walter Reed Scandal and the All-Volunteer Force" by Richard Malish, provides intriguing evidence that the American public might have put the AVF on a pedestal high enough that it harms civil-military relations.

Our second forum, *On Alliances and Coalitions*, offers three essays addressing the importance of integrating disparate perspectives under a common strategy. The first article, "Fighting and Learning in the Great War: Four Lessons in Coalition Warfare" by Kelly Grieco, describes the key insights the United States and its allies drew, or ought to have drawn, during the First World War. All of these, as Grieco shows, have immediate relevance today. The second contribution to the forum, Vinay Kaura's article "India-US Relations: From Distant Partners to an Alliance" suggests American and Indian interests are converging in a manner that makes an alliance between them, hitherto inconceivable, now a worthy objective. Paul Vera Delzo's "Toward a Whole-of-Government Approach: Revamping Peru's Strategy Process" describes how Peru can obtain greater efficiency and effectiveness from its strategies by integrating all government agencies.

The final forum, *On Clausewitz*, presents two articles that challenge nontraditional interpretations of *On War*. Richard Milburn's "Reclaiming Clausewitz's Theory of Victory" takes on Emile Simpson's "Clausewitz's Theory of War and Victory in Contemporary Conflict" (*Parameters* Winter 2017–18). Milburn rejects Simpson's view and maintains Clausewitz's theory of victory remains relevant in the twenty-first century. Brandon Euhus's "A Clausewitzian Response to 'Hyperwarfare'" urges military planners to remember the human dimension of war, as expounded upon by military writers from Thucydides to Mao Zedong, is ultimately the decisive one. ~AJE

Policy Revolt: Army Opposition to the Korea Withdrawal Plan

Eric B. Setzekorn
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ABSTRACT: In the mid-1970s, Jimmy Carter, first as a candidate and later as president, announced his intention to remove US forces from the Korean peninsula. By publicly opposing the plan as part of a Fabian strategy, senior Army leaders gained public support of their position and the president suspended the planned withdrawal.

*D*irect military opposition to national policy is rare and generally unsuccessful. In the late 1970s, however, senior Army officers in Korea directly opposed President Jimmy Carter's goal of withdrawing US troops from the Korean peninsula. After the relief of one general officer, they adopted an indirect strategy that included inflating threat assessments of North Korea and cultivating ties with congressional members skeptical of Carter's plan. These efforts succeeded, and Carter decided in 1979 to suspend the withdrawal of US troops. This episode illustrates a fundamental ethical and bureaucratic tension between servicemembers' desires to influence defense policy, particularly in regions or on topics where the military has long-standing connections and expertise, and their desire to serve their civilian masters honorably. This article describes how Army officers effectively circumvented official policy by using bureaucratic measures that also protected them from being relieved from duty.

Studies of disagreements between presidential administrations and military officers abound. But most focus on major crisis events—such as Harry S. Truman's firing of General Douglas MacArthur or the actions, or inactions, of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in Vietnam—which obscure a much wider range of civil-military interactions that often shape defense policies. Recent academic attention on the relief of officers and military resignations unfortunately highlights rare situations rather than the day-to-day policy process.[1] The debate on military resignations is particularly puerile because only one Army general officer, Major General Edwin A. Walker, has resigned since World War II.[2]

Rather than opposing policy directly, US officers have had more success with a Fabian strategy of gradually leveraging Congress, the

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1 James M. Dubik, "Taking a 'Pro' Position on Principled Resignation," *Armed Forces and Society* 43, no. 1 (January 2017): 17–28; Jim Golby, "Beyond the Resignation Debate: A New Framework for Civil-Military Dialogue," *Strategic Studies Quarterly* 9, no. 3 (Fall 2015): 18–46; Peter D. Feaver, "Resign in Protest? A Cure Worse Than Most Diseases," *Armed Forces and Society* 43, no. 1 (January 2017): 29–40; and Don M. Snider, "Should General Dempsey Resign? Army Professionals and the Moral Space for Dissent," Strategic Studies Institute, October 21, 2014.

2 Warren Weaver Jr., "Pension Restored for Gen. Walker," *New York Times*, July 24, 1983, 17.

media, and elements of the bureaucracy, such as the intelligence services, to exhaust a presidential administration's resolve. Roman General Fabius delayed and obstructed the Carthaginian General Hannibal in a similar manner. In a direct battle, presidential authority can be overpowering. In such cases, an administration has every incentive to demonstrate its power. In contrast, a recalcitrant institution, which is decentralized and has deep connections to other organizations, can force an administration to expend irreplaceable time and capital in the political equivalent of a guerilla war.

General Colin Powell's successful effort to stop President Bill Clinton's gays-in-the-military initiative provides a classic example of a Fabian strategy in civil-military relations. Through consultation with sympathetic members of Congress from both parties, a network of retired generals, and public statements that obliquely encouraged critiques of the president, Powell slowed the implementation of an announced policy. After a nearly yearlong delay, a much different "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy emerged that maintained a ban on homosexuals serving openly in the US military.[3]

The actions of Army officers, particularly those of the United Nations Commander, and later Chief of Staff of the Army, General John W. Vessey Jr., in delaying and rallying opposition to stop presidential decisions to withdraw troops from Korea is a more impressive demonstration of the Army's institutional power. In the late 1970's, Vessey was outside Washington, DC, and the Army, still reeling from Vietnam, had little public support.

Moreover, the dispute centered on military basing overseas, a subject that did not have a natural domestic political constituency to energize public opinion. As in the Powell case, Army officers working to stop the withdrawal noted a lack of consultation before President Carter's decision, which was perceived as both a flawed policy process and disrespectful to the military. The Army made the topic a public debate where it could use specialized information and professional expertise to stymie a presidential policy that clashed with the Army's assessments of America's national security interests.

A Leader, for a Change

In the post-Watergate election of 1976, Georgia Governor Jimmy Carter projected an image that conveyed transparency and simplicity in government, using the campaign slogan "A Leader, for a Change." During the campaign, he made vague statements about phasing out US troops in South Korea, explaining, "he favored taking US troops out of Korea and would be prepared to begin as soon as he became President."[4] Some reports indicated analysts from the Brookings Institution convinced

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3   Peter D. Feaver, *Armed Servants: Agency, Oversight, and Civil-Military Relations* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 201–4; and Daniel Bessner and Eric Lorber, "Toward a Theory of Civil-Military Punishment," *Armed Forces and Society* 38, no. 4 (October 2012): 658–61.

4   Don Oberdorfer, "Carter's Decision on Korea Traced Back to January, 1975," *Washington Post*, June 12, 1977.

Carter to believe "the large US presence in South Korea amounted to a 'trip wire' that could automatically involve the United States in another Asian land war."[5] These analysts, many of whom would later work for the Carter administration, argued for the United States to draw down forces overseas to focus primarily on Japan, leaving Korea and Taiwan as tangential Third World security interests.[6]

Carter was also drawing on a new generation of foreign policy analysts who were shaped by what they perceived to be the lessons of Vietnam, foremost among them an overreach in American objectives and an excessive use of military force. Many of Carter's policies, particularly those for East Asia and Korea, were formulated by Jerome Cohen, a well-known peace activist with an antimilitary reputation, who had no military experience and was a staunch critic of South Korean President Park Chung Hee's human rights abuses. On June 23, 1976, Carter implied military support would be contingent on larger issues in the bilateral relationship and on subjective moral assessments rather than an objective security policy:

> I believe it will be possible to withdraw our ground forces from South Korea on a phased basis over a time span to be determined after consultation with both South Korea and Japan. At the same time, it should be made clear to the South Korean Government that its internal oppression is repugnant to our people, and undermines the support of our commitment there.[7]

Carter's withdrawal plan fulfilled several key political goals. First, it offered Carter an opportunity to reinforce his moral policies and to provide a high-minded rationale for the withdrawal. Second, removing US forces from Korea provided the president the option to commit forces elsewhere. Lastly, withdrawal respected the public's skepticism of foreign military engagement, particularly in Asia, giving Carter an easy political win.

During his first months in office, Carter attempted to create policies and strategies that reflected his campaign promises, and the withdrawal of ground forces from Korea was given high priority. He immediately directed the Policy Review Committee (PRC) to reexamine US policies toward the Korean peninsula before March 7, 1977.[8] Normally the member of the National Security Council with a primary interest in the issue chaired the committee. But despite the military nature of the issue, the State Department's Cyrus Vance led the committee. As the

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5   Larry A. Niksch, "U.S. Troop Withdrawal from South Korea: Past Shortcomings and Future Prospects," *Asian Survey* 21 (March 1981): 326–28; and Steven L. Rearden and Kenneth R. Foulks, *The Joint Chiefs of Staff and National Policy, 1977–1980* (Washington DC: Office of Joint History, 2015), 154.

6   Barry M. Blechman, Edward M. Gramlich, and Robert W. Hartman, *Setting National Priorities: The 1975 Budget* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1974), 129.

7   Jimmy Carter, "Relations between the World's Democracies" (speech, Foreign Policy Association, New York, NY, June 23, 1976) Department of State, Office of the Historian, accessed November 14, 2018.

8   Jimmy Carter to the Attorney General, memorandum, "Korea: Presidential Review Memorandum/NSC-13," January 29, 1977, Washington, DC, Carter Presidential Library and Museum, accessed November 27, 2018.

administration sought to accelerate the process to reach a predeter-mined conclusion, senior officials also endeavored to limit military participation. On February 2, 1977, National Security Advisor Zbigneiw Brzezinski's staff successfully cancelled Vessey's upcoming Congressional testimony based upon the general's opposition to the withdrawal.[9]

Early in the review process, the administration appeared to have already decided its policy to the point that Department of Defense input would merely be a formality. To many, Vice President Walter Mondale's public statement, "We will phase down our ground forces only in close consultation and cooperation with the Governments of Japan and South Korea," confirmed the policy had already been decided.[10] In fact, Carter privately confirmed he had reached a decision on March 5, 1977—before comments or discussion from the State Department, Defense Department, or Central Intelligence Agency—when he gave a handwritten note to Brzezinski and Vance: "American forces will be withdrawn. Air cover continued."[11] Since the president announced the 4-to-5 year withdrawal schedule nearly two months before the policy became official, many in the bureaucracy felt no genuine discussion had occurred.[12] The review had been a check-the-block exercise centered not on whether to withdraw but how.

Overall, the president's development of a new national security policy regarding the Korean peninsula was severely flawed. The administration made poorly considered campaign promises official through a sham process that excluded major sources of information indicative of Samuel Huntington's observation: "The problem of the modern state is not armed revolt but the relation of the expert to the politician."[13] Driven by his desire to be a popular politician, Carter created severe tension with his primary experts on South Korea—US Army officers.

An Army in Opposition

The withdrawal plan was not popular with US Army officers in South Korea. As the Korean War approached a stalemate in 1953, the US presence there rapidly declined from roughly 400,000 troops to a stable deterrent force of roughly 55,000 personnel, mostly assigned to two Army divisions. During the 1950s and early 1960s, an assignment to

9   Michael Armacost to Zbigniew Brzezinski, memorandum, 0297, "General Vessey's Testimony on Korean Troop Withdrawals," February 2, 1977, container 1, NSA 26, records of the Office of the National Security Advisor (Brzezinski), Carter Presidential Library and Museum.

10   Hubert H. Humphrey and John Glenn, *U.S. Troop Withdrawal from the Republic of Korea: A Report to the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1978), 20.

11   "Handwritten Note from Jimmy Carter for Zbigniew Brzezinski and Cyrus Vance, 5 March 1977," in *The Carter Chill: US-ROK-DPRK Trilateral Relations, 1976–1979* (Washington DC: North Korea International Documentation Project, n.d.), 77.

12   Humphrey and Glenn, *U.S. Troop Withdrawal*, 20; and Jimmy Carter to the Vice President, Secretary of State, and Secretary of Defense, "U.S. Policy in Korea Presidential Directive/NSC-12," May 5, 1977, Washington, DC, Carter Presidential Library and Museum, accessed November 27, 2018.

13   Samuel P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957), 20.

Korea served as a stepping-stone to higher rank. Both General Lyman L. Lemnitzer and General George H. Decker commanded the Eighth Army in Korea before serving as the chief of staff of the Army.

After the withdrawal of US forces from Vietnam, senior Army leaders, in the role of United Nations commander, wielded tremendous influence within South Korea. Ambassador William Gleysteen remarked that General Richard G. Stilwell "knew he was very important to the Koreans, because 'he' provided security and military assistance to them—not to mention use of the Command's golf course and clubs. The embassy, on the other hand, was usually the source of complaints and problems."[14] During the late 1970s, the increasingly authoritarian South Korean government led by Park Chung Hee looked for support from America's military officers rather than the State Department's civilian officials. Many Americans, including Vessey, who was the commander of US and UN forces in Korea, felt the senior US commander had more access to Park than the US ambassador.[15]

Shortly after Carter was sworn in, Vessey expressed his misgivings on the withdrawal plan publicly to the *Washington Post* and privately to the president. While the general's arguments were not in-line with the president's thinking, the withdrawal policy was technically still under review and there were no official guidelines restricting the discussion of it.[16] Other senior Army leaders were also critical of the policy. Lieutenant General John H. Cushman, commander of I Corps in Korea, wrote an article supporting a robust US presence in South Korea. But a prepublication review determined his views were "contrary to policy."[17]

During a visit to Korea in late April 1977, Chief of Staff of the Army Bernard W. Rogers told senior military leaders that, despite the ongoing policy review, "the decision in my opinion has been made to withdraw the forces, and what remains is how they will be withdrawn—what schedule and what numbers for each milestone."[18] Presidential Directive/National Security Council 12 (PD/NSC-12) confirmed his opinion. One brigade would leave South Korea before December 1978; the second, June 1980.[19] The State and Defense Departments received tasking memorandums and military assistance plans for the withdrawal.

Army officers in Korea continued to see the withdrawal plan as ill-considered and hastily approved. Moreover, "an informal plan"

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14   William H. Gleysteen Jr. (ambassador to South Korea from 1978–81), interview with Thomas Stern, June 10, 1997 (Arlington, VA: Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training Foreign Affairs Oral History Project [ADST], 2000), 132.

15   Gen John W. Vessey Jr. (commanding general of the Eighth US Army; commander of US Forces, Korea; and commander in chief of the United Nations command in Korea from 1976–79), interview 19 with Thomas Saylor, August 29, 2012 (Saint Paul, MN: Concordia University, 2014), 24.

16   Vessey, interview 20, September 6, 2012, 12–13.

17   John H. Cushman, *Korea 1976–1978—A Memoir* (self-pub., October 2013), 25.

18   *Hearings on Review of the Policy Decision to Withdraw United States Ground Forces from Korea Before the Investigations Subcommittee of the Committee on Armed Services, House of Representatives*, 95th cong. 83 (1977) (statement of Bernard W. Rogers, Chief of Staff of the Army).

19   Jimmy Carter to the Vice President, Secretary of State, and Secretary of Defense, "U.S. Policy in Korea Presidential Directive/NSC-12," May 5, 1977, Washington, DC, Carter Presidential Library and Museum, accessed November 27, 2018.

among senior Army officers "gradually took shape in opposition to troop withdrawal."[20] Three weeks after the president signed PD/NSC-12, Major General John K. Singlaub, chief of staff of US forces in Korea, made comments understood to be off-the-record during an interview with *Washington Post* reporter John Saar in Seoul.[21] The most inflammatory segment of the interview captured Singlaub's contention, "If U.S. ground troops are withdrawn on the schedule suggested, it will lead to war."[22] Within the Washington bureaucracy, Singlaub's comments regarding the dangerous and destabilizing policy further polarized the president's White House staff and their opponents in the State and Defense Departments.[23]

Within Carter's inner circle, the issue of a withdrawal from Korea was less important than increasing presidential power and preparing for upcoming bureaucratic battles. Hamilton Jordan, a close personal friend of Carter and a senior political strategist, wrote, "This is an opportunity for you to firmly establish the position of your administration on the question of civilian control of the military establishment. . . . It is important for the military establishment to realize that when they challenge your decisions and judgements, they do so at the risk of their own careers."[24]

On May 21, 1977, President Carter officially relieved General Singlaub of his position as a result of his comments. The action discouraged direct challenges to presidential decisions but increased debate. Thomas Stern, a Foreign Service officer stationed in Seoul remarked, "Singlaub took it upon himself to challenge Carter publicly on this whole question of troop withdrawal. That helped to raise the issue in both public and private channels."[25] Public commentators agreed, "White House drama served only to give [the Singlaub affair] far more significance and substance than it deserved."[26]

The high-profile dispute provided an opening for Congress to hold hearings and potentially slow Carter's withdrawal plan. During congressional testimony, Singlaub reiterated the consultation process had been rushed and had shunned the input of military officers.[27] The testimony also revealed the United Nations Command in Korea formally requested a rationale for the decision and the long-range

20   James V. Young, *Eye on Korea: An Insider Account of Korean-American Relations* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2003), 43.

21   John K. Singlaub, *Hazardous Duty: An American Soldier in the Twentieth Century* (New York, Summit Books, 1991), 385–86.

22   John Saar, "U.S. General: Korea Pullout Risks War," *Washington Post*, May 19, 1977.

23   John K. Singlaub, *Hazardous Duty*, 385–86; and William H. Gleysteen Jr., *Massive Entanglement, Marginal Influence: Carter and Korea in Crisis* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 1999), 23.

24   Hamilton Jordan to President Carter, "General Singlaub," n.d., container 37, Office of the Chief of Staff Files, Hamilton Jordan's Confidential Files, Singlaub, General, container 37, folder for General Singlaub, series of Hamilton Jordan's Confidential Files, collection of the Office of the Chief of Staff Files, Carter Presidential Library and Museum, accessed November 27, 2018.

25   John T. Bennett and Thomas Stern, interview with Charles Stuart Kennedy, October 2, 1987, (Arlington, VA: ADST, Training, Foreign Affairs Oral History Project, 2000), 17.

26   "The Singlaub Affair," *Washington Post*, May 24, 1977.

27   *Hearings on Review of the Policy Decision*, 9.

policy objectives because of the military's exclusion from the matter.[28] Singlaub's testimony cited the growing number of intelligence reports on the increased North Korean threat.[29]

The hearings led to a sharp increase in studies of and senior official visits to Korea. Military officers actively presented facts and opinions to friendly congressmen. Once a relationship was developed between a senior officer and Congress, visits and "fact-finding" trips could further present the Army's message opposing the withdrawal. Vessey remarked, "I don't say that I searched for them. I think that would be inaccurate. But I found out who they were." The general "welcomed them on their trips to Korea and then made sure that they were taken to the Demilitarized Zone and could see the situation there, and had good briefings on both the strengths and weaknesses of the armed forces of the Republic of Korea as well as our own. *I don't think we did anything that I would call dishonest or misleading. On the other hand, we certainly didn't tell them that President Carter's plan was a good idea.*"[30]

While Army leaders built connections and influence in Congress, the administration also strengthened its position. During his June 8, 1977, commencement address at the United States Military Academy, Secretary of the Army Clifford Alexander Jr. took a hard line on military subordination. He outlined three distinct forums, with variable degrees of independence. First, military officers were free to offer opinions within their chain of command until a decision was reached. Second, when appearing before Congress, an officer is free to express a personal opinion but is bound to cite and support policy. Lastly, when dealing with the media, an officer should know when a policy is established or still under discussion and express that to the media. Alexander warned, "Attempts to achieve outside the chain of command what one could not achieve inside the chain of command are out of keeping with this tradition [of the president as commander in chief] and inconsistent with military professionalism."[31]

As the White House and civilian officials attempted to continue tightening the framework for public discussion by Army leaders, Congress continued the hearings, which provided a forum for military officers to cast doubt on Carter's Korea policy throughout the summer of 1977. The commander of I Corps in Korea, the current and retired commander of US Forces Korea, the commander of Pacific Air Forces, the commander in chief of the Pacific Command, the Army chief of staff, and the chairman of the Joint Chiefs were all called to testify on the Korea withdrawal plan. Each expressed reservations about the withdrawal plan. And their testimony was used by Carter's congressional opponents and hawkish Democrats to strengthen their arguments.

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28 *Hearings on Review of the Policy Decision*, 10.

29 Singlaub, *Hazardous Duty*, 401.

30 Vessey, interview 21, September 13, 2012, 5 (emphasis added).

31 Headquarters Air Force, message, 172355Z, "Statements by Defense Officials," June 1977, quoted in Felix F. Moran, "Free Speech, the Military, and the National Interest," *Air University Review* 31, no. 4 (May–June 1980): 112.

Testifying in August, Chief of Staff of the Army General Rogers was asked, "Were the Joint Chiefs ever asked whether troops should be withdrawn from Korea?" He responded bluntly, "They were not."

Under oath, Rogers also testified he had no idea when the announced withdrawal should begin. When asked about the value of American troops in South Korea, Rogers stated, "I think it makes two contributions. First, as a deterrent, and second, if under conditions of combat the national command authority released the 2d Division for use by 8th Army, it could make a contribution in the area of war-fighting capability as well."[32] The ongoing hearings were highly effective in shaping opposition to Carter's policies. By late July, official polls showed 52 percent of Americans disapproved of Carter's withdrawal plan.[33]

In addition to working closely with Congress to cast doubt on official policy, military officers cultivated intelligence that magnified the North Korean threat. Due to a lack of human intelligence, estimates of North Korea's forces had been constrained to satellite imagery. In January 1978, Vessey asked for an assessment of North Korea's military capabilities.[34] The Defense Intelligence Agency produced a report in May 1978 that sharply increased both the size and the capability of North Korean forces, identifying more than three entirely new combat divisions.[35] Disseminating these revised threat assessments put additional pressure on the Carter administration to delay or to halt the withdrawal program.

On April 21, 1978, Carter delayed the first increment of withdrawals. While the redeployment of 2,600 noncombat elements and a combat battalion by the end of the year would proceed as planned, two of the combat battalions scheduled for withdrawal in 1978 would remain, at least until 1979.[36] Military officers were not subtle in rejoicing. One wrote, "At last, a reprieve!"[37] On July 29, 1979, Carter announced the suspension of US troop withdrawals from Korea. The administration remembered the military opposition, and in 1979, Vessey was passed over for the position of chief of staff.[38]

Conclusion

Although President Carter demonstrated his official power by relieving Singlaub, he was less successful at stopping Vessey from pursuing a Fabian strategy that increased the political costs and security

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32   *Hearings on Review of the Policy Decision*, 95–71.

33   "Public Likes Carter, Survey Finds, More for His Style than Programs," New York Times/CBS News Poll, July 29, 1977, 1; Larry K. Niksch, "US Troop Withdrawal from South Korea: Past Shortcomings and Future Prospects," *Asian Survey* 21, no. 3 (March 1981), 329.

34   Byung-Kook Kim and Ezra F. Vogel, *The Park Chung Hee Era: The Transformation of South Korea* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), 478.

35   Joe Wood, "Persuading a President: Jimmy Carter and American Troops in Korea," *Studies in Intelligence* 40, no. 4 (1996): 98, 106.

36   Steven L. Rearden and Kenneth R. Foulks Jr., *The Joint Chiefs of Staff and National Policy, 1977–1980* (Washington, DC: Office of Joint History, 2015), 158.

37   Ward M. Le Hardy, "Where the Dawn Comes Up Like Thunder: The Army's Future Role in the Pacific," *Parameters* 8, no. 4 (1978): 37.

38   Young, *Eye on Korea*, 46–47.

risks of withdrawing forces from Korea. The Army's ability to oppose presidential policy and win the political debate was due to a congruence of domestic political factors and bureaucratic skills. First, the Army leveraged its position in South Korea to present itself as the expert voice on the North Korean threat and South Korean requirements. Second, the Army provided an issue that polarized congressional Democrats, allowing military officers to serve as "expert witnesses," which was critical to creating a nonpolitical narrative. Lastly, the statements and testimony of Army leaders focused on the short time span of deliberations and the rushed nature of the process. This oblique criticism highlighted the Carter administration's opaque policy process and politicized decision-making.

Although Army leaders were clearly manipulative and pushed the boundaries of professional ethics, they effectively halted a deeply flawed withdrawal policy. Viewed from a distance of forty years, President Carter's politicized policy process and shortsighted mentality of reducing deterrence capabilities on the Korean Peninsula were clearly dangerous. Singlaub and Vessey, as the subject matter experts on the American military role in South Korea, should have been consulted. Yet the generals' actions led to a more comprehensive debate of American security policy in Korea. As the case of the aborted Korean withdrawal highlights, Army leaders can successfully challenge presidential policies. But the question is should they?

The Walter Reed Scandal and the All-Volunteer Force

Richard G. Malish

ABSTRACT: This article describes the Walter Reed scandal of 2007 and what it tells us about the relationship of America to its all-volunteer force. It then offers suggestions for leadership strategies to monitor the relationship to avoid future surprises.

In February 2007, as 20,000 US troops surged into Iraq to stabilize an insurgency and curb an emerging civil war, the *Washington Post* published a series of articles describing shameful conditions at Walter Reed Army Medical Center, the United States Army's flagship hospital and main hub for receiving soldiers evacuated from hostilities overseas. The articles depicted a system that provided state-of-the-art medical care, but which had broken down in multiple ways. Physical conditions in some of the barracks were squalid; clear signs of neglect such as "mouse droppings, belly-up cockroaches, stained carpets, [and] cheap mattresses" were found in some buildings.[1] Outpatient soldiers were neglected, "chewed out by superiors," treated with "petty condescension," and required to navigate a "bureaucratic maze" to receive basic treatment and benefits.[2]

Public reactions of fury and outrage were immediately expressed in congressional hearings, media reports, and opinion pieces.[3] Interest in the scandal was intense with "more than three-in-ten Americans (31%) [paying] very close attention."[4] In 2007 and 2008, the Pew Research Center reported a "highly critical" public; 72 percent of respondents said "the government [did] not give enough support to soldiers who have served in Iraq and Afghanistan."[5]

It was unclear how such neglect could happen—at Walter Reed of all places—and how America's heroes could be so mistreated. The public struggled to understand how the leadership at Walter Reed was not aware of the conditions, or worse, thought they were acceptable. The *Post* articles may have focused on a single hospital, but they touched on an extensive system and seemingly widespread attitudes. Consequently,

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1   Dana Priest and Anne Hull, "Soldiers Face Neglect, Frustration at Army's Top Medical Facility," *Washington Post*, February 18, 2007.

2   Priest and Hull, "Soldiers Face Neglect"; and Guy Raz, "Pentagon Tackles Criticism of Military Hospital," NPR, February 23, 2007.

3   David Stout, "General Steps Down in Walter Reed Furor," *New York Times*, March 12, 2007; Johanna Neuman and Adam Schreck, "Outrage and Apologies over Care at Walter Reed," *Los Angeles Times*, March 6, 2007; and "The Wider Shame of Walter Reed," *New York Times,* March 7, 2007.

4   "Public Tunes In to Walter Reed Story," Pew Research Center, March 15, 2007.

5   "Public Continues To Fault Government for Troop Care," Pew Research Center, March 19, 2008.

the implications were far-reaching. Government and senior military leaders stood accused of being insensitive to the needs of those asked to sacrifice so much for the nation.

This article suggests the events at Walter Reed illustrate how extraordinary public esteem for America's modern all-volunteer force (AVF) might place unexpected constraints on its use. In the years leading up to the scandal, public adulation of the military created a significant yet unexposed gap in perceptions between wounded soldiers and the establishment that managed them. Walter Reed's leaders did not realize they were dealing with a clientele whose relationship with the public differed from their own.

This blind spot existed for many reasons, including the hospital staff's familiarity with the AVF, which obscured its ability to perceive the military through the public's lens. This perception, influenced by myth and crafted by tact, is now beginning to reach a design that is decades-old. The public had moved faster to accept a special status for its military than had the US government.

A victim of its success, the government now faces repercussions of broader significance. Because of the differences of perception between soldiers and their caretaking establishment, the public may increasingly intervene to protect and to safeguard its military. The result may place constraints upon the nation's use of its military as an instrument of national power.

The All-Volunteer Force

Soldiers who received care in Walter Reed from 2002 to 2007 had a different relationship with the public than servicemembers at any other time in American history. A 2011 Pew poll found that 90 percent of Americans "felt proud of the soldiers serving in the military" during the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.[6] The force was commonly described as "heroic."[7] In fact, positive public support for the military continues to be so pervasive that it is hard to remember or to justify any other paradigm. Nevertheless, history demonstrates considerable variation in the relationship between the public and the military. As recently as the Vietnam War, the military was the object of the American public's "ire."[8] Prussian theorist Carl von Clausewitz used his famous trinity to indicate that war and its features of reason, chance, and passion make the relationship between soldier, people, and government unbalanced, unpredictable, and subject to change.[9] The current relationship between the American people and its military is, generationally speaking, new and evolving.

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6   "War and Sacrifice in the Post-9/11 Era: Executive Summary," Pew Research Center, October 5, 2011.

7   Robert M. Gates, *Duty: Memoirs of a Secretary at War* (New York: Vintage Books, 2015), 135.

8   LTG Eric B. Schoomaker (USA Retired) (42nd surgeon general of the Army; former commanding general US Army Medical Command), interview with the author, April 6, 2018.

9   Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, trans. and ed. Michael Howard and Peter Paret (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976).

Members of today's AVF are unknown to the vast majority of Americans. In spite of conducting combat operations in two theaters, the US military is the smallest since the 1930s.[10] In the Second World War, roughly 50 percent of males between the ages of 18 and 49 served; however, today "less than 0.5 percent of the population serves in the armed forces."[11] Hence, few Americans have personal connections to the military. Anonymity is important because it provides a blank slate upon which to superimpose one's personal judgements of agency and motivation. As author James Wright states, "If we have no personal relationships with those who are fighting our wars, then we think of war as a geopolitical drama, and we think of those fighting it as heroic action figures."[12] Essayist and critic William Deresiewicz, elaborates on the lack of personal familiarity with members of the military as an important factor of modern-day military hero worship:

> The greater the sacrifice that has fallen . . . the members of the military and their families, the more we have gone from supporting our troops to putting them on a pedestal. In the Second World War, everybody fought. Soldiers were not remote figures to most of us; they were us. Now, instead of sharing the burden, we sentimentalize it. It's a lot easier to idealize the people who are fighting than it is to send your kid to join them.[13]

These observations are useful for reasons other than illustrating the impact of anonymity. They acknowledge the agency, or actions, of the uniformed services at war: the military fights and sacrifices to the benefit of national interests. The public is thankful because it understands the military shoulders the weight of society's physically and psychically injurious work. In 2011, eighty-three percent of those polled quantified the sacrifice as "a lot."[14] Indeed, patients at Walter Reed during this period had made enormous, and in many cases permanent, sacrifices while serving.

Finally, and most importantly, the volunteer paradigm facilitates the widespread public perception of altruism in the military. Willingly sacrificing comfort to address community-afflicting problems that normal institutions have failed to solve, the AVF conveys motivations that harmonize with repeated and reinforced narratives of superheroism. As a result, Americans worship their military. Commonly expressed as patriotism, the designation of altruism toward the modern US all-volunteer force is so pervasive that even non-American contemporary military historians make the connection.[15]

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10   Jim Tice, "Army Shrinks to Smallest Level since before World War II," *Army Times*, May 7, 2016.

11   Karl W. Eikenberry and David M. Kennedy, "Americans and Their Military, Drifting Apart," *New York Times*, May 26, 2013.

12   James Wright, *Those Who Have Borne the Battle: A History of America's Wars and Those Who Fought Them* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2012), 276.

13   William Deresiewicz, "An Empty Regard," *New York Times*, August 20, 2011.

14   Paul Taylor, ed., *The Military-Civilian Gap: War and Sacrifice in the Post-9/11 Era* (Washington, DC: Pew Research Center, 2011), 2.

15   John Keegan, "The Making of the American GI," *Time*, December 29, 2003.

Without attribution of patriotic motivation, anonymous militaries may be perceived as victims, pawns, or worse. Five years into the Vietnam War, for example, opinion polls about the political and moral merits of the conflict were as negative in scale as those of the Iraq War in 2007.[16] Yet, only 27 percent of the US population thought favorably of the force conscripted to fight in Vietnam.[17]

The Establishment

Public adulation of the military creates a significant perception gap between the AVF and those with the power to manage it. In regards to Walter Reed, this includes senior officers, civilian leaders, and staff.

Because of the heroic status of Walter Reed patients, one can understand how the public would expect the government to provide world-class medical care and the best amenities. The *Washington Post* articles, in revealing a different reality, shattered such expectations. The public's outrage fueled decisive and immediate action by Congress and the secretary of defense. Within two weeks of the articles, the establishment began to purge itself of its perceived wrongdoers. Secretary of the Army Francis J. Harvey relieved Major General George W. Weightman, Walter Reed's senior commander. Secretary of Defense Robert M. Gates endorsed the firing: "The care and welfare of our wounded men and women in uniform depend on the highest standard of excellence and commitment that we can muster as a government. When this standard is not met, I will insist on direct corrective action."[18]

The "direct corrective action" did not spare Harvey, whom Gates fired two days later.[19] Shortly thereafter, Acting Secretary of the Army Preston M. "Pete" Geren announced the retirement of Army Surgeon General Lieutenant General Kevin C. Kiley.[20] When the smoke cleared, command of Walter Reed rested in the hands of then Major General Eric B. Schoomaker who was charged with charting a course that was consistent with congressional, senior leader, and public expectations. Nonetheless, Army medicine never recovered from the damage. In 2017, the Army role in managing hospitals was bestowed upon the newly formed Defense Health Agency.[21]

As the Walter Reed scandal illustrates, the more the public ascribes heroic motivation to its fighting class, the higher American expectations will be for supporting, managing, and leading it and the lower the tolerance will be for shortcomings. In contrast to that of soldiers, public

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16   Jodie T. Allen, Nilanthi Samaranayake, and James Albrittain Jr., "Iraq and Vietnam: A Crucial Difference in Opinion," Pew Research Center, March 22, 2007.

17   Allen, Samaranayake, and Albrittain, "Iraq and Vietnam."

18   Associated Press, "General in Charge of Walter Reed Hospital Has Been Relieved of Command," *USA Today*, March 1, 2007.

19   Chuck Callahan, *Forty Days of Winter—Walter Reed and the Washington Post February–March 2007* (Washington, DC), briefing slides; and Michael Abramowitz and Steve Vogel, "Army Secretary Ousted," *Washington Post*, March 3, 2007.

20   Associated Press, "Army's Surgeon General To Retire," NBC News, March 12, 2007.

21   National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2017, Pub. L. No. 114-328, 130 Stat. 2000 (2016).

perception of the establishment has varied little over time. It may never reach the heroic threshold of the force it supports. And senior military leaders forever forfeit their heroic stature when they join the ranks of the institutions that require defending.

To discern the origin of these distinctions, it is useful to evaluate the establishment using the same triad of factors used to understand perceptions of the AVF: familiarity, agency, and motivation. First, the senior military and civilian ranks are fewer in number than the mass of the AVF. In the internet-enabled era of information, actions and decisions are available to the public in detail never before seen. As a result, they cannot exist anonymously and therefore cannot benefit from the public attribution of characteristics derived from romanticized myth. Second, while they have strategic-level capability and agency, they neither fight nor sacrifice. Instead, they pursue the nation's work in conditions of comfort and safety. Most importantly, the public perceives their motivations differently from that of the junior ranks. Congressman Seth Moulton, a former Marine Corps officer, uses the following language: "The highest ranks [have become populated], by careerists, people who have gotten where they are by checking all the boxes and not taking risks."[22] Moreover, opinion pieces, books, blogs, academic works, and political cartoons commonly attribute self-serving motivations and bureaucratic behaviors to the establishment.[23]

Schoomaker recognized Walter Reed's early public affairs strategy paid little attention to the perception gap between AVF and senior leadership.[24] Even after sacking senior leaders, "we [continued to] put general officers in front of [the media] and when we did, we exacerbated the distance between the public and us."[25] The ages and ranks appearing in the media confirmed the public's biases. Instead of seeing the heroism previously displayed by those in the senior military ranks, the public perceived the generals and senior leaders as self-serving bureaucrats. To rectify this issue, Schoomaker intentionally minimized the presence of generals and senior leaders as the face of Walter Reed in press conferences.

Differences between the stereotypes used to characterize senior leaders and the remainder of the AVF make media accounts of misconduct more harmful for senior leaders than junior ranks. In the former group, the messages reinforce negative stereotypes. In the latter, they are at such odds with the prevailing perception as to be considered the behavior of outliers. By persisting in the profession, senior leaders outlast the crisis for which they were called upon as saviors and expose self-serving impetuses. In contrast, soldiers become increasingly unassailable in respect and admiration. Because public respect for

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22   James Fallows, "The Tragedy of the American Military," *Atlantic* (January/February 2015).

23   Richard Halloran, "Washington Talk: Military Careers; Air Force and Marines Battle 'Ticket Punchers,'" *New York Times*, April 25, 1988; and Kelley Beaucar Vlahos, "How a Careerist Culture Leads to Military Scandals," *American Conservative*, February 18, 2014.

24   For examples of contemporary political cartoons prepared by such cartoonists Pat Oliphant, Jim Borgman, R.J. Matson, and Lyle Lahey, see Callahan, *Forty Days of Winter*.

25   Schoomaker, interview.

the military has grown while opinions of its caretaking agents have remained stagnant, the perception gap has widened.

The Boundaries

If the public regards soldiers as a heroic elite, then the medical and support establishment must do so as well. Without such alignment, the perception gap will result in crises of the scale and type of Walter Reed. The factors leading to the physical, climatic, and bureaucratic conditions in Walter Reed were complex and multidimensional. Even so, many would argue the root cause was the simple fact that hospital leadership and staff did not perceive their patients with the same reverence as the public.

While the boundaries between the AVF and the establishment are clear to the public, they are more difficult to discern from the inside. Within Walter Reed's walls, patients, staff, and leaders worked together in constantly changing teams in ways that obscured the boundaries between the establishment and the AVF.[26] As a result, staff and leadership did not understand that public adulation for the mythical soldier had elevated patients to a status higher than the one they perceived and had come to expect for themselves.

Factors other than physical mixing contributed to this ignorance: Walter Reed's staff included hundreds of soldiers such as Weightman, who was a combat veteran that had spent his career serving with soldiers. Many Walter Reed staffers were Operation Iraqi Freedom veterans, and the hospital routinely and cyclically deployed its staff to the war. The uniformed members of the staff, and many civilians, received their care at Walter Reed, which routinely associated them with the wounded. Members of the Walter Reed treatment team were revered alongside the wounded in previous news features about the campus. The unit won an Army Superior Unit award for its early work in the war. The wounded wanted to remain in close proximity to Walter Reed even though it was an acute, tertiary care hospital and not a rehabilitation center.[27] Proud of its medical services, the hospital respected these wishes. Finally, Walter Reed workers developed traditional provider-patient alliances with the wounded. A division between patients and providers in terms of goals, approach, and motivation was anathema to their bonds. Although the system was inefficient, leaders, providers, administrators, and patients navigated it, as best they could, *together*.

The *Washington Post* articles revealed the error in the collective attitude at Walter Reed. Colonel Charles "Chuck" Callahan, the hospital's senior physician in 2007, described the impact of the articles on the staff's vision of reality: "The hospital staff failed [the patients]. Among staff members [at Walter Reed], the *Post*'s articles evoked an incredulity

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26   The author observed this dynamic as a physician at Walter Reed from September 2003–June 2006.

27   Charles "Chuck" Callahan, "The Perfect Strom: Walter Reed, the Wounded and the Washington Post 2007" (strategy research project, US Army War College, 2008), 1.

shared with the American public, and when we were honest with ourselves, we asked along with the public, 'How did an organization that was the most successful in history . . . break down?'"[28] The hospital's leadership recognized the shift of its public perception from highly regarded to negligent was justified. Leaders at all levels had "failed as systems thinkers."[29] By choosing to accept, on a day-to-day basis, the constraints of the system, they represented a traditional bureaucracy—impersonal, inflexible, and accepting little accountability to change the rigid processes.

The hospital staff mixing among, familiarizing with, and commonly bonding with the AVF offers the beginning of an answer as to why more efficient administrative processes were not offered to patients. A fixture of Army life is a requirement to thrive in austere conditions. Luxury, in the Army, was once considered "three hots (warm meals) and a cot." At the organizational level, leaders have waited months for pay and administrative issues to be resolved, essential equipment to be repaired, and key positions to be filled. Acquiring modern equipment routinely takes decades, exceeds budgets, and falls short of promises. These flaws create the climate of the military lifestyle. Survival in this atmosphere requires resilience and stoicism. To be successful, leaders adopt can-do attitudes that enable them to contend with the conditions of austerity and scarcity experienced in combat and peace. Soldiers are conditioned never to ask for luxury and to complain only in the guise of humor.

Schoomaker identified this tendency during the investigation at Walter Reed: The hospital commander "had visibility of what the problems were—but was unable to solve them . . . [for] compelling reasons . . . I had to reprimand him not for failing to recognize what was happening but because he did not notify higher command . . . He was such a terrific soldier that he was unwilling to call attention to the issues."[30] Instead, the commander endured the resourcing deficiencies and strove to complete the mission with what he had. Representative Christopher H. Shays also insightfully identified this predisposition as a cause for the conditions at Walter Reed.[31]

The events of Walter Reed demonstrate the public expects leaders to overcome resourcing constraints to ensure the care, boarding, protection, and equipping of modern warriors matches their heroic station. According to Schoomaker, if there is a lesson to be learned from Walter Reed, it is that leaders must fight the tendency to "drive on" in resource-constrained environments. Instead, they must elevate the existence of subpar physical and administrative conditions to the level needed to assure correction.[32]

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28   Chuck Callahan "To Stay a Soldier," *Parameters* 39, no. 3 (Autumn 2009).
29   Schoomaker, interview.
30   Schoomaker, interview.
31   CQ Transcripts Wire, "Congressional Hearing on Walter Reed Army Medical Center, House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, Subcommittee on National Security and Foreign Affairs," *Washington Post*, March 5, 2007.
32   Schoomaker, interview.

The establishment's physical proximity to the AVF has implications beyond knowledge and stoic acceptance of routine working conditions. It has insider knowledge regarding the motivations for volunteering for military service. Unlike the public, neither the AVF nor the establishment can reflexively accept altruism as a unifying motivation for military service. Except in the most existential crises, patriotism alone cannot be used as the sole incentive to raise an army of volunteers. Instead, recruitment policies must appeal to personal interests. Such reasoning helped create the AVF of 2007 and 2008.

As the military changed its methodology from conscription to volunteerism in the 1970s, monetary rewards were incorporated into the new force. In fact, the famed Noble Prize-winning, free market-capitalist, Milton Friedman, was a key voice in the Gates Commission, which charted the Army's conversion from a conscripted to a volunteer force.[33]

As a result, military pay was made more competitive with civilian wages, and financial incentives such as combat and hazardous duty pay were put in place for high-risk missions or specialized skills. Additional bonuses are offered at key decision points to retain soldiers on active duty. Finally, the military still offers a traditional lifetime pension plan after 20 years of service, one that has not been retained in other professions. Unlike the public, those immersed in the AVF cannot clearly identify where altruism ends and private interests begin. Financial incentives destroy a member's ability to rely upon simple heuristics to categorize other volunteers into dichotomous groups of patriots and careerists, heroes and villains. Senior ranks at Walter Reed did not buy into the soldier-as-exceptional myth as completely as the public because they lived in a more complicated reality.

The Expectations

The public's simplified perception of the all-volunteer force did not develop in a vacuum. To counteract potential impressions of a mercenary force, the military has, as a matter of policy, encouraged the public to assign paternalistic and altruistic motivations to it.[34] To this day, the military crafts its image to resemble the superheroes of mainstream American culture. Recruiting advertisements portray servicemembers as possessing dual identities. In combat, they are fierce warriors masked by protective equipment and in control of marvelous futuristic machines capable of extraordinary destruction. In peace, they are good-looking, selfless, and patriotic in their dress uniforms.

Led by Army Chief of Staff General William Westmoreland, the founders of the AVF recognized this desired image of the emerging force required different support than that of the conscripted force. To maintain recruitment and to shape the AVF's public image, benefits expanded to

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33   Thomas S. Gates et. al., *The Report of the President's Commission on an All-Volunteer Armed Force* (Washington, DC: President's Commission, 1970).

34   Jennifer Mittelstadt, *The Rise of the Military Welfare State* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015), 45.

include health, education, and insurance programs; personal quarters; and administrative infrastructure. These features invited the public to imagine the AVF as a family, cared for and united by common values.

To maintain this image, the military has improved benefits over the past 45 years to match social expectations. Even during combat in Iraq, the establishment provided soldiers with catered meals, private air-conditioned living quarters, and indulgences such as internet cafes. Without any signal to suggest otherwise, the military will continue its journey upward not only in public perception but also in ensuring its existence meets all the conditions suitable to its elevated station. Even so, such a transformation will require eliminating what was once the status quo. Such change is not always predictable, smooth, or easy. Walter Reed demonstrates at least one case in which the evolutionary pace of providing combat matériel and services eclipsed the progress of administrative processes on the home front.

This line of thought opens a new aperture through which to evaluate whether the events at Walter Reed were the simple failures of a few poor leaders or an inevitable step in the public's effort to ensure its force was treated appropriately. By illustrating an antiquated and insensitive bureaucracy, Walter Reed provided the energy and urgency needed to usher in several new programs that rapidly benefited the nation's wounded. The Army created warrior transition units to manage medical transitions properly and introduced soldier and family assistance centers to provide nonmedical support. The disability system was reformed to reduce substantially the timelines required to process benefits. The consequences of the disruptive changes on the existing establishment were necessary for equalizing the public's expectations with the care provided to wounded servicemembers of the AVF. Walter Reed demonstrates the success of the 1970s image for the all-volunteer force. The modern public will support its heroic military whatever the cost, which is an important lesson of Walter Reed and a cautionary tale for the Defense Health Agency.

The Protection

The Somalia intervention (1992–94), the Khobar Towers bombing (1996), and the Kosovo conflict (1998–99) provide examples of the American public's "excessive aversion to casualties" altering military responses.[35] With the events at Walter Reed demonstrating such feelings have grown to an "aversion to austerity" for its military class, the possibility that the United States will experience greater constraints on military employment should be considered. Conversely, some claim that the very qualities that make the AVF cherished by the public—a willingness to fight and to sacrifice—make it more liberally employable by the government, possibly even encouraging national adventurism.

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35   Edward Dorn and Howard D. Graves, *American Military Culture in the Twenty-first Century* (Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2000), 21.

Contemporary military critic John A. Nagl states, "The American public is completely willing to let this professional class of volunteers serve where they should, for wise purpose. This gives the president much greater freedom of action."[36] Others—such as historian and international relations professor Andrew J. Bacevich—testify the situation is more menacing: "By rescinding their prior acceptance of conscription, the American people effectively opted out of war."[37] Since "they have no skin in the game, they will permit the state to do whatever it wishes to do."[38] Finally, if nothing changes, "Americans can look forward to more needless wars or shadow conflicts . . . more wars that exact huge penalties without yielding promised outcomes."[39]

While history indicates a trend of increased American military expeditionary intervention, no evidence supports the contention that the public has or will become indifferent to the well-being of the AVF in times of hardship. Such analysis is at odds with the adulation of the military discussed previously. Indeed, the public's reaction to the conditions at Walter Reed disproves the hypothesis. To suggest the government and its military could be divorced from the people would mean Clausewitz's elements of reason and chance could be isolated from passion. The bonds between the military and the people are not weakening but strengthening. Contrary to Bacevich's claims, it is the bonds between the military and the government that are fraying.

Underestimating the public's power and desire to affect war is a pit into which senior military leaders have repeatedly fallen. Public support for military intervention varies according to the nature of the threat, the merit and progress of the endeavor, and ultimately, its cost. This last variable, cost—particularly human cost—is what has changed in the era of the AVF, the age of instant information, and the period of military heroism.

Only when the US military encounters success at little human cost will the public remain silent. But the human costs are increasingly visible. Furthermore, even relatively rare losses or inequities may produce soul-touching impact in the realm of public opinion—as they did at Walter Reed. When the internet and mainstream media deliver stories of human injustice or tragedy, no matter how tactically or statistically insignificant, public emotion of strategic scale may emerge. Because superheroes are held in such high esteem, harm to them is abhorrent. As they are killed, disfigured, or mistreated, their anonymity is lifted, and without armor, they appear smaller, younger, ordinary, and vulnerable. In the moment their sacrifice is realized, they instantly

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36   James Fallows, "Tragedy of the American Military."

37   Andrew J. Bacevich, "Ending Endless War: A Pragmatic Military Strategy," *Foreign Affairs* 95, no. 5 (September/October 2016): 40.

38   Andrew J. Bacevich, "The New American Way of War," *London Review of Books* (blog), February 13, 2012.

39   Andrew J. Bacevich, *Breach of Trust: How Americans Failed Their Soldiers and Their Country* (New York, NY: Metropolitan, 2013), 190.

resemble our children, and it matters not whether the force volunteered or was conscripted.

A public united to oppose the harm or discomfort affecting its heroes will retain the power to affect the course of warfare through its representatives in Congress. After reflexively criticizing the self-serving character and marginal competence of military and civilian leaders, the public will intervene to hobble the establishment's power and limit its autonomy with the AVF. Specifically, excessive demands may be made to draft defensive rules of engagement, to make major changes in strategy, to withdrawal from combat, or to fast-track protective equipment at the cost of other acquisition programs.

In a salient example of the latter, Congress, reacting to public outcry over the death and injury of soldiers in Iraq due to primitive roadside explosive devices, demanded the immediate acquisition of safer vehicles for troops. The acquisition of mine-resistant, ambush protected vehicles occurred at a cost. Specifically, many of the military's major modernization efforts were abandoned, which contributed to persisting strategic vulnerabilities. Hence, the US national security apparatus will increasingly need to consider the public's feelings about the AVF as too precious to lose and too honored to harm. Otherwise, with time, the force may only be available for threats of the most existential kind.

The Solutions

More resources need to be applied to understanding the strategic implications of an AVF for America. Specifically, leaders should strive to understand how to maintain and to deploy a small, anonymous, and elite force, a force to whom the public will accord proud confidence and protection. Ironically, the bonds between a society and its guardians have been explored more in blockbuster movies than in serious academic triangles.

The problem defined in this article provides a place to begin understanding what it will mean to live in a modern America in which a group of elites provides collective security. Because this reality will not be easily disentangled from its DNA, its decades-old historical foundations, and the mass impact of myth, understanding it will be every bit as challenging as understanding future battle.

Work at the tactical and operational levels offers a logical parallel. In the multidomain battlefield of the future, the ability to collect information and act upon it rapidly will be decisive. As a result, battlefield sensors are being developed on scales from microscopic to aircraft-sized. At the strategic level, the inability to sense public opinion may lead to a loss of situational awareness, the widening of perception gaps, and finally, frequent self-imposed strategic surprises.

To avoid such events, it would be wise to design polls, surveys, focus groups, and red-team equivalents to map the ever-changing relationship between government, people, and military. Had such mechanisms existed between 2003 and 2007, the establishment may have been able to react to

early signals of the gap between the public's expectations for wounded soldiers and the care that was provided. Eventually, technology might be leveraged to include new techniques such as predictive analytics, big data mining, simulation, and modeling.

As mentioned, the Army already implemented a solution for Walter Reed. As the Defense Health Agency matures, the organization should ensure it does not rebuild the system it was designed to replace. Costs and readiness must be balanced with patient experiences and satisfaction or history will repeat itself.

The events examined in this study depended on the creation of the AVF. Specifically, abandoning the draft, over time, created a largely anonymous force of tremendous agency and perceived altruistic motivations. Forty-five years later, with the help of lessons drawn from Walter Reed, we are beginning to understand the repercussions of an AVF in American society. Specifically, the relationship between the government, the public, and the AVF is such that the public elevates the AVF by attributing superhero characteristics and status to it.

Such a status widens the gap between the all-volunteer force and the establishment that governs it—framing civilian and military leaders as self-serving and therefore below the force in character. The public increasingly supports the highest care, protection, and treatment of the AVF. The establishment's proximity and insider knowledge limits it from completely aligning its perceptions with the public—creating blind spots and turbulent transitions.

Finally, the perception gap between the AVF and the agents of its management will increasingly lead the public to intervene in the conduct of war as standards for the treatment of servicemembers heighten. Without indicators to forecast these phenomena, new constraints may develop regarding the nation's ability to employ its military.

Fighting and Learning in the Great War: Four Lessons in Coalition Warfare

Kelly A. Grieco

ABSTRACT: This article commemorates the centennial of the First World War by highlighting some lessons for effective coalition warfare. By building relationships, planning cooperative institutions, learning from each other, and furthering influence, US leaders and policymakers can more effectively collaborate with America's international partners.

November marked the centennial of the Allied victory in the First World War. A war of many firsts—tanks, submarines, armed aircraft, and wireless telegraphy—it was also the first truly modern coalition war. For the Allies on the Western Front, the challenge was how to join armies with different, if not conflicting, national interests, languages, equipment, cultures, and traditions. France and Great Britain, along with some twenty other nations, and later the United States, learned through trial and error to conduct effective combined operations.

The Allies absorbed at least four critical lessons in coalition warfare to defeat Germany. First, professional contacts and personal relationships forged in peacetime are critical in managing wartime relations as well as unifying purposes and actions. Second, a coalition's battlefield effectiveness critically depends on institutional machinery for political-military planning to manage intra-alliance uncertainties and fears, and in turn, generate well-integrated and cohesive combined operations. Third, coalition warfare, with allies serving as important conduits of wartime learning, promotes and facilitates military adaptation and innovation. Finally, unity of command is essential to the coalition, but the effective exercise of that command rests mainly on consultative leadership rather than formal authority.

These hard-won lessons are no less relevant today. The United States has waged all its major wars and military interventions alongside allies on the battlefield.[1] American security strategy still falls squarely within this foreign policy tradition.[2] Indeed, US defense strategy aims to "strengthen and evolve our alliances and partnerships into an extended network capable of deterring or decisively acting to meet the shared

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1   Scholars generally regard the War of 1812, the Mexican-American War (1846–48), and the Spanish-American War (1898) as notable exceptions to this tradition of coalition warmaking. See Walter A. McDougall, *Promised Land, Crusade State: The American Encounter with the World since 1776* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997), 39–56.

2   Donald J. Trump, *National Security Strategy of the United States of America* (Washington, DC: White House, 2017).

challenges of our time." [3] With such an emphasis on partnering, the lessons of the past cannot be ignored; they hold some of the answers to today's challenges.

Peacetime Relationships Pay Dividends

In the absence of institutional machinery to coordinate the Allied war effort, professional contacts and personal relationships were critical to managing international relations and unifying purposes and actions. Although few in number, professional and personal relationships forged among the Allies prior to 1914 contributed to greater coalition military effectiveness, and hence wartime success. [4] Between 1906 and 1910, then Brigadier-General Henry Hughes Wilson, served as commandant of the Staff College at Camberley, Surrey. In 1909, Wilson arranged to visit his French counterpart at the École Supérieure de Guerre in Paris, then Brigadier-General Ferdinand Foch, to establish "intimate relations with a French soldier who, already in those days, enjoyed a certain European reputation as a military writer and thinker on the art of war." [5]

Although Foch was at first unimpressed, he was soon won over by Wilson's enthusiasm and openness, as well as his command of the French language. Wilson returned in January and October 1910, in February 1911, three times in 1912, on four occasions in 1913, and once in 1914. [6] Foch paid return visits to Britain in June 1910 and December 1912. On these occasions, Wilson showed him not only the Staff College but also introduced him to senior government officials and most of Britain's senior commanders. [7] A close professional and personal relationship emerged from these contacts.

When conflict arose on the Western Front, these intimate ties played an important role in binding the French and British armies together. During the Race to the Sea following the Battle of Marne, Allied military relations deteriorated over differences of military strategy. The British Expeditionary Force moved further north, positioning itself on the far left of the French line, with a view towards taking independent action. Meanwhile, the relief expedition for the Siege of Antwerp ended in failure, which the British were quick to blame on a lack of French support. [8] Amid worsening relations, Foch was appointed to coordinate

3   James "Jim" Mattis, *Summary of the 2018 National Defense Strategy of the United States of America: Sharpening the American Military's Competitive Edge* (NDS) (Washington, DC: Department of Defense, 2018), 8.

4   On the role of preexisting personal relationships and transnational collaboration from civilian scientists to military officers, see Aimée Fox, *Learning to Fight: Military Innovation and Change in the British Army, 1914–18* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 137–63.

5   Sir Charles E. Callwell, ed., *Field Marshall Sir Henry Wilson: His Life and Diaries*, vol. 1 (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1927), 77.

6   Elizabeth Greenhalgh, *Foch in Command: The Forging of a First World War General* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 10.

7   Brian Bond, *The Victorian Army and the Staff College, 1854–1914* (London: Routledge, 2015), 261; Keith Jeffery, *Field Marshal Sir Henry Wilson: A Political Soldier* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 74; and Michael S Neiberg, *Foch: Supreme Allied Commander in the Great War* (Dulles, VA: Potomac Books, 2003), 13.

8   Roy A. Prete, *Strategy and Command: The Anglo-French Coalition on the Western Front, 1914* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009), 128–40.

the operations of the French, British, and Belgian armies in Flanders.[9] In this role, Foch found himself again working closely with Wilson to manage the prickly British commander in chief, Sir John French, also his superior in rank.[10]

With Wilson as subchief of staff at the British headquarters, a close liaison developed between the two armies, and Foch was able to gain Sir John's confidence and persuade him to hold fast.[11] Wilson wrote to his wife:

> I am spending a good deal of time these days with Foch on the curious hill on the way between Ypres and St. Omer [that is, Foch's headquarters at Cassel]. We have got our troops so much mixed up with his that no order can be issued without the other's approval, etc. I think we are going to beat this attack with the aid the French have given us. It has been a stiff business.[12]

Importantly, the two generals were able to communicate honestly with each other, including Wilson conveying Sir John's changing state of mind. Thus, Foch was helped to find the right words with Sir John—always tactful, reassuring, and deferential—to bring the British around to his side.[13] In the end, the Allied line was pushed back but never broke. The situation had been saved due in large measure to the decisive influence of the Foch-Wilson relationship.

Planning Institutions Enable Success

Institutional machinery for common political-military planning made a critical difference in coalition battlefield effectiveness. Before 1916, the Allies lacked such machinery, and as a result, fought together ineffectively. To the extent combined planning occurred at all, it was limited to an exchange of views among the Entente Powers. Staff talks were held between France and Britain in 1905 and intermittently after 1911 to establish logistical arrangements for the dispatch of the British to France.[14] These talks never worked out what would happen once the

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9   The German objective was twofold: to threaten the British through seize of the Channel ports with operations by submarine, aircraft, and airships and to secure German lines of communications through Belgium. Otto Schwink, *Ypres 1914: An Official Account Published by Order of the German General Staff* (London: Constable and Company, 1919), 1–12; and Ian F. W. Beckett, *Ypres: The First Battle, 1914* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), 15–17. On Foch's appointment and coordination of the Allied armies in Flanders, see William J. Philpott, *Anglo-French Relations and Strategy on the Western Front, 1914–1918* (Bassingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), 31–50; Neiberg, *Foch*, 31–44; Greenhalgh, *Foch in Command*, 43–73; and Prete, *Strategy and Command*, 119–83.

10   The British, for their part, were anxious to disengage and retreat the relative safety of Calais and Boulogne. If the British were to fall back, and thus away, from French and Belgian forces, the Allies would have been liable to defeat in detail. See George H Cassar, *The Tragedy of Sir John French* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1985), 254.

11   In Flanders, Foch had little choice but to inspire confidence, as he had no formal authority over the Belgian and British armies. See Prete, *Strategy and Command*, 173.

12   Wilson quoted in Greenhalgh, *Foch in Command*, 68.

13   Cassar, *Tragedy*, 156; Elizabeth Greenhalgh, "Liaisons Not So Dangerous: First World War Liaison Officers and Marshal Ferdinand Foch," in *Finding Common Ground: New Directions in First World War Studies*, ed. Jennifer D. Keene and Michael S. Neiberg (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 187–208, especially 192; and Elizabeth Greenhalgh, *Victory through Coalition: Britain and France During the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 75–102.

14   For the seminal study of Franco-British prewar staff talks, see Samuel R Williamson, *The Politics of Grand Strategy: Britain and France Prepare for War, 1904–1914* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969).

armies took the field of battle—specifically whether the British would join the French line or conduct independent operations in Belgium.[15]

With the outbreak of war, coalition political-military planning was little better. The Allies still relied on normal diplomatic channels, in addition to a few ad hoc and hasty meetings arranged between Allied commanders.[16] But wartime decisions had to be taken quickly and required "direct and frequent consultations between the principal ministers concerned," politicians and soldiers alike.[17] Thus, each Allied headquarters devised its own operations, leaving liaison officers with the herculean task of combining them into a single plan. But the liaison mechanism alone was insufficient to the task.[18]

The liaison missions attached to each headquarters "might arrange details," British liaison officer Edward Spears observed, "but they could not break down the water-tight compartment in which each staff worked, nor had they the authority to determine whether any fundamental divergence of conception, any charge of heart or mind, had occurred in the commanders."[19] Instead, the best the Allies could manage in the words of British Prime Minister David Lloyd George was a poor "tailoring operation," in which "different plans were stitched together" to obscure rather than resolve differences.[20]

The resulting military performance was accordingly abysmal. In August 1914, the Allies often fought at cross-purposes, routinely left each other in the lurch, and only slowly responded to German advances. During the Battle of Charleroi-Mons, for example, the operational objectives of the French and British armies were at odds—the British Expeditionary Force marched forward to take to the offensive, the adjacent French army halted its advance and shifted to the defensive, and the British were left marching forward in an exposed position.[21] Instead of meeting the enemy together, the French and British fought a series of uncoordinated actions and beat a hasty retreat. Indeed, the French retired without so much as a word of warning to their British ally, forcing the British to leave in haste, which opened a nine-mile gap between the two armies.[22]

To his credit, the French commander in chief, General Joseph-Jacques-Césaire Joffre, devised a new scheme to counterattack. Unfortunately, much valuable time and territory was lost in trying to

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15   Beyond the concentration zone, the French had no fixed plans for the action of the British Expeditionary Force in the field. More generally, historian Robert Doughty argues that Plan XVII, which included a secret annex that anticipated any British intervention to take position left of the battle line, was little more than "a concentration plan with operational alternatives." Robert A Doughty, "French Strategy in 1914: Joffre's Own," *Journal of Military History* 67, no. 2 (April 2003): 427–54; and Robert A Doughty, *Pyrrhic Victory: French Strategy and Operations in the Great War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 17–57.

16   Jehuda Lothar Wallach, *Uneasy Coalition: The Entente Experience in World War I* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1993), 76; Philpott, *Anglo-French Relations,* 23–24, 93–95; Greenhalgh, *Victory through Coalition,* 36–40; and Prete, *Strategy and Command,* 52, 70–71.

17   Sir Maurice Hankey, "Diplomacy by Conference," *Round Table XI* (1920–21), 287–311.

18   See Greenhalgh, *Victory through Coalition,* 75.

19   Sir Edward Spears, *Liaison, 1914: A Narrative of the Great Retreat* (London: W. Heinemann, 1930), 119–20.

20   David Lloyd George, *War Memoirs of David Lloyd George* (London: Nicholson & Watson, 1934), 2407.

21   John Terraine, *Mons, The Retreat to Victory* (Ware: Wordsworth Editions, 2002), 49–51.

22   Adrian Gilbert, *Challenge of Battle: The British Army's Baptism of Fire in the First World War* (Oxford, UK: Osprey, 2014), 157.

gain his ally's cooperation.[23] As Spears observed, "General Joffre must have felt himself helpless, unable to adjust to differences he could only guess at, fettered by not being able to issue orders to the British soldier."[24] Instead, the decision-making process came to a standstill, and the Allies were unable to respond quickly and effectively to the German invasion. The result was the loss of the richest industrial region of France for the next four years.[25]

The coalition managed to avoid complete disaster at the Marne, but even then, the Allies fought poorly together. On the eve of battle, the British retired to the south as the French prepared to move forward. These disjointed movements placed the British Expeditionary Force some fifteen miles from its intended starting line and too far behind the French to play its assigned role in the campaign—the spearhead of the attack.[26] Instead of a single plan of operations, two plans had emerged for a counterattack against the German right flank, each of which asked the British to occupy a different position.[27] And no institutional mechanism existed to forge the opposing schemes into a single plan. Instead, the British exploited the confusion, turning their role in the counteroffensive into a supporting one.[28] Though Joffre was in a position to encircle and destroy the entire German First Army, he could do little to bring the requisite coalition battlefield cooperation about in time.[29] The tragedy of the Marne was that it fell short of the victory it might have been, owing to the absence of allied institutions.

In the face of mounting casualties, however, Allied leaders finally began building the institutional machinery for common political-military planning. The first such effort was a hastily organized summit of senior political and military leaders convened at Calais and Chantilly in July and December 1915. These summits marked the first concerted effort to forge a common strategy—a combined Franco-British offensive at the Somme.[30] The planning process entailed numerous written exchanges, telephone contacts, and frequent visits between the French and British commands.[31] Whereas the Allies previously drew up separate plans before attempting to coordinate them through slow diplomatic channels, they initiated this plan together and continued their close collaboration until the eve of battle.[32]

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23 Joseph Joffre, *Mémoires du maréchal Joffre, 1910–1917* (Paris: Plon, 1932), 300.

24 Spears, *Liaison*, 230.

25 The occupied northern regions of France included three quarters of the French coast and four-fifths of French iron and steel. See Robert O. Paxton and Julie Hessler, *Europe in the Twentieth Century* (Cengage Learning, 2011), 87, 230.

26 Holger H Herwig, *The Marne, 1914: The Opening of World War I and the Battle that Changed the World* (New York: Random House, 2009), 254.

27 Sewell Tappan Tyng, *The Campaign of the Marne, 1914* (New York: Longmans, 1935), 211–22.

28 Prete, *Strategy and Command*, 115–22.

29 Herwig, *Marne*, 254, 291.

30 At the same time, a series of proposals made the rounds for the creation of sort of permanent allied council to coordinate political and military strategy. For the time being, however, such proposals came to naught. See Wallach, *Uneasy Coalition*, 75–81.

31 Peter Simkins, "For Better or for Worse: Sir Henry Rawlinson and His Allies in 1916 and 1918," in *Leadership in Conflict, 1914–1918*, ed. Matthew Hughes and Matthew Seligmann (Barnsley: Leo Cooper, 2000), 15.

32 For the effect of Verdun on the planning process, see Elizabeth Greenhalgh, "Why the British Were on the Somme in 1916," *War in History* 6, no. 2 (April 1999): 147–73; William Philpott, "Why the British Were Really on the Somme: A Reply to Elizabeth Greenhalgh," *War in History* 9, no. 4 (October 2002): 446–71; and Elizabeth Greenhalgh, "Flames over the Somme: A Retort to William Philpott," *War in History* 10, no. 3 (July 2003): 335–42.

Critically, the establishment of coalition institutions for military planning led to observable improvements in battlefield effectiveness. Lost in the drama of the Somme is the emerging Allied capacity to fight as a cohesive combined force. On the basic idea of the operation, a combined Franco-British attack along a broad front, there was a fundamental convergence between the two Allies that resulted directly from their frequent contact and staff meetings.[33] Importantly, the movements of the two armies were closely coordinated: French artillery kept up a steady barrage south of the river to prevent the Germans from enfilading British units to the north.[34] Franco-British battlefield performance had improved, and for reasons directly attributable to adopting coalition planning machinery.

Coalitions Facilitate Learning, Innovation, and Adaptation

As the combatants adapted to the challenges of modern warfare, they learned from each other. In 1914, the British officer corps did not believe it had much to learn from the French, but this sentiment dissipated in 1916 with the heavy losses suffered during the First Battle of the Somme.[35] Thereafter, the British made a sincere effort to study French techniques. British officers visited French formations over the winter of 1916–17 to observe and to report on French methods for organizing defenses, coordinating artillery and infantry efforts, and training troops.[36] They gave particular attention to "new" French tactics rooted in a more decentralized, elastic doctrine that allowed platoon commanders greater latitude to attack in small, dispersed teams.[37] Many of these French tactical developments were codified into two key manuals—*Instructions for the Training of Platoons for Offensive Action* and *The Normal Formation for the Attack*—which guided British infantry training and tactics until the end of the war.[38]

Collaborative learning occurred at all levels of and across all sectors of the Allied front. Much of this learning was horizontal and localized, often occurring at the junction of French and British formations. By observing the operational and tactical methods of their allies, commanders were forced to reflect on the strengths and weaknesses of their own practices.[39] A visit to the French Fifth Army by the chief of staff of the British XV Corps in February 1917 identified many

33   Martin Gilbert, *The Somme: Heroism and Horror in the First World War* (New York: Henry Holt, 2006), 49.

34   William Philpott, *Three Armies on the Somme: The First Battle of the Twentieth Century* (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 2010), 171–72.

35   Greenhalgh, *Victory through Coalition*, 61–63.

36   Chris Kempshall, *British, French and American Relations on the Western Front, 1914–1918* (Cham, Switzerland: Springer, 2018), 8, 130.

37   The Canadian General Sir Arthur Currie served as a knowledge conduit, observing French formations at Verdun and propogating such information between French, British, and Canadian formations. See Mark Osborne Humphries, " 'Old Wine in New Bottles': A Comparison of British and Canadian Preparations for the Battle of Arras," in *Vimy Ridge: A Canadian Reassessment*, ed. Geoffrey Hayes, Andrew Iarocci, and Mike Bechthold (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2007), 65–86; and Fox, *Learning to Fight*, 148–50.

38   British Expeditionary Force (BEF), *Instructions for the Training of Platoons for Offensive Action*, Stationary Service Pamphlet (SS) 143 (London, General Headquarters, February 1917); and BEF, *The Normal Formation for the Attack*, SS144 (London: General Headquarters, February 1917). See also, Simon Robbins, *British Generalship on the Western Front 1914–1918: Defeat into Victory* (London: Routledge, 2005), 95.

39   Fox, *Learning to Fight*, 151–52.

similarities between French and British methods. But it also revealed the need for additional improvements to British fire and maneuver.[40]

Although some efforts were made after 1916 to translate and distribute French tactical manuals, most of the lessons passed informally between French and British soldiers, and spread to the newly arriving American units through personal contacts or formal instruction. The British and the French established missions in the United States to train their new ally in trench warfare and continued their tutelage at training camps in France. These interactions exposed American units to the latest French and British army tactics—even if senior officers such as General John J. Pershing resisted the new combat methods, limited the effective transfer of knowledge, and thus contributed to thousands of needless US casualties.[41]

In a war in which success ultimately depended on learning and adapting doctrine faster than the enemy, fighting alongside allies conferred significant advantages. American soldiers would most certainly have fared better if their leaders had exploited this advantage to its full potential. Fortunately, a number of division and lower-level commanders were more open to these lessons from Allies and learned to fight like the French and British.[42] Intra-alliance learning was thus a critical, albeit often overlooked factor in understanding how and why the Allies eventually defeated Germany in the First World War.

Persuasive Leadership Builds Influence

Of all the lessons learned in the war, unity of command was the most important. Independent command was tried for the first three years of the war, to disastrous results. From the start, the British remained an autonomous force, acting in collaboration with, but not under the control of, the larger French army. The orders given to the British commander in chief were unequivocal on this point: "I wish you distinctly to understand that your command is an entirely independent one, and that you will in no case come in any sense under the order of any Allied General."[43]

These parallel command arrangements weakened coalition effectiveness on the battlefield. Each ally pursued its own national interests, and cooperation during battles depended entirely on continuing goodwill, particularly the willingness of British and French

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40 Fox, *Learning to Fight*, 152.

41 Kempshall, *Relations on the Western Front*, 8, 159–89. See also Kenneth E. Hamburger, *Learning Lessons in the American Expeditionary Forces*, Publication 24-1 (Washington, DC: United States Army Center for Military History, 1997); Jeffrey LaMonica, *American Tactical Advancement in World War I: The New Lessons of Combined Arms and Open Warfare* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2017), 59–76; and Mark Ethan Grotelueschen, *The AEF Way of War: The American Army and Combat in World War I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 39–58.

42 LaMonica, *American Tactical Advancement*, 61; and Grotelueschen, *AEF Way*, 200–310.

43 "Instructions to Sir John French from Lord Kitchener," August 1914, in *Military Operations, France and Belgium, 1914: Mons, the Retreat to the Seine, the Marne and the Aisne, August–October 1914*, comp. James Edward Edmonds (London: Macmillan, 1933), 499. When Sir Douglas Haig assumed command from Sir John at the end of 1915, he received almost identical orders to those of his predecessor, reaffirming the independence of British command. "Instructions for General Sir D. Haig, G.C.B., K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O. Commanding the Expeditionary Force in France," December 28, 1916, in *Military Operations, France and Belgium, 1916*, comp. James E. Edmonds (London: Macmillian, 1932), Appendix 5.

commanders to conform to the other's plan.[44] The limitations of these command arrangements brought the Allies close to defeat in the spring of 1918. When the first German spring offensive threatened to separate the French and British armies and to roll up each in turn, both allies placed national interests above all else. The French withdrew south to cover Paris while the British moved north to guard the ports along the English Channel.[45] Lloyd George diagnosed the problem: "Each general was interested mainly in his own front."[46] Absent Allied mechanisms for unity of command to order both the French and British to keep in touch, coalition battlefield cohesion was lost.

At the moment of supreme crisis in March 1918, the Allies finally adopted some semblance of a unified command, charging Foch with "the coordination of the military operations of the Allied armies on the western front."[47] Eight days later, the Allies increased his power to include "strategic direction of military operations" and conferred upon him the "all powers necessary to secure [its] effective realization."[48] In this new role, Foch appreciated better than anyone else that his power to command derived more from persuasion than any formal authority to issue orders.[49] He likened his command to that of the "leader of an orchestra," explaining, "Here are the English basses, here the American baritones, and there the French tenors. When I raise my baton, every man must play or else he must not come to my concert."[50]

He exercised his command with a leadership style centered on personal diplomacy, tact, and energetic exhortation. He exuded command presence, consulting in person with commanders to shore up resistance across the front. "He gives the impression of being frank, loyal, and clear-sighted," observed a captain on the French general staff, "If I had to choose a motto for the general I think this would suit him as well as another: 'Clear vision.'"[51] In dealing with Allies, Foch sought to influence, if not to command, and used his infectious energy and determination to convince Allied commanders to carry through his vision.

When the Germans launched a second spring offensive in Flanders, Foch provided energy and strategic direction to the Allied defense.[52] Acting through influence rather than coercion, he used his energy and

44   Prete, *Strategy and Command*, 94–97.

45   Doughty, *Pyrrhic Victory*, 434–37; and David Stevenson, *With Our Backs to the Wall: Victory and Defeat in 1918* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011), 56.

46   Maurice Hankey, *Diplomacy by Conference: Studies in Public Affairs, 1920–1946* (London: Putnam, 1946), 21.

47   For a translation of the Doullens agreement signed March 26, 1918, see *United States Army in the World War, 1917–1919: Policy-Forming Documents of the American Expeditionary Forces*, vol. 2 (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, 1989), 254. On the American perspective on the evolution to allied unity of command, see Tasker H. Bliss, "The Evolution of the Unified Command," *Foreign Affairs* 1, no. 2 (1922): 1–30. See also Doughty, *Pyrrhic Victory*, 461; and Greenhalgh, *Victory through Coalition*, 198.

48   For the minutes of the Beauvais Conference on April 3, 1918, see *Policy-forming Documents*, 277.

49   Raymond Recouly, *Le mémorial de Foch: mes entretiens avec le maréchal* (Paris: Les Editions de France, 1929), 18–19.

50   Ferdinand Foch, *The Memoirs of Marshal Foch*, trans. Colonel T. Bentley Mott (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1931), xvi.

51   Recouly, *Le mémorial de Foch,* 16.

52   See David T. Zabecki, *The German 1918 Offensives: A Case Study in the Operational Level of War* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 174–205; Peter Hart, *1918: A Very British Victory* (London: Phoenix, 2008), 222–28; and Stevenson, *With Our Backs*, 68–78.

confidence to fuse the allied armies together and hold the line. In his words, he "pursued" the British in the north and French in the south, to ensure both armies "held, sustained, [and] maintained."[53] He was open to persuasion, responding to Sir Douglas Haig's calls for additional reserves, yet never losing sight of his responsibility to consider the Allied position on the Western Front as a whole.[54] Weighing the dangers of a possible third German offensive, he held back some reserves from Flanders, sending to the north only what was absolutely necessary to maintain the integrity of the line. The head of the British Mission with the French Army was duly impressed, confessing, "Thank goodness we have got a central authority to fight the battle as a whole."[55]

When the time came to pass to the offensive, Foch gave new vigor and direction to the combined attacks that continued until the Armistice was in effect. Even the enemy recognized Foch's contribution as critical to Allied success in 1918: "The Entente has to thank General Foch for successfully subordinating the divergent interests of the allies to a higher, unified purpose."[56] If leaders are those who are able to inspire others to achieve a common goal, then Foch was the coalition military leader par excellence.

Conclusion

One hundred years later, the First World War can help us prepare more effectively for strategic competition and future wars. The *2018 National Defense Strategy* underscores the continued relevance of America's global alliances and partnerships and makes "strengthen[ing] alliances and attract[ing] new partners" a core pillar of its strategic approach. It declares "mutually beneficial alliances and partnerships are crucial to our strategy, providing a durable asymmetric advantage that no competitor or rival can match."[57] To render these security relationships more capable, the strategy vows to "uphold a foundation of mutual respect, responsibility, priorities, and accountability," "expand regional consultative mechanisms and collaborative planning," and "deepen interoperability."[58]

If the First World War tells us anything, it is that coalitions with preexisting networks of professional contacts, institutional mechanisms for common planning, methods for intra-allied learning, and consultative command cultures have the advantage in battle. Just as prewar professional contacts between the French and British enhanced Allied military effectiveness, today's intra-allied professional relationships contribute to more effective combined operations. Critically, these working relationships foster cultural interoperability, or what the British term "interoperability of the mind."[59] Thus, while the current national defense strategy is right to focus on deepening interoperability

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53   Foch quoted in Greenhalgh, *Foch in Command*, 319.

54   Greenhalgh, *Victory through Coalition*, 206; and Doughty, *Pyrrhic Victory*, 433–34.

55   Sir (George) Sidney Clive, diary entry, April 18, 1918, quoted in Greenhalgh, *Victory through Coalition*, 212.

56   Quoted in David Lloyd George, *War Memoirs of David Lloyd George*, vol. 2 (London: Odhams Press, 1938), 1836.

57   Mattis, NDS, 8.

58   Mattis, NDS, 9.

59   Steven Paget, "'Interoperability of the Mind' Professional Military Education and the Development of Interoperability," *RUSI Journal* 161, no. 4 (September 2016): 42–50.

with US allies, the Pentagon must place greater emphasis on the human dimension. If professional military education is a "strategic asset to build trust and interoperability . . . with allied and partner forces," so too are combined multinational exercises, officer liaison and exchange programs, and training programs that develop a common vocabulary, a common way of thinking about combined operations.

As the Allied experience indicates, the United States will be more likely to achieve its strategic objectives in the future by coordinating action within formal, highly institutionalized alliances as opposed to ad hoc coalitions of the willing. Some have questioned the value of America's longstanding treaty allies, and even labeled the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), with its complex, and sometimes ponderous, decision-making processes "obsolete."[60] But the extensive routines and procedures of formal alliances make it easier to meld national military capabilities and troop contributions into an effective combined military force. NATO's military structures, however imperfect, are still the best way to enhance American military power when acting in concert with others, particularly when facing a peer or near-peer competitor. Indeed, the United States urgently needs to establish a more deeply institutionalized alliance structure in the Indo-Pacific region, or expect to put military effectiveness at risk.

Like the Allied militaries, today's US military has as much to learn as to teach. While the United States is right to demand its allies and partners shoulder a larger share of the defense burden, it should not lose sight of the many less tangible benefits of US alliances and coalitions, specifically opportunities for intra-allied learning. There is also reason for optimism on this score, as Secretary of Defense James Mattis has promised, the Pentagon "will do more than just listen to other nations' ideas. We will be willing to be persuaded by them."[61] The United States can and should benefit from the ideas of its strategic partners.

Finally, just as unity of command was the essential element of victory in 1918, this guiding principle is still critical to success today. Yet it is so difficult to achieve in practice. Ad hoc command arrangements hampered US and allied efforts during operations in Kosovo, Afghanistan, and Libya.[62] Difficulties with command are inherent to coalition wars; governments abhor any perceived surrender of sovereignty. These political dynamics complicate the task of a coalition commander. As Foch learned, the exercise of coalition command depends on a set of leadership skills that are more consultative than directive.[63] The United States is not going to fight the next war alone; ergo, it should learn from the lessons of its past partnerships.

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60   Molly O'Toole, " 'Is Nato Still Relevant? Trump's Not the Only One Asking'," *Foreign Policy*, April 1, 2016.

61   "Remarks by Secretary James Mattis on the National Defense Strategy," Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Washington, DC, January 19, 2018.

62   Ian Hope, *Unity of Command in Afghanistan: A Forsaken Principle of War*, Student Papers (Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, 2008); and Florence Gaub, *The North Atlantic Treaty Organization and Libya: Reviewing Operation Unified Protector*, Letort Papers (Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, 2013).

63   Mark J. Thornhill, *Coalition Warfare: The Leadership Challenges* (Fort Leavenworth, KS: School of Advanced Military Studies, 2011).

India-US Relations: From Distant Partners to an Alliance

Vinay Kaura
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ABSTRACT: The article discusses the status of the strategic relationship between India and the United States. It emphasizes the need for India to collaborate closely with the United States and its allies in order to cope with issues resulting from China's rise.

During the Cold War, India and the United States seldom found common areas for collaboration. New Delhi's nonaligned and anti-imperialistic rhetoric irritated America's foreign policy establishment. Since the end of the Cold War, the countries' interests on several issues have converged, and Indian prime ministers, crossing party affiliations, have been inclined to strengthen strategic ties with the United States. Convinced a strong partnership with the United States is in India's long-term strategic interests, Prime Minister Narendra Modi has renewed efforts to expand Indian foreign policy.[1]

After taking office, Modi promptly resolved to replace the reactive diplomacy that previously characterized India's foreign policy with a flexible negotiating strategy that values positive outcomes. Positioning New Delhi to take the lead in bilateral engagements with the United States, he invited US President Barack Obama to be the chief guest of the Republic Day parade in 2015.[2] Since no US official had ever been afforded this honor, the gesture had huge symbolic significance. In an address to a joint session of the US Congress in June 2016, Modi also declared India-US ties had "overcome the hesitations of history."[3]

From almost negligible defense ties during the Cold War to a contemporary defense partnership, India and the United States have come a long way. After more than a decade of talks, India acceded to the Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Agreement with the United States. This accord was highly criticized in India for compromising the nation's strategic autonomy and nonaligned stance, but it allows for reciprocal use of military resources. By signing this exchange agreement and refraining from similar agreements with other nations, India moved toward closer security cooperation with the United States. As a result, negotiations

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1   Sumit Ganguly, "Has Modi Truly Changed India's Foreign Policy?," *Washington Quarterly* 40, no. 2 (Summer 2017): 131–43.

2   C Raja Mohan, *Modi's World: Expanding India's Sphere of Influence* (Noida, India: Harper Collins, 2015), 131; and John McCain, "The Pivot to India," *Foreign Policy*, September 29, 2014; and Jim Garamone, "Panetta Says U.S.-India Relations Must Deepen, Grow for Peace," US Department of Defense, June 6, 2012.

3   Press Trust of India (PTI), "'Modi Doctrine' Overcomes Hesitations of History: U.S.," *Hindu*, June 11, 2016.

on two other important Indo-US initatives—the Communications Compatibility and Security Agreement and the Basic Exchange and Cooperation Agreement for geospatial intelligence—commenced.[4] As a consequence, America became India's second largest arms supplier.[5]

This new relationship departs from India's basic foreign policy of strategic autonomy. To the anxiety of China, the relationship continues to grow under the administration of President Donald Trump, which has given more attention to the "Indo-Pacific" region and accorded India a greater strategic security role there. The United States also supports India's position on China's ambitious One Belt, One Road initiative, that is, "made in China, made for China."[6]

Identifying China as a major challenge to American economic prosperity and global primacy, Trump's national security strategy (NSS) describes China as a "revisionist power" trying to "shift regional balances of power in [its] favor." Furthermore, the United States supports "India's emergence as a leading global power" by promoting a convergence of regional interests and encouraging "quadrilateral cooperation with Japan, Australia, and India."[7] Renaming the US Pacific Command to the US Indo-Pacific Command (INDOPACOM) further symbolizes the growing importance of the Indian Ocean in US strategy.

This elevation of India's status reflects Trump's willingness to build on Indo-US advances over the last two decades, and his vision of "a larger role for [New] Delhi in stabilizing the Indo-Pacific."[8] As Manoj Joshi observes, "Like it or not, or hide it or not, the term [Indo-Pacific] now seems to be a means of including India in the military calculations of US strategy in the Pacific."[9]

India's Challenge

Extensive and rapid economic advances over the last few decades have enabled China to boost its military expenditures and capabilities as well as to constrain the actions of other nations. Always seeking to undermine India's influence, Beijing looks at New Delhi's growing links with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations with concern and its ties with Washington and Tokyo with great suspicion.[10] To contain its

4   "India & US Sign COMCASA, Pompeo Says No Decision on S400," *Economic Times* (Mumbai), September 6, 2018.

5   Ajai Shukla, "Key Defence Agreement with the US Finally within Reach," *Business Standard*, June 23, 2018; and "U.S. Officials Seek To Boost Arms Sales to India," Defense Security Cooperation Agency, September 6, 2018.

6   PTI, "US Terms BRI 'Made in China, for China,' Asks Beijing To Adopt 'Inclusive' Approach to its Overseas Infrastructure Projects," *Firstpost*, July 30, 2018.

7   Donald J. Trump, *National Security Strategy of the United States of America* (Washington, DC: White House, December 2017), 25, 46.

8   C. Raja Mohan, "How India Can Negotiate Trump's World," *Indian Express*, December 25, 2017.

9   Manoj Joshi, "Why India Should Be Wary of the Quad," *Wire*, November 13, 2017.

10   Jayanna Krupakar, "China's Naval Base(s) in the Indian Ocean—Signs of a Maritime Grand Strategy?," *Strategic Analysis* 41, no. 3 (2017): 207–22; Shishir Upadhyaya, "Expansion of Chinese Maritime Power in the Indian Ocean: Implications for India," *Defence Studies* 17, no. 1 (2017): 63–83; and Abhijit Singh, "Deciphering China's Submarine Deployments in the Indian Ocean Region," IDSA, July 8, 2015.

longtime regional rival, Beijing has not only modernized its army, navy, air force, and nuclear forces but also equipped Pakistan with a missile arsenal that includes plutonium-based tactical nuclear weapons.[11] China reportedly became the first country to sell Pakistan sensitive equipment when it provided a powerful tracking system that could accelerate the development of multiwarhead missiles.[12]

These capabilities undermine the current military balance along the border.[13] The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC)—an important node in the One Belt, One Road chain—passes through Pakistan-Occupied Kashmir (PoK), a territory claimed by India. According to Indian intelligence agencies, China has extended its military footprint in PoK to around 25 percent while "undertaking strategic infrastructure projects in Gilgit, Baltistan, and Satpara. . . . by deploying technicians, engineers, and PLA troops."[14] The PLA was also "digging tunnels in Leepa Valley, located in PoK, with a goal to building an all-weather road as an alternate route to reach Karakoram Highway."[15]

China continues to invest substantially in a number of ports such as Kyaukpyu in Myanmar; Chittagong in Bangladesh; Hambantota in Sri Lanka; and most important, Gwadar in Pakistan. Coupled with ambitious One Belt, One Road infrastructure projects in many South Asian countries, Beijing is developing unhindered access towards the Arabian Sea, the Bay of Bengal, and the Indian Ocean. Under Xi's supervision, the Chinese military is becoming more agile and battle ready. Having built its second aircraft carrier and making efforts to advance other maritime systems, China will have a blue water navy in coming years.[16] This level of readiness contrasts with India's lack of preparedness to fight simultaneous land wars with Pakistan and China. While testifying before the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Defence, the Indian Army's vice chief noted 65 percent of the army arsenal is obsolete, adding, "the force lacks the artillery, missiles and helicopters that will enable it to fight on two fronts."[17]

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11 T. V. Paul, "Chinese-Pakistani Nuclear/Missile Ties and Balance of Power Politics," *Nonproliferation Review* 10, no. 2 (2003): 21–29; and Andrew Small, *The China-Pakistan Axis: Asia's New Geopolitics* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2015).

12 Stephen Chen "China Provides Tracking System for Pakistan's Missile Programme," *South China Morning Post*, March 22, 2018.

13 Lt Gen Vinod Bhatia (Indian Army Retired), *China's Infrastructure in Tibet and POK-Implications and Options for India* (New Delhi: Centre for Joint Warfare Studies, 2016); and Khawar Ghumman, "PML-N Unwilling to Share CPEC Control?," *Dawn*, July 18, 2016; and Devika Bhattacharya, "CPEC Funds Halted: China Wants Pakistan Army To Take Over Projects?," *Times of India*, December 9, 2017.

14 Rajnish Sharma, "China Extends Its Footprint to 25 Percent of Pakistan-Occupied Kashmir," *Deccan Chronicle*, June 2, 2016.

15 PTI, "Chinese Army Troops Spotted along LoC in Pakistan-Occupied Kashmir," *Hindustan Times*, March 13, 2016.

16 Minnie Chan, "China Has Started Building Its Third Aircraft Carrier, Military Sources Say," *South China Morning Post*, January 5, 2018; and Guo Yuandan and Bai Tiantian, "China Eyes Nuclear-Powered Carriers: Defense Firm," *Global Times*, February 28, 2018.

17 Sandeep Unnithan, "Budget Squeeze Threatens Indian Army's Preparedness for Possible Two-Front War," *India Today*, May 3, 2018.

With an intractable border dispute, the contentious issue of Tibet, bitter memories of the Sino-Indian War of 1962, Beijing's growing influence among Indian neighborhoods, China's rising assertiveness in the Indian Ocean, and Chinese attempts to build an alternative international system to oppose the United States, a "reset" between India and China seems difficult to imagine.[18] Persistent Chinese opposition to India's aspirations to join the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) and efforts to become a permanent member on the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) combined with protecting Pakistan from charges of sponsoring terrorism and of CPEC expansion in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir makes the Sino-Indian relationship much more complex and difficult to manage.

In July 2017, China violated a border agreement with Bhutan on the Doklam plateau between India, China, and Bhutan. Although China withdrew, the incursion raised uncomfortable questions about India's security vulnerabilities. It also caused India to reconsider its China policy, and the Modi government made some positive gestures towards China. Notably, India reverted to its traditional position on the status of the Dalai Lama, denying any official connection with him or the exiled Tibetan government in India.[19] It also did not invite the Royal Australian Navy to join the Malabar naval exercise.

Modi and Xi subsequently held their first ever informal summit in Wuhan, China, on April 27 and 28, 2018. The joint commitment to maintain peace and tranquility over the border and the direction for their respective militaries to observe restraint and to strengthen communications were noteworthy. The Wuhan consensus may be a welcome development, giving India "a brief breathing space" in the short term.[20] But the only effective instrument for managing India's relations with China is developing significant and sustained economic and security capabilities in close cooperation with the United States.

America's Views

In the context of China's unprecedented rise and its challenge to America's preeminence in Asia, the United States adopted the Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy. If the "concept of the Indo-Pacific just reconfirms the reality that the United States may no longer be able to maintain the strategic status quo in the Pacific and Indian Oceans," it also indicates "more like-minded countries are willing to exert collective efforts to supplement the US missions in this" vital region.[21]

The United States views India as an effective regional counterweight to China's economic and military might. The Atlantic Council sees

18   "India's Grand Illusion of a 'Reset' with China," *Livemint*, April 17, 2018; and Ivan Lidarev, "Is a China-India 'Reset' in the Cards?," *Diplomat*, June 8, 2018.

19   Abantika Ghosh, "Govt Sends Out Note: Very Sensitive Time for Ties with China, So Skip Dalai Lama Events," *Indian Express*, March 2, 2018.

20   Shyam Saran, "The Modi-Xi Wuhan Summit Fixed the Growing Power Imbalance between India and China—Somewhat," *Scroll*, May 16, 2018.

21   Kuni Miyake, "The 'Indo-Pacific' Is Nothing New," *Japan Times*, June 4, 2018.

India as a "key piece in the jigsaw," asking the Trump administration to make sure "it is not merely a regional prop to balance Beijing's power in the region, but a top priority for US foreign policy."[22] This Indo-Pacific vision builds on the Bush administration's efforts to establish stronger India-US ties while connecting India to the Pacific Ocean through closer relations with Japan.[23] Later, President Obama's Rebalance strategy pivoted towards the Asia-Pacific.

The United States increasingly fears a future of diminished international influence; hence, Washington is willing to take risks. The Trump administration has elevated the single strategic space formed by the Indian and Pacific Oceans to a top-level regional priority. While the *National Security Strategy* calls American allies and partners to collaborate, including boosting "quadrilateral cooperation with Japan, Australia, and India," the strategy also welcomes India's rise as a global power and emphasizes expanding defense ties with New Delhi.[24]

Due to the current administration's emphasis on the return of great-power competition between the United States, Russia, and China, Beijing essentially views the Indo-Pacific strategy as a means of perpetuating US dominance in the region while confining China to the sidelines of a newly reinforced American sphere of influence. Despite the rhetoric, there have been few details to explain how the new strategy is going to be operationalized beyond the reemergence of the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (Quad). Similarly, US officials frequently acknowledge the value of investing in connectivity and infrastructure to build an Indo-Pacific community. But Washington's efforts are hindered by the president's economic policies.

India's Vision

Modi's speech at the Shangri-La Dialogue in Singapore on June 1, 2018, signaled India's willingness to embrace greater responsibility in anchoring a rules-based order in the Indo-Pacific region. Stressing that India's partnerships are not alliances of containment, Modi said "engagement in the Indo-Pacific region—from the shores of Africa to that of the Americas—will be inclusive." Simultaneously, in an indirect reference to the One Belt, One Road model of "debt-trap" diplomacy, Modi called for connectivity initiatives in the region that "empower nations, not place them under an impossible debt burden. They must promote trade, not strategic competition." The region can only prosper, he said, "if we do not return to the age of great-power rivalries." Although he did not mention the Quad, Modi expressed a willingness to work with partners "in formats of three or more."[25]

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22   Manish Tewari and Bharath Gopalaswamy, *Transforming India from a Balancing to Leading Power* (Washington, DC: Atlantic Council South Asia Center, 2017).

23   Brad Glosserman, *The Indo-Pacific: A U.S. Perspective* (Milan, IT: Istituto per gli Studi di Politica Internazionale [ISPI], June 2018).

24   Trump, *National Security Strategy*.

25   Shri Narendra Modi, "Keynote Address at Shangri La Dialogue" (speech, International Institute for Strategic Studies, Singapore, June 1, 2018).

Modi's Shangri-La speech was important. It outlined India's Indo-Pacific vision, which extends from the eastern shores of Africa to the western shore of the Americas. It conveyed India's message that the Indo-Pacific approach is broad-based and inclusive to the ASEAN countries. It stressed India's adherence to a rules-based order in the region that is positioned around territorial integrity, indirectly opposing China's confrontational attitude towards territories in the South China Sea. And it highlighted India's long-standing strategic autonomy.

India recognizes military power as merely one aspect of its national strategy or global influence. New Delhi understands security involves much more than the ability to mount an effective military defense. Nor does India believe a national security vision requires exporting its value system or political culture to other countries. Preserving national independence, civilizational heritage, and cultural pride entails sound statecraft that can enlist friends, frustrate enemies, and deflect domestic and foreign challenges to territory, traits, and structures that define the Indian nation. India's strategic vision is unique in the sense that it does not wish the region be divided between rival hegemonies.

With this view, India offers to include all states in securing a free and open Indo-Pacific regardless of political backgrounds and economic strengths.[26] At the same time, it also rejects the Chinese proposition to create dependencies through economic statecraft and military coercion reminiscent of the Cold War.

India's approach to the Indo-Pacific is neither one of alignment nor strategic autonomy. It lies in the grey zone between them. It is in the US interest to push India out of this zone by helping it overcome major obstacles: India's commitment to strategic autonomy doubts America's reliability as a strategic partner, emphasizes the need to sustain engagement with Russia, and seeks to avoid the adverse consequences of provoking China. The Modi government has assured Russia that the Indo-Pacific strategy would not compromise the ties between the two countries.[27] The reasons are simple: India needs Russia for military equipment such as spare parts and nuclear-powered submarines. Russia wields veto power at the UN Security Council. And India recognizes Russia's growing tilt towards China and Pakistan. Therefore, even at the risk of antagonizing Washington, New Delhi will purchase the S-400 antiaircraft missile system from Russia.[28]

Benefits of Balancing

Modi has been cautious with his Indo-Pacific strategy. But he will not be able to convince Beijing that India has given up its efforts to balance or contain China. Whenever the Indo-Pacific concept is discussed, China is not mentioned. Yet the formulation of a free and

26   Samir Saran, "China and SAARC Will Be the Pivots of India's Rise as Global Superpower," *Print*, July 24, 2018.

27   "Sochi Informal Summit: India, Russia in One Mind about Global Uncertainty," *Hindustan Times*, May 23, 2018.

28   Shubhajit Roy, "Simply Put: A Russian Deal, a US Nod," *Indian Express*, July 26, 2018.

open Indo-Pacific suggests an anti-Chinese connotation. The declared objectives of seeking greater freedom and openness—in terms of governance, fundamental rights, and economic transparency—run counter to the Chinese political model.

Beijing is unlikely to back down from its claims to the Indian territory along the border. And there is no indication China will reduce its attempts to contain India.[29] Rajesh Rajagopalan, a leading Indian strategist, argued India's hedging approach "will satisfy neither China nor the partners that India hopes to balance China with" and is likely to "be seen in Beijing as conference hall sophistry" that will be ignored against the background of India's balancing efforts. Explaining the downside of this hedging strategy, he believes "India will neither reduce the threat it faces from China nor have the partners it needs to counter this threat."[30] If this pattern of strategic ambiguity continues, it could spell the end to any chance of the revival of the Quad. India's strategic reorientation could also mean that the Quad will never materialize in the way it is being conceptualized.

Divergent ideas among the four countries regarding China constitute another big hurdle to the Quad. But even if there is not much formal progress, the parties must work towards better coordination and cooperation on common concerns. Merely opposing China's economic hegemony through multiple plans and initiatives will be futile because of the urgent need to develop infrastructure in many parts of the world. The challenges emerging from China's growing economic and military footprint in the Indo-Pacific can, however, be tackled if India, the United States, Japan, and Australia "combine forces."[31]

The Quad provides an insurance policy against China's strong-arm tactics; it also provides states in the region with confidence that pressure from China can be resisted. As Asia struggles under the burden of a permanent Chinese military presence in the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea, New Delhi has no option but to balance power with Beijing, using the "quad with teeth" as the trump card.[32] Adhering to strategic autonomy made sense when India did not have global power ambitions. But in aspiring to emerge as a world power, India cannot rely entirely on internal balancing. With global interests and global responsibilities, strategic orientation cannot remain prisoner to a bygone era. Persistent concerns need persistent partnerships to demonstrate the readiness for joint action. New Delhi needs to conceptualize an alliance with Washington—beyond friendship—to address long-term concerns.

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29 IANS, "Navy Conclave Assesses Combat Readiness amid Chinese Presence in Indian Ocean," *Navhind Times*, May 8, 2018.

30 Rajesh Rajagopalan, "India's Hedging Strategy Is Bound To Fail," Observer Research Foundation, June 21, 2018.

31 Harsh V. Pant, "Cornered by the Quad?," *Hindu*, February 28, 2018.

32 Abhijnan Rej, *Reclaiming the Indo-Pacific: A Political-Military Strategy for Quad 2.0*, ORF Occasional Paper 147 (New Delhi: Observer Research Foundation, 2018).

Recommendations

The dialogue between the defense and foreign ministers of India and the United States on September 6, 2018, provided a significant milestone for the countries' strategic and security ties. It sought to converge defense cooperation, Quad formation, Afghan reconciliation, counterterrorism strategy, and maritime security interests in the Indo-Pacific region. But its abrupt postponement—when former Secretary of State Rex W. Tillerson stepped down in March 2018 and due to the Trump-Putin summit in July 2018—sent a negative signal to India regarding America's strategic priorities. One delay may not have constituted a setback. But postponing twice suggests India's issues are not receiving their due priority.[33]

Even though India's relatively weak economic and military resources prohibit the country from confronting Chinese revisionism alone, the Trump administration should not take lightly India's deeply entrenched lobby for strategic-autonomy. Regular discussions to develop a common vision for the security architecture in the Indo-Pacific should be organized with US allies and partners. Otherwise divergent visions will continue to make joint policies and strategies difficult. In addition to Japan and Australia, the effort to develop common understanding of threats and security should involve Indonesia, Singapore, and Vietnam, who are equally wary of China's economic and military rise.

India's position in America's Indo-Pacific vision is very important for ensuring greater interoperability between the Indian and American militaries. Geographically, India sits between INDOPACOM and US Central Command (USCENTCOM). Operationally, India lies in INDOPACOM's area of responsibility. But Pakistan, India's troublesome nuclear-armed neighbor allied with radical Islamist ideology, is in CENTCOM's area of responsibility. This framework diminishes the defense institution's awareness of India's significant interests, which needs to be rectified.[34]

Despite the Trump administration's tough public stance against Pakistan's duplicity on terrorism, CENTCOM depends on Islamabad's support to achieve objectives in Afghanistan, which hinders effective coordination with New Delhi to counter terrorism. Thus, the United States needs to include all of the western Indian Ocean in its definition of the Indo-Pacific. America also needs to address the challenge of terrorism to a sovereign, rules-based region. India recently assigned a military attaché to the US Naval Forces Central Command (NAVCENT) in Bahrain. This ability to coordinate joint activities in the Red Sea, the

33   Yashwant Raj, "Why Friction between India, US Is Rising When the Two Nations Are Trying To Improve Ties," *Hindustan Times*, June 29, 2018; Alyssa Ayres, "All Is Not Well between Washington and New Delhi," *Hindustan Times*, July 2, 2018; and Joanna Slater, "Mike Pompeo Was Supposed To Meet with His Indian Counterpart. He Went to North Korea Instead," *Washington Post*, July 6, 2018.

34   Harsh V. Pant and Abhijnan Rej, "Is India Ready for the Indo-Pacific?," *Washington Quarterly* 41 no. 2 (Summer 2018): 47–61.

Gulf of Oman, the Persian Gulf, and the Arabian Sea provides a logical first step in increasing India's involvement in CENTCOM.[35]

Iran exacerbates the incongruity between the Indian and US visions of the Indo-Pacific. With Washington's unilateralism irritating the bilateral relationship, New Delhi is closely watching US accommodations of India's strategic interests vis-à-vis Iran. Energy security apart, India needs a cooperative relationship with Iran to develop the strategically vital Chabahar port—a venture involving New Delhi, Tehran, and Kabul—which is seen as India's gateway to landlocked Afghanistan and resource-rich Central Asia without having to cross Pakistan, as well as an effective alternative to the China-led One Belt, One Road initiative.

Geopolitically, weakening ties between Iran and India may have the unintended consequence of pushing Beijing and Tehran closer together, giving China room to embed itself in the Middle East.[36] If Indian companies are sanctioned for associating with Iran, India-US coordination toward a common Indo-Pacific strategy to contain an increasingly assertive China will be adversely affected.

India cannot live up to its full potential as an Indo-Pacific power if its strategic vulnerabilities are not addressed. The Pentagon needs to convince India that America's current transactional approach will not preclude the defense of India's border interests. America's vocal opposition to Chinese bullying would go a long way toward ensuring peace and stability in the South Asian theatre. Moreover, collaborating with India secures the US ground offensive option through Tibet and Xinjiang—China's military underbelly—if Beijing does not tone down its territorial aggressiveness.[37]

The Pentagon has agreed to have an Indian military representative at the Defense Innovation Unit (DIU), which funds private companies working on innovating defense technologies. This step is likely to help India identify its own military technology requirements. Simultaneously, these defense companies should be encouraged to collaborate on modernizing India's military.

Joint operational training and military exchanges could also provide shared experiences India and the United States could use to build greater cooperation across a variety of other security issues such as counterterrorism and counterinsurgency. These improvements will be especially beneficial when applied in conjunction with joint efforts to share information, dismantle terrorist camps, and limit financing of terrorist activities. A bottom-up approach where Indian and American military personnel find it comfortable to work together will build greater

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35 Shishir Gupta, "Soon, India Defence Attaché at US Navy Bahrain Command," *Hindustan Times*, March 21, 2018.

36 Vikram S. Mehta, "Trump's Foreign Policy: An Unlovely Triangle," *Indian Express*, August 6, 2018.

37 Tata, "US Landpower," 98.

familiarity in terms of equipment and technology, strategic doctrines, and operational planning to conduct joint campaigns whenever required.[38]

The United States designated India a Strategic Trade Authorization (STA) Tier 1 country, which allows it to buy advanced and sensitive technologies from the United States.[39] With this status, India is equal to America's closest allies and partners, elevating the strategic partnership by several notches. The designation should accelerate the bilateral defense trade relationship and encourage the United States to share sensitive technologies with India. Expediting the sale of priority military hardware and technologies and identifying areas for joint production will further strengthen India's defense capabilities. This initiative will also assuage India's doubts about America's commitment to supporting India as a leading Indo-Pacific power.

Conclusion

India's multidimensional relationship with the United States is the most comprehensive of all its major power relationships. Few other powers have been as positive as the United States in addressing India's concerns on regional terrorism. President Trump's opposition to China's assertiveness has expanded India's role in the Indo-Pacific region. New Delhi's unwillingness to see a Cold War-type division of competing spheres of influence in the Indo-Pacific should not be interpreted as disinterest in countering Chinese assertiveness; India seeks to consolidate its borders while reducing the danger of armed conflict with China. Support from Washington and its Asian allies provides India an important component for balancing China's power.

The strategic alignment between India, the United States, Japan, and Australia offers a basis for reinforcing a rules-based order in the region. A diplomatic consensus on China, strong bilateral ties, and converging security interests favor further cooperation with the United States.

At the same time, the United States must show publicly that it remains committed to India's rise to global prominence. A long tradition of strategic autonomy may ultimately prevent India from forging a formal alliance with America. But it makes sense for New Delhi to establish a unique, multifaceted, and future-oriented partnership with Washington. Such a partnership can deliver a beneficial balance of power without the limits of a formal architecture.

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38   Harsh V. Pant, telephone conversation with author, August 9, 2018.
39   PTI, "India Third Asian Nation To Get STA-1 Status from U.S.," *Hindu*, August 4, 2018.

Toward a Whole-of-Government Approach: Revamping Peru's Strategy Process

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ABSTRACT: This article explains Peru's efforts to develop effective strategies. It discusses the problems created by overlapping authorities. It suggests a more integrated approach to developing national strategy would help resolve the complications associated with high levels of drug trafficking, poverty, and terrorism.

A severe Peruvian security challenge in the valley of the Apurimac, Ene, and Mantaro rivers (VRAEM) has been brought about by a combination of three maladies: drug trafficking, poverty, and terrorism. At the end of 2016, the largest area of coca cultivation (46 percent or 20,304 hectares) and production (70 percent or an estimated 256 metric tons of cocaine) centered in the VRAEM.[1] Poverty, which afflicts 49 percent of the region's population (approximately 650,000 inhabitants), complicates Peru's efforts to counter drug trafficking. Furthermore, low levels of education and limited economic opportunities led most of the population to depend on coca cultivation for its survival. Thus, many people in the valley defend this illicit activity.[2] Since the region is isolated from the major population centers, local governments have little incentive to dedicate resources to the region. Hence, interest in stopping drug trafficking shifts to the national level.

Over the past decade, Peru's national strategy has fallen short of its stated objective of defeating the *Sendero Luminoso*, or Shining Path, a terrorist organization that controls the principal transportation routes into the valley, provides security to the region's drug cartels, and directly funds its operations through drug trafficking. Two temporary organizations created by the Joint Command of the Peruvian Armed Forces—the VRAEM Special Command and the Intelligence and Joint Special Operations Command—experienced some operational success toward this mission. However, the Peruvian Armed Forces and National Police suffered 384 casualties, including 137 deaths, in armed actions with the terrorists from 2005 to 2014.[3]

Strategic uncertainty in the region results from the absence of a clear national security policy, consistent political objectives, and a stable military objective that spanned several presidential administrations.

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1   Oficina de las Naciones Unidas contra la Droga y el Delito (UNODC), *Peru: Monitoreo de Cultivos de Coca 2016* (Lima: UNODC, 2016), 29.

2   Waldo Mendoza and Janneth Leyva, *The Economía del VRAEM: Diagnóstico y Opciones de Política* (Lima, Peru: Agencia de los Estados Unidos para el Desarrollo Internacional [USAID] and Consorcio de Investigación Económica y Social [CIES], 2017), 71.

3   "Las Cifras Ocultas de la Guerra," Convoca, accessed December 12, 2017.

This uncertainty further impedes the formulation of a national military strategy by preventing the Peruvian Armed Forces from supporting other efforts to counter drug trafficking. Furthermore, a lack of prioritization limits the effective allocation of government resources to ministries and departmental agencies that could develop an optimal strategy for achieving the nation's broader strategic objectives.

This article examines the processes and actors involved in developing such strategic plans as well as the impact of these participants on government efforts in the VRAEM. Recommendations for structuring and coordinating state and regional efforts with a whole-of-government approach to address the region's challenges successfully are included.

A Whole-of-Government Approach

The Peruvian national defense system lacks the agility and the flexibility required to achieve the government's objectives in the VRAEM. An inability to recognize threats and vulnerabilities clearly results in slow responses. Furthermore, ministries and government agencies focus on their own immediate tasks, instead of effectively coordinating and cooperating toward shared objectives and a focused vision.[4] Because of the interrelated military and socioeconomic dimensions affecting the region, close interagency collaboration is necessary to achieve an adequate level of security that will foster economic development, reduce poverty, and further reinforce security. In other words, to address the challenges of the VRAEM adequately, the Peruvian security structure must operate as an effective system instead of a collection of separate components.

Through integrated efforts, the Peruvian government can provide economic development that permits the inhabitants of the VRAEM to remain in the region rather than migrating to other parts of the country, such as the greater Lima area. Such migration would further degrade the nation's security by intensifying other challenges. But a whole-of-government strategy for the VRAEM would address some of these challenges by attracting people who are more likely to participate in legal economic activities and who are less likely to support terrorist activities.

Leadership Authorities

Although responsibilities for the national security policy and the national security strategy are clearly defined by law, responsibilities for the national military strategy, as it impacts the VRAEM, are not. This ambiguity impedes the formulation of a single, coherent document that would establish strategies for achieving military objectives in the region. In this regard, and because of the political nature of the position, the minister of defense usually lacks the military knowledge to formulate the national military strategy optimally. Conversely, the chief of the Joint Command of the Peruvian Armed Forces can expertly formulate

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4   Jason L. Percy and Terry A. Fellows Jr., "A Whole of Government Approach for National Strategy" (master's thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2009), 3.

the national military strategy. But the resulting document has less authority since the chief has no mandate to do so under Peruvian law. Thus, the national military strategy is formulated in isolation, creating confusion and undermining its importance. This situation has led to competing priorities and approaches that have been counterproductive in the VRAEM over the last decade.

Further complicating the situation, constitutional and legal responsibilities for the minister of defense do not indicate the manner for providing strategic guidance nor the type of strategy that must be formulated. Consequently, the chief of the Joint Command lacks clear strategic guidance to help ensure military actions support the government's objectives in the region. For example, the ministry of defense must direct, coordinate, execute, supervise, and evaluate national security policy, in accordance with presidential decisions.[5] By contrast, the US secretary of defense provides a national defense strategy based on the national security strategy to ensure military actions support national objectives. The US national defense strategy then prioritizes Department of Defense missions, counter strategies, and a framework to guide prioritizing threats, the force structure, modernization plans, and the military's roles and missions.[6]

By establishing a similar hierarchy for Peruvian strategy, the minister of defense can provide a foundation for other strategic guidance, specifically for military planning, force development, and intelligence.[7] This clarity would also allow the chief of the Joint Command to compose a military strategy that could be integrated with other government efforts to address the interrelated security, societal, and developmental challenges in the VRAEM as opposed to limiting the focus to the Shining Path. One opportunity for integration exists in relation to a declared state of emergency. In this case, the VRAEM Special Command is tasked with operations against terrorism without any doctrinal responsibility to address the challenges, such as poverty and drug trafficking, that contribute to terrorism.[8]

Even if empowered by the national military strategy to conduct operations against drug trafficking, the Peruvian government does not have an adequate legal framework for the military and police to work together to meet the evolving threat effectively. Thus, the fight against this scourge is legally the principal mission of the National Police, even though the Joint Command of the Peruvian Armed Forces and the VRAEM Special Command have the resources. To overcome this constraint, the VRAEM Special Command has a component of the National Police assigned to it. But the other military components must

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5   Ollanta Humala Tasso, Juan F. Jiménez, and Pedro Cateriano Bellido, Decreto Legislativo que Aprueba la Ley de Organización y Funciones del Ministerio de Defensa, Decreto Legislativo 1134 (2012).

6   Secretary of Defense, 10 U.S.C. § 113 (2018).

7   US Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS), *Joint Planning*, Joint Publication 5-0 (Washington, DC: JCS, 2017), II-4.

8   "¿Por qué existe el VREAM?," Comando Conjunto de las Fuerzas Armadas (CCFFAA), accessed December 13, 2017.

focus only on defeating the Shining Path. Accordingly, an appropriate ratio of police and military resources cannot be used effectively to counter the interdependent threats of terrorism and drug trafficking.

Beyond the issues raised in the previous paragraphs, the brief duration in which the chief of the Joint Command of the Peruvian Armed Forces is assigned to the position further impedes the development of a holistic approach to provide security in the VRAEM. According to law, the chief holds the position for a period of no more than two years, renewable by exception, only for one additional year.[9] This situation contrasts with that of the chairman of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff, which begins with a similar period of two years that may be renewed by the president for two additional terms.[10] Thus, General Joseph Dunford has held the position since 2015, while his predecessor, General Martin E. Dempsey, held the position for four years (2011–15).[11] This longer period allows the chairman to develop a deeper understanding of the strategic objectives and formulate a more effective military strategy.

Furthermore, a new chief of the Joint Command must spend a large percentage of his or her term learning about the national military strategy that guides the combatant commands and the key actors in each region, as well as the internal and external factors that affect missions. Unfortunately, commanders often rotate from the position before they acquire enough experience and knowledge needed to address the problems holistically.

Likewise, changes among senior staff officers compound the effects of the short term of the Peruvian joint commander. Because of the lack of a joint culture within the Peruvian Armed Forces, the chief generally assigns members of the same service to the main positions of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. In 2017, the chief of the Joint Command, for example, was a Navy officer. And not entirely by coincidence, four of the nine division chiefs were also Navy officers.[12] Of the seven autonomous offices of the Joint Command, five were headed by Navy officers.[13] Of the two combatant commands executing military operations in the VRAEM, a land operations theater, one was commanded by a Navy officer.[14] Despite its experience in countering terrorism *and* drug trafficking, the National Police is not represented within the Joint Command. This situation generates bias that favors the chief's service affiliation.

The necessity of the Joint Command of the Peruvian Armed Forces to attend to its main mission of planning, preparing, coordinating, and conducting military operations, such as those conducted by the VRAEM Special Command and the Intelligence and Joint Special Operations

9 Ollanta Humala Tasso, Juan F. Jiménez Mayor, and Pedro Cateriano Bellido, Decreto Legislativo del Comando Conjunto de las Fuerzas Armadas, Decreto Legislativo 1136 (2012).

10 Chairman: Appointment; Grade and Rank, 10 U.S.C. § 152 (2018).

11 "Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff," JCS, accessed December 17, 2017.

12 "Divisiones Estado Mayor," CCFFAA, accessed December 17, 2017.

13 "Oficinas Autónomas," CCFFAA, accessed December 17, 2017.

14 "Se Reconoció al Comandante del Comando Especial de Inteligencia y Operaciones Especiales Conjuntas (CIOEC)," CCFFAA, October 11, 2016.

Command in the VRAEM, also impedes its ability to conceptualize, design, and assess risks relevant to formulating a national military strategy.[15] The United States manages this complexity by assigning the Joint Chiefs of Staff the role of providing military advice without the competing demand to manage operational campaigns.[16]

Strategy Implementation

The insufficient results of the VRAEM Special Command during its first three years led the Joint Command to create the Intelligence and Joint Special Operations Command. This combatant command includes intelligence personnel and special forces from the three military services who execute operations in the region against high-value targets, such as the leaders of the Shining Path.[17] The parallel efforts of these two combatant commands in the same area of responsibility generated friction and competitiveness.

In addition to these overlapping responsibilities, 69 districts of five political regions in the VRAEM formed a more intricate problem when implementing the national military strategy.[18] This vast area of direct intervention and influence hinders the VRAEM Special Command's efforts because actions must be coordinated with the disparate political authorities who have different priorities and resources for each region. Luis Rojas, a former technical secretary of the multisectoral Commission

Map of the Valley of the Rivers Apurimac, Ene, and Mantaro by Pete McPhail

15   "Misión," CCFFAA, accessed December 17, 2017.
16   10 U.S.C. § 152.
17   "Se Reconoció al Comandante," CCFFAA.
18   "Reordenan Ámbitos de Intervención Directa y de Influencia del VRAEM," *Andina* (Lima), June 10, 2016.

for Pacification and Economic and Social Development in the Valley of the Rivers Apurimac, Ene and Mantaro, recognized the need for the VRAEM to become an autonomous region backed by adequate resources that could formulate a coherent plan for its development.[19]

The current legal framework, however, is inadequate for the Peruvian Armed Forces to conduct operations in the region beyond the campaign against the Shining Path. In November 2017, the Peruvian Congress approved a bill authorizing military participation in drug trafficking interdiction within zones declared in a state of emergency, which includes jurisdictions of the VRAEM.[20] While the approval of this bill will provide a legal framework for a national military strategy to include the fight against drug trafficking, it generates additional risks for the VRAEM Special Command. These risks are magnified due to the lack of training and experience of the Peruvian Armed Forces in carrying out operations against drug trafficking, which is in stark contrast to that of the National Police who currently execute this mission.

Recommendations

To address the challenges identified above, Peru must change its process for formulating and implementing its national military strategy. Peru must develop a whole-of-government approach that unifies the efforts of ministries and agencies to maximize the effectiveness of available resources. Therefore, the national military strategy and the VRAEM Special Command mission should be broadened to orient military forces toward working with other government organizations to solve drug trafficking, poverty, and terrorism in the VRAEM.

In this manner, the national military strategy could focus not only on defeating the Shining Path but also on collaborating with the National Police to fight drug trafficking. The military engineer battalions could also support regional development by constructing roads and schools. These kinds of actions will help the government obtain the support and trust of the population. Such measures will also provide access to information about members of the Shining Path and the drug cartels.

To develop and implement a more coherent and effective military strategy in the VRAEM, the Peruvian congress should establish clearer legal responsibilities regarding who formulates the national defense strategy and the national military strategy. Ideally, the changes should clarify the minister of defense is responsible for the national defense strategy and the chief of the Joint Command for the national military strategy. Regardless, those formulating the national military strategy should address the major problems in the VRAEM and efficiently integrate the area's military and police resources. Similarly, the congress should consider creating a unified political region for the VRAEM based

19   "¿El VRAEM como una Región para Buscar su Desarrollo?," *El Comercio* (Lima), April 22, 2015.

20   "Congreso Aprobó que Fuerzas Armadas Participen en la Interdicción Contra el Tráfico de Drogas en el VRAEM," *Correo* (Lima), November 3, 2017.

on the local districts and provinces. Doing so would enable the political authorities and the VRAEM Special Command to coordinate efforts, such as public projects to stimulate development, more effectively.

Beyond such legal changes, attention should be given to military commands. The Peruvian government should lengthen the tenure for the chief of the Joint Command of the Peruvian Armed Forces by at least two years. This extended period would allow the chief to understand the complex issues in the region more deeply, design the military strategy, and make the corresponding adjustments.

Joint commanders should work to ensure equitable distribution of senior assignments among the military services, including the National Police. This diversity would provide an integral joint approach to inform a more comprehensive national military strategy.

The government should also redefine the roles and responsibilities of the Joint Command to eliminate the responsibility of conducting operations, which should be delegated to the combatant commands. This modification would allow the Joint Command to focus on strategic guidance for integrating the police and other elements of national power to achieve the state's objectives. This change would also reduce overlapping authorities such as those between the VRAEM Special Command and the Intelligence and Joint Special Operations Command.

To conduct more effective operations in the VRAEM, the Peruvian Armed Forces should correspondingly increase the training of military personnel assigned to the region. Participants in counterterrorism and counternarcotics operations should be knowledgeable of the policy guidance and legal authorities established by the aforementioned frameworks. Furthermore, joint commanders should leverage the experience of other organizations that have appropriate experience in the operational environment, such as the National Police, to help orient personnel to the complexities of specific missions.

Conclusion

The national military strategy implemented in the VRAEM during the last decade has proven ineffective. The approach has lacked coherence and failed to integrate the efforts of various ministries and agencies. As this article has shown, formulating and implementing an effective policy in the VRAEM requires a series of fundamental changes ranging from specific actions to state and military organization. As noted, security comes from the strength and the application of *all* the instruments of national power. To this end, the Peruvian government must prioritize the urgent issues in the VRAEM and ensure an effective interaction among all the ministries and agencies.

Correspondingly, the Joint Command must assume an advisory role and integrate the capacities of the National Police to unify action in the region. With these changes, the national strategy can address the critical security issues within the VRAEM through strong commitment and common effort from all the actors involved.

ON CLAUSEWITZ

Reclaiming Clausewitz's Theory of Victory

Richard M. Milburn

ABSTRACT: This article challenges a recent interpretation of Carl von Clausewitz's work *On War* that includes concepts such as *Natur*, the trinity, and the primary elements of war. After discussing the approaches of universalists and new wars scholars, the article considers trinitarian relationships in the context of modern conflict.

In a recent article for *Parameters*, Emile Simpson challenged conventional interpretations of Carl von Clausewitz's *On War*. In particular, Simpson called into question the universal applicability of Clausewitz's theory of war and his theory of victory. Simpson also challenged traditional views of the differences between the nature and the character of war. The former is normally associated with the permanent aspects of war, the latter its impermanent features. In his seminal work, Clausewitz described what is generally considered to be the nature of war: "A paradoxical trinity—composed of primordial violence, hatred, and enmity, which are to be regarded as a blind natural force; of the play of chance and probability within which the creative spirit is free to roam; and of its element of subordination, as an instrument of policy, which makes it subject to reason alone."[1]

The trinity has been a topic of debate for two broad schools of thought: the universalists (or traditionalists) and the new wars scholars. For the universalists, Clausewitz's theory of war is timeless and comprehensive: the Clausewitzian trinity and the nature of war are synonymous.[2] In contrast, the new wars scholars purport Clausewitz's theory of war is either temporal, situational, or both.[3]

Simpson provides the latest challenge to the universalists' view. His method of critique removes the trinity from the core of Clausewitz's theory of war and replaces it with the concept of the "duel." In doing so, Simpson relegates the most strategic Clausewitzian concept to minor

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1   Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, trans. and ed. Michael Howard and Peter Paret (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976), 89.

2   Colin S. Gray, "How Has War Changed since the End of the Cold War," *Parameters* 35, no. 1 (Spring 2005): 14–26; Hew Strachan and Andreas Herberg-Rothe, eds. *Clausewitz in the Twenty-First Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); and Antulio J. Echevarria II, *Clausewitz and Contemporary War* (New York: Oxford University Press), 2007.

3   Martin van Creveld, *The Transformation of War* (New York: Free Press, 1991); Mary Kaldor, *New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999); and John Keegan, *A History of Warfare* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993).

importance and promotes a narrow interpretation of the more tactical duel in its place. This conceptualization presents a straw-man theory of victory. This article uses the trinity to construct a more complete, and fundamentally Clausewitzian, theory of victory.

Simpson's Argument

Simpson's major point, in keeping with the new wars scholars, is that Clausewitz's theory of war is not universal:

> To understand what Clausewitz means by the nature of war, it is necessary to recognize that there are two ideas of war at play in *On War*. One is the abstract version found in the realm of logic, which Clausewitz identifies as the nature of war. As Clausewitz stresses, "it must be observed that the phrase the *natural tendency* of war, is used in its philosophical, strictly *logical* sense alone and does not refer to the tendencies of the forces that are actually engaged in the fighting—including—for instance, the morale and emotions of the combatants."[4]

This is an admittedly troubling passage for universalists who conflate the nature of war with the Clausewitzian trinity. If the natural tendency of war does not include the emotions of the combatants, then the nature of war, at least in the abstract form, does not contain one of the elements of the trinity.

Simpson continues:

> The other idea of war is the phenomenon produced when the abstract concept of war is modified by reality, to give us real war. This is the idea of war that we reach at the end of book 1, chapter 1, in which Clausewitz presents his well-known image of the "total phenomenon" of war as it appears in reality as a "trinity" comprised of three "dominant tendencies." These three tendencies effectively provide categorical buckets within which to place the various reasons listed above for why war in reality moderates the abstract concept.[5]

In this view, the trinity does not account for other causes of war, such as religion or ideology. Moreover, Clausewitz's theory cannot be universal because it reflects a hierarchical relationship that is not universal according to Simpson:

> A hierarchical enemy is presupposed in any strategic theory based on Clausewitz, given how he assumed the enemy to be a unified enemy. This assumption provided the basis for his most important strategic concept, the center of gravity, which necessarily presupposed the enemy had a "will," in the sense that it was a unified enemy. Thus, Clausewitz envisaged the military strategist striking at the enemy's center of gravity to translate a military result into a political result because it was a physical representation of the enemy's will.[6]

Simpson considers such a theory of victory has little utility against networked enemies, who have no fielded forces, nor a capital city, nor

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4   Emile Simpson, "Clausewitz's Theory of War and Victory in Contemporary Conflict," *Parameters* 47, no. 4 (Winter 2017–18): 9.
5   Simpson, "Clausewitz's Theory," 9.
6   Simpson, "Clausewitz's Theory," 16.

necessarily alliances to attack. Since there would be no Clausewitzian center of gravity to attack against a networked enemy, the theory of victory must be limited, as would the theory of war.

At first glance, this argument makes sense. But when we consider Clausewitz's discussion of wars for limited aims, it does not. There are wars where striking the enemy's center of gravity would be unnecessary to achieve the political aims of the war, which must guide the scale of military effort to be made.[7] In fact, decisively attacking centers of gravity is not, and cannot be, Clausewitz's theory of victory because it would ignore great swathes of military history. While Simpson's complex explanation of *On War* is stimulating, such complexity is a blessing and a curse.

Interpretation and Translation

The primary problems with Simpson's article rest with his discussion of the German word *Natur* and his interpretation of the duel. His reasoning is based largely upon the English translation of the word *Natur*, which has caused understandable confusion for Clausewitzian scholars. Michael Howard and Peter Paret's translation of *On War*, for example, states, "War is more than a true chameleon that slightly adapts its characteristics to the given case."[8] In contrast, Christopher Bassford's translation (which Simpson follows) asserts, "War is thus more than a mere chameleon, because it changes its nature to some extent in each concrete case."[9]

In Simpson's view, the later translation alters the distinction between the nature and the character of war. There are two principal problems with this belief. First, *Natur* can mean either nature or character, and we have a difficult time separating these concepts philosophically. Second, Bassford does not use "nature" in the same way as Simpson. Bassford declares, "We should accept it as standing here for something intermediate—much more consequential than the chameleon's superficial color, but less than truly fundamental or definitive."[10] With this intermediate understanding of Clausewitz's intent, *Natur* could mean, *the magnitude of each element of the nature of war* and *the relationships between the elements*. Clausewitz is still referring exclusively to the elements of his trinity and describing their variances and fluid interactions not only in different wars but even in different theaters during the same war.[11] This interpretation is consistent with Clausewitz's further discussion about never fixing an arbitrary relationship between the elements of the trinity.

Simpson accepts an open-ended range of the types of war. But he is mistaken to think the trinity does not account for them. A traditional

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7 Clausewitz, *On War*, 585–94.

8 Clausewitz, *On War*, 89.

9 Christopher Bassford, "The Primacy of Policy and the 'Trinity' in Clausewitz's Mature Thought," in Strachan and Herberg-Rothe, *Clausewitz*, 77.

10 Bassford, "Primacy of Policy," 78.

11 This idea links to later discussion of Clausewitz's use of the chameleon as a metaphor for war. Changeability is inherent in the nature of both.

view of the nature of war allows relationships within the trinity to be endlessly changeable, yet requires each be present to some degree. This understanding accounts for guerilla warfare and low intensity conflict, countering the new wars scholars' claims that the Clausewitzian trinity is irrelevant in the modern age. War's permanent elements cannot and do not change. As M. L. R. Smith points out, "in the end, there is really only one meaningful category of war, and that is war itself."[12]

Simpson goes on to suggest Clausewitz defined war as "nothing but a duel on a larger scale."[13] He claims Clausewitz's use of the duel is insufficient as an abstract, comprehensive definition because it implies war is a two-way, combat-centric struggle against a unitary enemy. Simpson interprets the duel so narrowly as to remove any possible connection to strategy.[14]

Clausewitz, however, was an avid student of history, cognizant of the multifaceted character of war in the history of Europe, which abounded with complex and changing alliances. Having fought for both the Prussian and Russian armies in the Napoleonic wars, Clausewitz was fully aware of opposing national interests, shifting alliances, and the absence of a simple two-way struggle. Furthermore, in the Clausewitzian construction of war as simply the continuation of politics by other means, the multifaceted character of politics must be common to both politics and war.

Simpson further argues the duel metaphor implies war is combat-centric. While there must be an element of combat to meet a Clausewitzian definition of war, war need not be combat-centric. All wars, including the Napoleonic Wars, have extended periods of inactivity. Moreover, the character of some wars is simply not combat-centric. Clausewitz describes the fighting value of condottiere wars as negligible: "Extremes of energy or exertion were conspicuous by their absence and fighting was generally a sham."[15] The notion is further supported through Clausewitz's treatment of limited wars for limited aims that he uses as one mechanism to modify his simple definition of war as a duel: "The political object—the original motive for the war—will thus determine both the military objective to be reached and the amount of effort it requires."[16] Sometimes, even the threat of force could be enough to achieve the desired political objectives.

Viewing the enemy as a unitary actor is a common mistake.[17] To suggest Clausewitz conceptualized war as a contest between unitary actors, however, dismisses his experience. In 1806, for example,

12   M. L. R. Smith, "Guerillas in the Mist: Reassessing Strategy and Low Intensity Warfare," *Review of International Studies* 29, no. 1 (2003): 34; and Colin M. Fleming, *Clausewitz's Timeless Trinity: A Framework for Modern War* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2013), 171.

13   Clausewitz, *On War, 75*.

14   Simpson, "Clausewitz's Theory," 10–11.

15   Clausewitz, *On War*, 587.

16   Clausewitz, *On War*, 81.

17   Robert Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2017), 327.

Clausewitz expressed his frustrations with the political wrangling in the military by writing the Prussian army had "three commanders-in-chief and two chiefs of staff."[18] He was well acquainted with self-interested parties and organizations affecting policy and viewed neither the enemy nor the Prussian state as a unitary actor. In fact, Clausewitz's entire discussion about war being only a continuation of politics suggests a symbiotic relationship representing a theory of victory rather than an unsatisfactory reality of actual war. During war in the real world,

> we must allow for natural inertia, for all the friction of its parts, for all the inconsistency, imprecision, and timidity of man; and finally we must face the fact that war and its forms result from ideas, emotions, and conditions prevailing at the time—and to be quite honest we must admit that this was the case even when war assumed its absolute state under Bonaparte.[19]

The friction of the political-military nexus is part of modern warfare. The military commander may have to deal with the timidity of political leadership, something Napoleon was spared. This was perhaps a contributing factor in his spectacular run of victories.

Simpson's view of Clausewitzian victory is that it is achieved by locating and destroying the enemy's center of gravity, which is where the enemy's will can be defeated.[20] This perception implies the normal center of gravity is the enemy army, though the capital city or key alliances are other possibilities. Simpson's claim that this theory of victory is incomplete, as networked enemies lack such centers, is correct.

Nevertheless, he is incorrect in thinking this was Clausewitz's theory of victory. This concept represents a way to achieve victory only in wars tending toward the absolute. Clausewitz's broader theory of victory centered on matching political ends with military means. In this sense, war's subordination to politics and to policy could be regarded as an ideal state rather than a fact.

There is no universal theory of victory in *On War*. Starting with the Clausewitzian trinity, however, a more complete conceptualization of Clausewitz's theory of victory is possible.

Strategic Interaction

Holistic consideration of the trinity is a fundamentally strategic enterprise. War is a competition that can be characterized as the protection of the friendly trinity while simultaneously attacking the enemy's trinity—a clash of trinities. During war, the magnitude of each of the elements—passion, reason, and chance—is fluid and changes rapidly due to precipitating events. "Our task," said Clausewitz, "is to develop a theory that maintains a balance between these three tendencies."[21] At

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18 Carl von Clausewitz to Marie von Brühl, September 29, 1806, quoted in Peter Paret, *Clausewitz and the State: The Man, His Theories, and His Times* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), 124.

19 Clausewitz, *On War*, 580.

20 Simpson, "Clausewitz's Theory," 16.

21 Clausewitz, *On War*, 89.

the center of this balance is the state (or community) itself, composed of the government, the people, and the military or its analogues.[22] The relationships between these elements of the Clausewitzian social trinity are constantly fluid and evolving, becoming stronger or weaker depending on prevailing circumstances and as affected by myriad factors including military action. The elements of the primary trinity, the most powerful of which is passion, also influence relationships in the social trinity.

Passion often acts as a binding force and may give the people justification for war. Passion could be stoked by ideology, religion, nationalism, injustice, racial hatred, or outrage to strengthen the resolve to go to, or to stay at, war. In total war, passion can dominate rational thought, which Captain Ramsey, Denzel Washington's character in the movie *Crimson Tide*, acknowledges, "The true nature of war is to serve itself."[23] As wars tend toward totality, passion takes on a logic of its own, and increasingly, the military decision becomes the political end state.

Passion and reason may complement one another in wars of necessity, but reason may equally counter passion. In limited wars, directly linking political goals to the use of military force may be difficult. This void is sometimes called the Clausewitzian gap.[24] As wars become more limited, and the justification of primordial violence becomes more difficult, reason often comes to the fore, especially in the information age where the horrors of war are continually dissected. Constant network news coverage can alter public perception, especially if friendly interests are unclear. In democracies where open debate is encouraged, it can be especially hard to present a united political front, which might be required to maintain public support for military action and to protect one's own trinity. This effort might call into question the value of the military instrument of power in matters of limited national interest. David Betz, among others, considers the diminishing utility of war as a tool of policy.[25]

Chance is the embodiment of war's uncertainty. At the extreme end, the king of Persia lost an entire army to a sandstorm, and the Spanish Armada was devastated by storms. Likewise, the death of Gustavus Adolphus in 1632 during the Battle of Lützen quickly precipitated the end of Sweden's time as a great power. In the modern world of precision weapons, luck is a more dangerous force precisely because the public may be led to believe that accidents such as the bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade in 1999 are deliberate acts. Chance is ever-present on the battlefield, and though it can be reduced, there may be, as General

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22   This has been another bone of contention for the new wars scholars, but Bassford, Jan Willem Honig, and James Gow have all constructed more flexible analogues for these actors. Thomas Waldman, *War, Clausewitz and the Trinity* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2013), 169.

23   Captain Ramsey to Commander Hunter in *Crimson Tide*, directed by Tony Scott (Hollywood Pictures, 1995).

24   Leo J. Blanken, Hy Rothstein, Jason J. Lepore, eds., *Assessing War: The Challenge of Measuring Success and Failure* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2015), 17–18.

25   Betz David, *Carnage and Connectivity: Landmarks in the Decline of Conventional Military Power* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 4–5.

Stanley McChrystal found, a corresponding reduction in military effectiveness or an increased risk to friendly forces.[26]

Understanding both trinities requires understanding the kind of war the enemy is embarking upon as well as your own. There is no natural balance here: a limited war for one side is not necessarily so for the other or indeed for coalition partners on either side. The disparities in military capability between sides in Vietnam, Iraq, and Afghanistan were more than balanced by the other side's abundant passion and will to keep fighting.[27] Considering war in this light naturally leads to grand strategic considerations that drag military leaders out of their comfort zones and into the policy arena, which is where the only meaningful victories reside.

A Clausewitzian Theory of Victory

In the clash of trinities, there are two ways to win a war.[28] The enemy trinity must be destroyed by breaking either a relationship in, or an element of, its trinity. Clausewitz said an enemy's power of resistance is comprised of the total means at his disposal and the strength of his will.[29] Most battle-centric strategies attack capability, primarily within the enemy's military, but others, including coercive strategies, attack the will to fight through trinitarian relationships. There are many possible strategies to win wars beyond what Clausewitz actually discussed in *On War* that can also be discussed through this theoretical extension. One such example is Robert Pape's four types of strategic bombing: punishment, risk, decapitation, and denial.[30] The trinitarian model can show where a particular strategy is supposed to affect the enemy trinity. But it is still incumbent upon the strategist to assess the metrics of how successful such a strategy is or even if there is a causal link between the choice of strategy and the intended breakdown of the relationship being attacked.

As Simpson noted in *War from the Ground Up*, there may be many strategic audiences to particular actions in war.[31] Thus, our actions to affect the enemy's trinity also have secondary and tertiary effects on relationships in our own trinity that must be considered during strategic deliberations. Punishment of a civilian population provides an excellent example. Even though the model identifies the target as the people-to-government relationship, it cannot indicate a probability of success. Such a strategy posited by Giulio Douhet was sporadically successful in

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26   "Tactical Directive," Headquarters, International Security Assistance Force, July 6, 2009.

27   Andrew Mack, "Why Big Nations Lose Small Wars: The Politics of Asymmetric Conflict," *World Politics* 27, no. 2 (January 1975): 175–200.

28   Waldman, *War*, 161.

29   Clausewitz, *On War*, 77.

30   Robert A. Pape, *Bombing to Win: Air Power and Coercion in War* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996).

31   Emile Simpson, *War from the Ground Up: Twenty-First Century Combat as Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

Rotterdam and Rome during World War II despite more public failures during the Combined Bomber Offensive.[32]

The repeated defacement of the statue of Sir Arthur Travers "Bomber" Harris, the man synonymous with this British use of airpower, illustrates how strongly the public can react to military action. Risk, posited as a weaker form of punishment and unlikely to work, targets the same mechanism. Both decapitation and denial try to affect the government-to-military relationship. Denial is the only one of the four strategies that targets both capability and will and is unsurprisingly the most historically successful.

Many strategies attack the relationship between the people and the government such as terrorism, economic war, attrition, and simply enduring until the enemy's public support wanes.[33] A trinitarian approach to assessing war allows us to look at key vulnerabilities as well as opportunities; we must have continuous assessment of both since the trinities are constantly changing. Moreover, war considered in this way is not just about military activity but also about diplomacy, economics, and information. Only through using all of the instruments of power can strategy be optimized to protect the friendly trinity and to exploit perceived weaknesses in the enemy's.

For democracies such as the United States and Britain, who fight on distant shores with conventional superiority, this raises questions about likely enemy strategies and the limitations of friendly plans. Former Commandant of the Marine Corps General Charles C. Krulak presciently observed "enemies will attack us asymmetrically. They will take us where we're weak, and they will negate our strengths, which is our technology, and so the best way to do that is to get you into close terrain—towns, cities, urban slums, forests, jungles."[34]

These attacks often occur in the information domain, where the West must learn to fight more effectively. That will require congruence between political thought and military action. The information domain can be particularly problematic for democracies where attitudes to war are openly discussed in their respective parliaments, inviting dissention. As R. D. Hooker Jr. contends, war is "a contest of wills played out by thinking and adaptive opponents."[35] It is easy to attack the will of Western democracies in wars of limited national interest, and it would be foolish for most nations to try to attack a US-led coalition head-on. Indirect strategies, therefore, come to the fore: "Asymmetry is inherent in the nature of war."[36]

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32   Giulio Douhet, *The Command of the Air* (London: Faber and Faber, 1943).

33   Some of these strategies are discussed in R. D. Hooker Jr., "Beyond *Vom Kriege*: The Character and Conduct of Modern War," *Parameters* 35, no. 2 (Summer 2005): 15.

34   General Charles Krulak (commandant, US Marine Corps), interview with Jim Lehrer, NewsHour, PBS, June 25, 1999).

35   Hooker, "Beyond *Vom Kriege*," 12.

36   Antulio J. Echevarria II, "Rediscovering US Military Strategy: A Role for Doctrine," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 39, no. 2 (January 2016): 233.

Although indirect strategies may not have been the focus of *On War*, a brief study of the trinity shows that these ideas are easily extrapolated from it, which allows us to discuss war and strategy more generally than Clausewitz himself did, to find a road to victory. During war, victory comes about through the knowledge and protection of one's own trinity and the simultaneous knowledge and destruction of the enemy trinity. This trinitarian strategic analysis mirrors Sun Tzu's maxim: "Know the enemy and know yourself; in a hundred battles you will never be in peril."[37] In this manner, Sun Tzu and Clausewitz are perfectly aligned regarding both the nature of war and the path to victory.

Conclusion

Simpson's interpretation of Clausewitz removes much of the explanatory power that the trinity possesses. His complex reading does not enable predictive strategic consideration because it lacks clarity and relegates discussion of *On War* to the tactical arena. While Simpson's argument is intellectually thought-provoking, its practical utility for military and political professionals is questionable. Furthermore, this interpretation unwisely clouds basic understandings of what war is. As Antulio J. Echevarria II states, "Understanding the nature of war is important for more than academic reasons; the nature of a thing tends to define how it can and cannot be used, which, in the case of war, makes it extremely important to both political and military leaders."[38]

By restoring Clausewitz's trinity to its proper place we can advance a more comprehensive theory of victory than even Clausewitz himself. The link between military means and political ends forms a fundamental, but insufficient, element of this theory because the singular dimension does not account for the economic and informational instruments of power. The expanded Clausewitzian theory of victory embraces the competitive nature of war, showing the flexibility and utility of the Clausewitzian trinity at the grand and military strategic levels of war. This simple model can help military and political professionals bridge their different conceptual approaches to strategy, leading to better considerations of second- and third-order effects. This deeper understanding and consideration of the inadvertent and adverse consequences of military action is essential to the pursuit of successful grand strategy.

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37   Sun Tzu, *The Art of War*, trans. Samuel B. Griffith (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), 84.

38   Antulio J. Echevarria II, *Globalization and the Nature of War* (Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, 2003), v.

A Clausewitzian Response to "Hyperwarfare"

Brandon T. Euhus
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ABSTRACT: This article encourages operational thinkers to apply the philosophies of Carl von Clausewitz, Thucydides, and Mao Zedong when integrating technology into future war strategy to remember that humans not only begin wars but also end them.

The contemporary literature on future war remains too focused on the tactical level. General John R. Allen and Amir Husain's recent article in *Proceedings* entitled "On Hyperwar" illustrates this fixation. Similar to other writings, Allen and Hussain argue victory, in future war, will be predicated upon integrating increasing levels of artificial intelligence and bypassing human decision-makers.[1] Such an operational concept claims wars will become more efficient, synchronized, and quick to solve the limitations of human endurance and the natural propensity for indecision in the face of uncertainty.

Seeking game-changing capabilities to neutralize potential US adversaries is clearly important; however, writers of this literature often overlook operational applications of future capabilities. Thus, impacts are viewed in isolation.[2] Undeniably, senior leaders have a practical grasp of the nature of war due to the breadth and depth of their experience.

Military and civilian leaders can, however, interpret tech-centric solutions as indications that overcoming near-peer adversaries simply requires technological superiority. Consequently, we run the risk of embracing hardware that conflicts with the nature of war, and we avoid a serious discussion of how a thinking enemy may respond and adjust.

The key failure of most discussions on future systems stems from the claim that these capabilities can somehow override the factors of fog, friction, and uncertainty—or even change human nature. Ultimately, this assumption obscures the fact that war is the use of violence to impose one's will on the enemy. This article argues that separating the nature of war from the character of warfare makes understanding the integration of innovative technologies and their roles in future wars easier.

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1 John R. Allen and Amir Husain, "On Hyperwar," *Proceedings* 143, no. 7 (July 2017): 30–37; and B.A. Friedman, *On Tactics: A Theory of Victory in Battle* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute, 2017).

2 For more on the 4+1 framework, which includes Russia, China, North Korea, Iran and transnational violent extremism, see Fred Dews, "Joint Chiefs Chairman Dunford on the "4+1 Framework and Meeting Transnational Threats," *Brookings Now* (blog), Brookings, February 24, 2017, https://www.brookings.edu/blog/brookings-now/2017/02/24/joint-chiefs-chairman-dunford-transnational-threats/.

Nature of War versus Character of Warfare

Does distinguishing between the nature of war and character of warfare matter? Yes, and the difference is more than nuance and actually determines how we think about war. Antulio J. Echevarria II argues "our understanding of war's nature, or whether we believe it has one, influences how we approach the conduct of war—how we develop military strategy, doctrine and concepts, and train and equip combat forces."[3] An understanding of the nature of war establishes the intellectual foundation upon which the character of warfare develops. In other words, a flawed foundation compromises the entire structure.

Therefore, a common understanding of the nature of war should be achieved before discussing types of warfare like drone, artificial intelligence (AI), and cyber. Echevarria warns "many discussions of the nature of war, however, fail to distinguish between war, as an act of violence, and warfare, as the technique of applying that violence."[4] This oversight results in conflating the two terms. Just as a sailboat tossed by the wind and the sea risks landing on rocks when the captain lacks situational awareness, a discussion of future capabilities will result in operational failure if strategists do not maintain a clear eye on the nature of war.

Carl von Clausewitz compared warfare in each age to a chameleon in the sense that societal values influence the character of warfare. Moreover, Clausewitz reminds us "war is more than a true chameleon that slightly adapts its characteristics to the given case."[5] For Clausewitz, war is a phenomenon dominated by three interrelated tendencies generally translated as enmity, reason, and chance and probability.[6] Each tendency is associated with a particular entity, specifically the civilian population (enmity), the government (reason), and the military (chance and probability). Aspects of each tendency exist within each category—for example, the military realm, characterized by chance and probability, also contains elements of enmity and reason. The distinction highlights the inherent interdependent interactions among the tendencies and defies reductionist attempts to treat the tendencies as variables within an algebraic equation.

What is War?

War constitutes an extreme contest among conscious beings. The clash of wills relates to the three tendencies, especially enmity, informing the means selected (violence) to fulfill the aim (disarmament) and to achieve the purpose (impose will). In this way, the level of enmity—or hostility—acts as a wellspring supporting the will. Likewise, enmity applies equally to supranational organizations and the individuals

3   Antulio J. Echevarria II, *Clausewitz and Contemporary War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 58.

4   Echevarria, *Clausewitz and Contemporary War*, 57.

5   Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, trans. and ed. Michael Howard and Peter Paret (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), 89.

6   Clausewitz, *On War*, 89.

occupying the battlefield. "Peace may be the ultimate object of war," as Clausewitz acknowledged, "but war . . . occurs whenever one party resists the violent actions of another."[7] In other words, war only occurs when a defender opposes the attacker.

The nature of war also remains oriented on destroying the enemy's forces and seizing terrain, an interaction often overlooked in the current preoccupation with drones and artificial intelligence technology. In order to achieve war's purpose, it is necessary to wage violence and render an enemy powerless. Discussions of technological developments related to drone, swarm, and cyber warfare obscure this reality—or at a minimum, undersell how difficult it is to impose one's will on the enemy—in favor of focusing on supporting friendly force efforts to reduce fog and friction and devising ways to keep humans off the battlefield.

Although empty battlefields have been a trend since at least the mid-nineteenth century, battles and decisive engagements occur among humans. This sentiment is not merely romantic but relates to an appreciation of war as an extreme contest of wills among conscious beings, which requires a series of purposeful engagements oriented toward disarming the enemy and imposing one's will.

The following section offers historical examples that illustrate how concepts drive doctrine, and it explains the consequences when either fails to embed the character of warfare within the nature of war. Concepts drive doctrine by anticipating future requirements and framing the discussion; however, the real work of converting concepts into doctrine involves the painstaking task of socializing concepts. The DOTmLPF-P analysis process, which examines doctrine, organization, training, matériel, leadership and education, personnel, facilities, and policy, exemplifies this complexity.[8] In the United States, this effort requires appealing to Congress for funding and gaining the active support of the affected military services. Frequently, such concepts are organized around some kind of technological innovation.

Likewise, advancements in technology are not sole factors that enable military revolution. Future war discussions often base conclusions on a capability's game changing—and theoretical—contributions at the tactical level. This posture limits the accuracy of efforts to capture efficacy at the operational level. Historian Clifford J. Rogers argued technological change accounts for only one of four essential ingredients needed to generate a revolution in military affairs.[9] Others noted, "Military revolutions recast society and the state as well military organizations" whereas revolutions in military affairs (RMAs)

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7   Echevarria, *Clausewitz and Contemporary War,* 143.

8   "DOTmLPF-P Analysis," Defense Acquisition University, June 16, 2017, https://www.dau .mil/acquipedia/Pages/ArticleDetails.aspx?aid=d11b6afa-a16e-43cc-b3bb-ff8c9eb3e6f2.

9   Clifford J. Rogers, "As if a New Sun Had Arisen: England's Fourteenth-Century RMA," in *The Dynamics of Military Revolution: 1300–2050,* ed. MacGregor Knox and Williamson Murray (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 18. Historian John T. Kuehn explained there is a "discriminator of control" where "RMAs have a level of human control that military-social revolutions do not" (message to author, July 19, 2017).

take advantage of the transformative nature of military revolutions to innovate a "new conceptual approach to warfare or to a specialized sub-branch of warfare" since "the most effective mix is rarely apparent in advance."[10] Other components include systems development, operational innovation, and organizational adaptation.[11]

Evolution of Warfare

In other words, technology alone is no more likely to result in a military revolution than buying grapes allows you to make great wine. Nonetheless, technological advancements are often touted as reducing fog and friction, or at least making wars quicker and less violent. This perspective, probably a hangover of the European Enlightenment, received broad support even into the twentieth century.[12] But Clausewitz noted, "The invention of gunpowder and the constant improvement of firearms are enough in themselves to show that the advance of civilization has done nothing practical to alter or deflect the impulse to destroy the enemy, which is central to the very idea of war."[13] This fact remains true.

Industrial Weaponry

In the years leading up to World War I, European leaders, especially in Germany, appreciated the lethality of modern weapons and expanded rail lines to enable mobilization and concentration on a massive scale. The ability to concentrate force, combined with increased lethality, was argued to ensure wars would be short precisely because they would be so violent. Strangely, armies, supported by inexhaustible moral fortitude, were assumed to retain their ability to mount spirited offensives into prepared defenses and withering machinegun fire; however, not all were convinced.[14] In 1899, a Polish banker named Ivan Stanislavovich Bloch published a startlingly accurate, largely ignored, treatise that disagreed with the popular opinion and sought to convince political leaders that wars of entrenchment would dominate the immediate future.[15] The war's opening moves offered a lethal laboratory for the ongoing debate regarding the changing character of warfare.

The French army's actions to prevent the Germans from reaching the sea led to the so-called miracle of the Marne. Commanders on both sides began to realize that instead of achieving martial glory through bold offensives and skilled flanking maneuvers, men would remain in destitute trenches stretching for hundreds of miles. Swift, violent

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10 Knox and Williamson, *Dynamics of Military Revolution*, 12.

11 Rogers, "New Sun," 18.

12 Arthur Herman, *The Cave and the Light: Plato versus Aristotle, and the Struggle for the Soul of Western Civilization* (New York: Random House, 2013), 366–67.

13 Clausewitz, *On War*, 76.

14 Michael Howard, "Men against Fire: The Doctrine of the Offensive in 1914," in *Makers of Modern Strategy: From Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age,* ed. Peter Paret (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), 518–19.

15 Ivan Stanislavovich Bloch, *The Future of War in Its Technical, Economic, and Political Relations: Is War Now Impossible?* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1900).

actions were replaced with a methodical battle based on the artillery's significant firepower. This reality necessitated expending millions of rounds in preparation for costly assaults, which even in the best cases only facilitated small, disconnected penetrations.[16]

Concepts and doctrine preceding World War I appreciated the devastating power of modern weapons; however, they failed to grasp changes in the character of warfare, specifically the strength of the defense. Additionally, armies on all sides discounted the effects of fog, friction, and uncertainty as well as the depth of enmity animating the will. In other words, they failed to take into account how the enemy would respond and adapt. The nature of war did not change; however, misreading the character of warfare obscured realities.

Tactical Foundations

The famed, and much studied, German blitzkrieg against France in World War II succeeded primarily because French doctrine was flawed. German tactical innovations during the interwar period solved the problems of static defenses that characterized the Great War. The majority of these innovations focused on calibrating a quantitative balance among armored, mechanized, and infantry to penetrate and exploit enemy defenses. The Wehrmacht's penchant for tactical actions, however, came at the cost of strengthening their intelligence and sustainment capabilities. Arguably, this distaste for supporting functions meant tactical innovations, over the long term, would miss opportunities to link engagements in a meaningful way. Additionally, whether due to cultural, geopolitical, or ideological reasons, German war planners included too many invalid assumptions to support a normative perspective.

In the end, Germany ultimately suffered a decisive defeat. As historians Williamson Murray and Allan R. Millett wrote, "No amount of operational virtuosity . . . redeemed fundamental flaws in political judgment. . . . Mistakes in operations and tactics can be corrected, but political and strategic mistakes live forever."[17] The examples provided by World War II provide a myriad of lessons learned, not least of which includes ensuring war plans reflect geostrategic realities. Germany's swift defeat of the French army indicated a greater appreciation for the changing character of warfare; however, the Allied response demonstrated the level of will achievable when the wellspring of enmity runs deep.

Pentomic Concept

In the Cold War's early years, the US Army, under the leadership of General Maxwell D. Taylor, reorganized infantry and airborne

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16   Robert A. Doughty, "French Operational Art 1888–1940," in *Historical Perspectives of the Operational Art*, ed. Michael D. Krause and R. Cody Phillips (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, 2005), 82.

17   Allan R. Millett and Williamson Murray, "Lessons of War," *National Interest* 14 (Winter 1988/9): 85.

formations into pentomic divisions. Without doubt this period was transformative for the US military and came on the heels of the Korean War and the French defeat at the Battle of Dien Bien Phu. A strange confluence of high-tech weapons and a resurgence of revolutionary warfare spread across Eastern Europe and Asia. Americans felt a nuclear war with the Soviet Union was a distinct possibility. Civilian and military decision-makers faced a complex set of security challenges and often disagreed on how to solve them.

For the Army, the pentomic design was "adopted as an interim measure for the Cold War" and incorporated tactical nuclear weapons to defeat Soviet invaders in large-scale battles occurring in densely-populated European cities.[18] The guiding doctrine emphasized the concepts of dispersion, mobility, and flexibility.[19] The intent was for infantry formations on the battlefield to avoid the enemy's nuclear strikes by remaining dispersed, yet retain enough mobility to enable concentration when ordered. The development of the Pentomic Division sought to renew the Army's relevance as a land force in a postnuclear international system and required competing with the Air Force and Navy for resources.

The Army instituted changes across the DOTmLPF-P continuum and invested in advanced weapon systems including air defense, missiles, space exploration, and a portfolio of tactical nuclear weapons with innocuous names like Little John, Honest John, and Davy Crockett. "Yet having acquired its missiles and nuclear weapons, and having adopted its pentomic structure," A. J. Bacevich reflects, "the Army found itself by the end of the 1950s organized not to fight but almost solely to deter."[20] The Army attempted to match its organization for "rapid technological advance."[21] And in doing so, "the Army dangerously lost its focus, leading to rushed force designs and incomplete testing and wargaming throughout the Pentomic division's development."[22]

The military leaders responsible for leading the pentomic era were the heroes of World War II and the Korean War. But, the noise that promoted the changing character of warfare encouraged deviations in force structures and weapon procurement. Ironically, these reductions resulted in an Army that inadvertently violated its own ideal of flexibility and promoted doctrine that lacked realistic application at the operational level. Likewise, "severe equipment and technical shortcomings also ensured that the Pentomic division was simply not prepared to succeed in conventional warfare."[23] In short, the Army was unprepared to fight an atomic or a conventional war.

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18   Virgil Ney, *Evolution of the U.S. Army Division 1939–1968* (Springfield, VA: Clearinghouse for Federal Scientific & Technical Information, 1969), 74.

19   Richard W. Kedzior, *Evolution and Endurance: The U.S. Army Division in the Twentieth Century* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2000), 25.

20   A. J. Bacevich, *The Pentomic Era: The U.S. Army between Korea and Vietnam* (Washington, DC: National Defense University Press, 1986), 141.

21   Bacevich, *Pentomic Era*, 4.

22   Kedzior, *Evolution and Endurance*, 27.

23   Kedzior, *Evolution and Endurance*, 27.

Bacevich adds to Arthur S. Collins's observation that "'our American enthusiasm for more gadgets and fewer men has carried us away' with results that were wrongheaded and even dangerous."[24] Ultimately, the realities of this unworkable design gave way to a more realistic, although equally tenuous, doctrine of active defense. Army leaders justified the pentomic design to the public by heedlessly leaping between tactics and strategy while ignoring the elements of fog, friction, and chance. The key takeaway from this period is to recognize the danger of restructuring organizations and doctrine to fit an invalid character of warfare, especially when it precludes purposeful analysis and honest wargaming at the operational level.

Operational Tactics

In the case of Vietnam, Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara sought to match a vigorous bombing campaign with diplomatic overtures in an attempt to demonstrate American power and compel Hanoi to negotiate. The approach failed because it was premised on flawed assumptions and did not account for the extreme measures the North Vietnamese were willing to take to continue fighting.[25] This scenario is an example of the complexity created by the interdependent relationship of the three tendencies (enmity, reason, and chance) and increased by the factors of fog, friction, and uncertainty.

Likewise, failing to anticipate an enemy's response is characteristic of flashy technological pitches claiming "shock and awe" will drain the enemy's will and paralyze its decision-making. This outcome rarely happens, and it certainly does not last long enough to exploit the advantage and achieve decisive victory. Domino warfare, for example, and its related subcategories of effects-based operations, network-centric warfare, and systemic operational design are entrancing as characters of warfare but fail when they are nested within the nature of war.[26] Each one overlooks war as an extreme contest among conscious beings.

Effects-based operations and similar constructs fail because they misjudge the relationship between combatants. When employed in situations where actors are willing to modify their behavior to preserve the system's structure, effects-based operations work. In hierarchical organizations with an observable power differential, such as those that exist between a boss and employee or a parent and child, the construct will be successful because one entity is willing to be subordinate to the other. Therefore, one can impose his will without using physical violence to disarm the opponent: there is no defense and thus no war.

This principle suggests that accounting for the enemy's response requires the ability to explain how tactical engagements are likely to unfold and to set the conditions for subsequent actions. This capability

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24 Arthur S. Collins Jr., "The Other Side of the Atom," *Army* 10 (November 1959): 18–19, quoted in Bacevich, *Pentomic Era*, 138.

25 Robert Jervis, *Systems Effects: Complexity in Political and Social Life* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), 271.

26 John T. Kuehn, letter to the editor, *Joint Force Quarterly* 55 (4th Quarter 2009): 7.

requires developing both friendly and enemy operational approaches to envision how an enemy may adapt to new technologies. As such, the development of an enemy's possible operational approach is iterative and it must be refined as enemy actions either confirm or deviate from the strategist's assumptions.

The character of warfare calibrates the means necessary to achieve the aim and fulfill the purpose; however, it must act according to the nature of war and not seek to make war something foreign to itself.[27] Clausewitz wrote, "Strategy is the use of the engagement for the purpose of the war. The strategist must therefore define an aim for the entire operational side of the war that will be in accordance with its purpose."[28] This concept underscores the necessity of thinking at the operational level and not relying on sleight of hand or a deus ex machina to shift between tactics and strategy.

Digital Battlefields

The Persian Gulf War demonstrated that the integration of digitization and precision-guided munitions could accelerate decision-making and shorten the kill chain against a large, and presumably modern, military.[29] Coalition actions during the conflict expertly calibrated efforts across war's means, aim, and purpose. America's unanswered technological overmatch sought to replace fog, friction, and uncertainty with high degrees of efficiency, lethality, and synchronization. But, the total dominance exhibited by coalition forces prompted several adversarial nations, including Russia and China, to commission studies analyzing ways to overcome the emergent character of warfare, which resulted in publications such as *Unrestricted Warfare*.[30]

Over time, America's adversaries developed ways to mitigate and to overcome the US military's conventional superiority by calculating our threshold for the employment of war's means. Their goal is to shift the character of warfare from digitization and precision-guided munitions toward gray-zone activities while simultaneously preparing for conventional war. Conversely, the intoxicating effects of the Persian Gulf War revalidated the US obsession with high-tech systems and the importance of maintaining that character of warfare.

America's pursuit of new offsets seeks to minimize further, if not eliminate, the factors of fog, friction, and uncertainty. Arguably, the original intent behind the development of digitization and precision munitions was to make war's means more lethal and effective; however, precision munitions can lull decision-makers into a false sense of superiority while increasing sensitivity to perceptions of collateral damage. Ultimately, the inability to discern between the nature of war

27   "Pity the theory that conflicts with reason!" Clausewitz, *On War*, 136.

28   Clausewitz, *On War*, 177.

29   Gregory Fontenot, E.J. Degen, and David Tohn, *On Point: The United States Army in Operation Iraqi Freedom* (Fort Leavenworth, KS: Combat Studies Institute Press, 2004), 9.

30   Liang Qiao and Xiangsui Wang, *Unrestricted Warfare: China's Master Plan to Destroy America* (Beijing: PLA Literature and Arts Publishing House, 1999).

and the character of warfare constrains military actions and often results in protracted limited wars for limited aims.

Advancing Technology

Osama bin Laden's terror attacks on September 11, 2001, sought to inflict maximum violence against American citizens on American soil. His purpose was to bring the United States to its knees and force an immediate withdrawal from the Middle East. Obviously, the attacks had the opposite effect and he was killed. Despite Saddam Hussein's execution for crimes against humanity, bin Laden's death during a US raid of his compound, and the rapid overthrow of the Taliban in Afghanistan, America remains embroiled in a long-term struggle against fundamentalism.

The conflict continues to transform and spread to new geographic locales. The fight is waged against an enemy that lacks—and exploits—America's technological dominance. Nonstate actors, who lack high-tech capacities and cannot prevent friendly access to the sophisticated architecture undergirding command and control, movement and maneuver, and munitions guidance, provide nations, like the United States, with opportunities to test new capabilities.

This superiority can lead to a reliance on systems that makes the means of war easier to employ against terrorists, but the practice may codify a character of warfare unsuitable against a near-peer threat. Historian John A. Lynn noted, "The culture of technological gullibility invites defeat by ignoring the unchanging reality of war as the domain of chance, violence, and politics."[31] This technological gullibility can be overcome by paying increased attention to the operational level of war and by envisioning how a thinking enemy, possessing a will buoyed by enmity, may react to and resist war's aim and purpose.

Likewise, when faced with a near-peer enemy, technological advancements aimed at increasing information flow may result in the opposite effect. Arguably, after a certain point, an increase in information intensifies fog and friction and delays decision-making. The irony is most commanders want more information to validate assumptions and mitigate risk. This phenomenon is not new. Clausewitz wrote, "Many intelligence reports in war are contradictory; even more are false, and most are uncertain."[32] Unfortunately, in a future war against a near-peer enemy, an increase in information is likely to increase burdens on the commander, add layers of bureaucracy, and lengthen decision-making timelines. In short, technological pronouncements claiming the ability to increase information flow and shorten decision-making should be met with skepticism.

Technological advances that attempt to subvert or obscure the nature of war are misleading. Readers of Thucydides's *Peloponnesian War*

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31   John A. Lynn, "Forging the Western Army in Seventeenth-Century France," in Knox and Murray, *Dynamics of Military Revolution*, 56.
32   Clausewitz, *On War*, 117.

are confronted with the realization that the motives of fear, honor, and interest (or profit) remain just as applicable today as they were in ancient Greece.[33] Likewise, his reconstruction of key speeches highlight human nature's willingness to replace an understanding of the nature of war with a self-reflecting character of warfare oblivious to the factors of fog, friction, and uncertainty.

Quo Vadis?

Humans end wars. This fact relates to war's purpose and the requirement to impose one's will on the enemy. Drones and robots certainly have utility as a means to wage violence in pursuit of rendering an enemy powerless, but human political leaders are not likely to surrender to robots. Additionally, the inclusion of drones and artificial intelligence in warfare are likely to make war messier and increase enmity among all entities. Why is this the case? Experience in Iraq and Afghanistan confirmed the natural aversion toward suffering remote attacks: improvised explosive devices have deleterious effects on friendly forces, complicating the operational environment, making simple tasks more difficult, and necessitating more moral and matériel resources. This complexity erodes political will.

Likewise, in the face of effective manned and unmanned air strikes, the enemy has adopted extreme operational security measures. Western scholars and government officials continue to debate the legality and ethics of improvised explosive devices and drone strikes. But, the negative consequences of engaging in protracted war are well documented by Sun Tzu, who advised against them, and Mao Zedong, who used them with success against the Japanese.[34] This dichotomy is one of the reasons defense is the stronger form of warfare. Protraction blunts the attacker's means and stalls the aim, which prevents achieving the purpose.

Improvised explosive devices and air strikes are low-tech compared with robot-led warfare; however, human responses to the low-tech weapons may indicate future responses to the presence of high-tech assets on the battlefield. As experts grapple with the character of drone and artificial intelligence warfare, the logical starting point must emphasize that *humans end wars*. A failure to orient on this fact risks deviating toward a purely tactical discussion on the character of robotic warfare as opposed to the more meaningful study on integrating such warfare into the nature of war. Again, this detail relates to war's purpose: drone swarms may be able to start wars, but they cannot end them. Humans retain this responsibility. Authority can be delegated, responsibility cannot.

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33   Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, trans. C. F. Smith (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1919).

34   Sun Tzu observed "no country has ever benefited from a protracted war," and Mao Zedong advised "energies must be directed toward the goal of protracted war so that should the Japanese occupy much of our territory or even most of it, we shall still gain final victory." Sun Tzu, *The Art of War*, trans. Samuel B. Griffith (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963), 41; and Mao Tse-tung, *On Guerrilla Warfare*, trans. Samuel B. Griffith II (Mineola, NY: Dover, 2005), 69.

War only exists if the enemy fights back. Offense does not make a war, defense does. As Clausewitz writes, "The animosity and the reciprocal effects of hostile elements, cannot be considered to have ended so long as the enemy's *will* has not been broken."[35] If an entity uses robots to conduct a massive offensive and destroys the opponent's entire robot army, does the war end? Or did a naïve population just realize they would have to fight the war themselves? Are they ready? What is the legal justification of the casus belli and enmity animating their will?

In the event of a successful large-scale offensive using robots, the opponent will not likely stop fighting because of drones or robots. The defenders' enmity will likely increase, thereby hardening their will. Arguably, a robot attack is a humiliating and dehumanizing, if not outright fearful, prospect. In fact, it is more likely incorporating autonomous drones and robots will increase enmity to a fever pitch. In other words, a series of drone battles only delays, and exacerbates, the inevitable clash of human wills. As Clausewitz mentioned, "Theorists are apt to look on fighting in the abstract as a trial of strength without emotion entering into it."[36] A myopic focus on machine warfare may actually cede the physical and moral initiative to an enemy unable, or unwilling, to field a robot army, and may increase the intellectual gap between the military and the civilian society.

Likewise, the United States remains focused on preserving Pax Americana. This priority requires containing or deterring adversaries, supporting allies, and maintaining the status quo, but it also induces a degree of strategic malaise that negatively impacts risk assessment and resource allocation, often leading to protracted conflicts for limited aims. A ceaseless flow of operational requirements results in a high degree of force dispersion, with a constrained ability to concentrate forces, without accepting significant risk in another area. This strategy assumes forces will be reallocated as necessary, but also encourages organizations to adopt a "react to contact" approach.

Arguably, the current paradigm promotes sensitivity to short-term disturbances, especially when the problem is solvable with forces already assigned. This model is less effective for addressing underlying causes over the long term because maintaining the status quo requires a dispersed force lay down. Increasing force levels, even by a small margin, usually necessitates shifting assets across combatant commands, a move that requires justification—and political will—even for very short-term situations. This construct cedes the initiative to the enemy who watches and learns, operating below the traditional US thresholds for employing war's means. This dichotomy subverts one's appreciation for the nature of war, replacing it with a ceaseless search for a character of warfare that promises to solve short-term security issues and maintain the status quo. Again, this perspective leads to normative vice empirical theorizing that becomes dominated by a discussion on how a capability or activity

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35   Clausewitz, *On War*, 90.
36   Clausewitz, *On War*, 138.

supports friendly actions instead of the connection with war's aim and purpose. In short, a discussion on future war should remain wedded to an understanding of the nature of war.

Finally, the current emphasis on promoting high-tech platforms in professional journals, popular science fiction, and the media limits the discussion to the tactical level. Likewise, conflating the character of warfare with the nature of war prevents appreciating how capabilities function at the operational level of war. Therefore, accounting for the operational level—instead of leaping between tactics and strategy—elucidates how a thinking enemy will respond and adjust.

The United States pursues increasingly lethal means for waging war while also striving to reduce occurrences of warfare to the smallest amount possible. This endeavor is not a contradiction, but if unaccounted for, distorts the conceptual nature of war and character of warfare. Historical examples demonstrate the risks of failing to appreciate war's nature and the importance of thinking like an operational artist. Thus, this article does not diminish the importance of technological innovation outright but serves as a reminder that the blind pursuit of the next "decisive" capability, or offset, may come at the cost of personnel readiness, diverse platforms, and appreciation of war's objective nature.

Book Reviews

Army of None: Autonomous Weapons and the Future of War

By Paul Scharre

Reviewed by Robert J. Bunker, adjunct research professor, Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College

New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2018

448 pages

$27.95

Army of None represents a ten-year intellectual effort that draws upon Paul Scharre's deep subject matter expertise related to autonomous weapons systems and the concurrent ethical and policy considerations that come with their development, fielding, and use. Scharre—a former US Army Ranger with multiple tours in Iraq and Afghanistan and the Office of the Secretary of Defense working group leader for Department of Defense Directive 3000.09, *Autonomy in Weapon Systems*, November 21, 2012—is a senior fellow and director, Technology and National Security, Center for a New American Security.

Scharre accedes to technological determinism and military pragmatism; he recognizes autonomous systems and artificial intelligence (AI) have gradually emerged in the arsenals of the world's great powers and will proliferate over time into those of lesser political entities and even the more bellicose nonstate actors. The work focuses on this military evolutionary process and the many issues surrounding it. Just as AIs could conceivably engage in sociopathic behaviors for end-state fulfillment, it could be said that *Army of None* also possesses its own inherent contradictions that, at times, provide us with a sense of an analytic amorality (238). This is because the author is attempting to balance military necessity—the United States must gain dominance in these new systems—while simultaneously promoting liberal democratic and basic human values.

The book is divided into six parts with the following thematic foci—part 1, "Robopocalypse Now"; part 2, "Building the Terminator"; part 3, "Runaway Gun"; part 4, "Flash War"; part 5, "The Fight to Ban Autonomous Weapons"; and part 6, "Averting Armageddon: The Weapon of Policy." Within each of these parts of the book, three to five chapters are clustered together to develop a thematic focus of the twenty-one book chapters. The book also contains an introduction, robust notes (tied to sentence fragment quote strings), acknowledgements, abbreviations, an index, 31 black and white photos, and various tables, figures, and diagrams. However, no formal reference listing exists for the reader to do follow-on topical reading. Scharre's institutional knowledge of the subject matter and "topical access" derived from numerous Department of Defense and related organizational personage interviews—with policymakers and officials, scientists and weaponeers, and philosophers and ethicists—provide context and additional insider accuracy to his writing and analysis.

The work logically progresses from one part to the next. For those new to AI, a host of new concepts and terminology are provided such as that of "perverse instantiation," "ethical governor," and "centaur
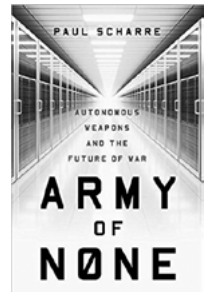
warfighters" (239, 281, 322). An interweaving of real world military history, operations, and technology with science fiction works and movies makes for a lively juxtaposition of the real and the imagined. An interesting component of this detailed book is that glimpses of countermeasures to armed AI robots appear within it. These include "hidden exploits"—deep neural nets perceiving image patterns that humans don't, which allow AI to be manipulated and attempt to trick AI into misunderstanding human intent by mimicking conditions such as *hors de combat* or surrender behavior (183–88, 258–60). Additionally, the preconditions have been laid within the work to look deeper into human, centaur (human/AI), and AI ground force combinations and their pros and cons for future combat scenarios. A continuum of military tradeoffs exists with speed, complexity, and morality representing some of the dominant factors. While humans in and on the loop are always preferred, the demands of some future engagements will quickly surpass human cognitive loads that will likely take us into Faustian dilemmas related to the costs of victory and how it was achieved.

Coming from a professional military and defense analyst perspective, criticisms of the work are relatively muted as it is well researched and written. Arms control advocates of the "Stop Killer Robots" variety, however, see this subject matter very differently and are aghast that Scharre and others like him who represent great power interests have moved beyond the debate and are accepting these systems as a fait accompli. Still, it must be remembered that relying too much on AI in the future—especially that of the more artificial general intelligence variety—is reminiscent of World War I-like mobilization protocols, which once tripped, were out of human ability to stop (231–33). Additionally, Terminator and Skynet archetypes, which draw upon historical lessons related to armed slaves turning on their masters, will also always haunt us vis-à-vis armed autonomous systems.

Even with such concerns, this is a superb and accessible book actually deserving of the media hype surrounding it. It is set at an affordable price (and even more so when the cheaper paperback version is released). The reviewer readily endorses the work for war college and graduate level national security courses. He also concurs with the assessment of many other defense professionals that *Army of None* represents a tour de force concerning autonomous weapons, the moral implications stemming from their use, and the combat potentials—and pitfalls—of utilizing militarized AI itself.
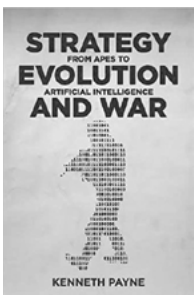
Strategy, Evolution, and War: From Apes to Artificial Intelligence

By Kenneth Payne

Reviewed by Dr. Richard M. Meinhart, professor of defense and joint processes, Department of Command, Leadership, and Management, US Army War College

Strategy, Evolution, and War by Kenneth Payne deeply explores the evolution of strategy in war from a human perspective while considering how artificial intelligence (AI) may influence tactical and

strategic perspectives of future strategy development. The book's front cover engages the reader's mind in an inquisitive manner with the subtitle *From Apes to Artificial Intelligence* and an image of an artificial person with a weapon developed from a few hundred 0s and 1s. Key strategy insights from a war perspective that integrate different theories, strategists, and a variety of historical and current examples are well supported by almost 400 academic sources. The complexity associated with Payne's many insights requires careful reading and reflection to fully appreciate and apply them.

In the introduction's first two paragraphs, Payne succinctly identifies the book's focus and conclusion. He defines strategy as "the purposeful use of violence for political ends." Hence, the book's focus is on war versus other strategy-related endeavors. He then states "strategy is soon to undergo something of a dramatic transformation because machines will make important decisions about war and will do so without input from human minds." He summarizes the psychology of strategy, its historical evolution from ancient Greece to nuclear weapons, and the tactical and strategic influence of artificial intelligence that sets the stage for the book's eight chapters, which are organized in three key parts: "The Evolution of Strategists," "Culture Meets Evolved Strategy," and "Artificial Intelligence and Strategy."

The first chapter, "Defining Strategy as Psychology," provides context for strategy's overall psychological evolution from human and cultural perspectives dating from classical Greek Thucydidan insights on the Peloponnesian War to a more distinct strategy in Europe's eighteenth century with key examples associated with Carl von Clausewitz and the Napoleonic Wars. Building on the psychology of strategy, the next chapter delves deeper into the inseparability of strategic and human evolution. Payne provides examples of how cognitive abilities and consciousness have changed from chimps to humans, who organize into larger social groups, and the strategy implications of warfare. The last chapter of part 1 examines how a leader's strategy, which is ultimately a distinct choice, can be greatly influenced by heuristics and biases. He discusses different biases that can favor groups or actions, including risk assessment, that can influence decision-making. Included in this cognitive discussion are examples of the connectedness of emotions and consciousness when making strategy decisions as well as ways to ameliorate heuristic errors.

Part 2 provides three chapters on the history of human culture and war affecting the psychology of behavior and strategy based upon ancient Greece and the Peloponnesian War, Carl von Clausewitz on warfare and strategy associated with the Napoleonic Wars, and the influence of nuclear weapons strategy. The discussion on ancient Greece illustrates how writing and inquiry provided cultural and strategic insights on the interaction of weapons, warriors, and society changing overtime. The chapter on Clausewitz and the Napoleonic Wars explores how the character of war changed to generate and employ force including fog and friction as well as determining a center of gravity. While technology and weaponry changed, key strategy insights included the intimate connection between armed forces and society. The last chapter of part 2 provides examples of how nuclear weapons were profoundly disruptive and influenced thinking on the use of force through examining the Cold War in general and the Cuban missile crisis specifically. A key point

Payne makes is that nuclear weapons influenced the rationality and consciousness of strategy decisions due to the consequences of using such weapons. But overall, he did not consider this psychologically revolutionary for strategy.

While the book's first two parts discuss strategy from psychological, historical, and human perspectives that have been widely examined in multiple academic venues, part 3 examines the potential AI will have on strategy from both tactical and strategic perspectives. The chapter entitled "Tactical Artificial Intelligence Arrives" focuses on battlefield strategy using AI technology, algorisms, and computing power versus human decisions on when and how to attack in multiple warfighting domains. Key points Payne makes are that tactical AI lacks a sense of meaning, AI decisions will be much quicker with an offensive versus defensive focus, and AI tactical decisions can have strategic consequences. He also identifies how AI technology may dramatically shift the balance of military power between states and how humans may be out of the decision loop, which undercuts a mission-command philosophy. The "Artificial General Intelligence Does Strategy" chapter is somewhat speculative regarding what-might-happen or what-could-happen events. He identifies that AGI's potential future development and strategy implications should be considered even though "defining AGI (artificial general intelligence) is no easy matter as the concept is rather underspecified," and there are differences between AGI and human intelligence.

Strategy, Evolution, and War insightfully examines strategy's evolution in warfare and potential for the future. The influence of nuclear weapons on strategy in the recent past is very relevant to national security and military professionals as nuclear capabilities and strategy are currently being discussed in today's national security environment. Similarly the use and potential growth of AI can have far-reaching effects on future warfare strategy decisions. In today's evolving security environment, these factors must be well understood by senior leaders to preclude blind spots in decision-making relating to the future of AI across the many levels and domains of warfighting.
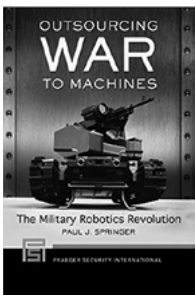
Outsourcing War to Machines: The Military Robotics Revolution

By Paul J. Springer

Reviewed by Robert J. Bunker, adjunct research professor, Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College

The author of *Outsourcing War to Machines*, Dr. Paul J. Springer, is a military historian and a professor at the Air Command and Staff College, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama. He also authored *Military Robots and Drones: A Reference Handbook* and contributed to two more recent works on cyberwarfare. His new effort refocuses his academic efforts on robotic systems, including unmanned and primarily human teleoperated equipment, that can be utilized for a variety of military missions. As such, the work "provide[s] context to the rise and deployment of military

robotics. It raises issues with the legality and morality of using these advanced systems and critiques the ways in which they have been used in recent conflicts" (3). The work is contemporary and US-focused given our extensive use of intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance and armed drones in the Global War on Terror and the fact that we are promoting most of the technological advancement in this area.

The book's initial chapter lays out research design, breaks down topics in each chapter, and offers background information related to definitions, artificial intelligence (AI) and cognition, and war on terror antecedents. The second chapter provides an overview to revolution in military affairs (RMA) thinking and how military robots may be viewed as representative of such a new revolution. The third chapter represents a historical overview of robotics from the ancient past up to the point that the decision was made to first weaponize a Predator drone in 2001. Chapter 4 focuses on the dominant robots that have been deployed in the Global War on Terror, which include the Reaper, multi-function agile remote control robots (MARCbots), and PackBot systems. The rise of mercenary forces and the lethal targeting of American citizens overseas who have committed treason are also covered. The fifth chapter highlights how military robots are viewed within the laws of armed conflict, how their use may require changes in such laws, and how technology is changing American use-of-force behaviors. Chapter 6 looks at armed robots vis-à-vis ethics in war, analyses the relationship of these systems to concepts of proportionality, discrimination, and military necessity and highlights the amoral nature of machines based on programming logic. Chapter 7 provides a contemporary treatment of cyberwarfare—this tangential topical focus will be addressed later in the review. The final chapter provides what is acknowledged to be a light treatment of military robotics futures.

The strengths of the work are that it is well written and logically laid out by an expert in this subject matter. Further, I found the work to be well researched and referenced. It is also priced reasonably well for a hardcover academic text. Many of the discussions provided in the book made for engaging reads such as the historical treatment of the subject.

A specific weakness with the work, however, exists with chapter 7, "The Global Competition." The author principally focuses on cyberwarfare related to Russia, China, Israel, and Iran instead of on emerging armed robotics trends and considerations. This gives the reviewer the impression that cyberwarfare filler was utilized, rather than undertaking new research to flesh out that chapter. The relationship between the emergence of military robotics to the phalanx, gunpowder, and nuclear RMAs in chapter 2 could have also been analyzed more in depth—especially at the force structure, strategic, and most importantly, political organizational form level. The phalanx was an early product of city-states while gunpowder-based weaponry was a manifestation of dynastic states that later transitioned into nation-states. Nuclear weapons represent a late nation-state military capability. This begs to question what political organizational form military robots—most importantly weaponized AI-based ones—may portend.

Overall, the work intentionally focuses more on the context and history behind the military robotics revolution rather than attempting to analyze or project where that revolution may be heading—an

established scholar, Springer specifically points out the folly in making such predictions (195). One of the concluding insights he offers is that "an outright ban on military robotics is unlikely to have much of an effect" (214). Further, outright slaughter will likely be required before any meaningful international bans will be enacted. Related concerns are made earlier concerning the dangers these systems represent—especially in regard to militarized robotics and artificial intelligence—with the 2015 petition circulated against such new revolutionary weaponry (220).

In summation, *Outsourcing War to Machines* will likely continue to exist in the shadow of Paul Scharre's higher profile, more popularized, and affordable work *Army of None*. Springer's book, however, fulfills a much needed contextual and historical grounding in this topic that the student of war should undertake prior to reading more focused efforts on robotic and autonomous systems on the contemporary and future battlefield.

Harsh Lessons: Iraq, Afghanistan and the Changing Character of War

By Ben Barry

Reviewed by Andrew Byers, co-founder, Counter Extremism Network

Ben Barry, OBE, a retired Brigadier and Senior Fellow for Land Warfare at the International Institute for Strategic Studies, has set out to draw lessons for future US and allied military operations, as well as arguments about the changing character of war, from the conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan. *Harsh Lessons* is comprised of five substantive chapters to analyze "the changing character of conflict in the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, with a view to identifying pointers to the future character of conflict" (12). By "character of war," Barry means the Clausewitzian sense, "which encompasses the varying ways and means by which war is fought" (11).

Barry argues the United States came close to strategic defeat in both Iraq and Afghanistan—taking several years to realize that its ends, ways, and means in both conflicts were insufficient for the task. It is from US failures, as well as its successes, that Barry draws his lessons for the future of war.

Chapter 1 provides brief histories of the two conflicts from 2001 through 2015, offering a good, if brief, overview of the two wars—this chapter is not the definitive history of either conflict, nor does it try to be. To Barry, these wars have validated the interdependence of war and politics at the tactical level as well as the effectiveness of the "clear, hold, build" approach in Afghanistan. He argues US defeat in both wars was narrowly avoided by adding personnel surges to conduct counterinsurgency campaigns though he acknowledges that security deteriorated in both cases after responsibility was transferred to Baghdad and Kabul. This outcome suggests a major disconnect in the viability of long-term stability operations and the need for local partners able and willing to provide effective security for civilian populations.

I am skeptical of one claim that Barry makes: the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan have validated US counterinsurgency doctrine (34). This claim seems especially spurious in the case of Afghanistan, a conflict that drags on seventeen years (at the time of this writing) after it began. Afghanistan is surely not a strongly positive case study in the efficacy of US counterinsurgency operations.

Chapter 2 explores the formulation and execution of strategy in both conflicts, command and control, and alliance/coalition command. In the case of Iraq, Barry argues there were interlinked strategic failures: failure to plan adequately for postconflict stabilization, failure to respond to actual (rather than anticipated) conditions after successful regime change, and failure to impose security rapidly in Baghdad, the country's political center of gravity. Barry also highlights the need for unity of effort, which proved to be a significant problem in Afghanistan—only
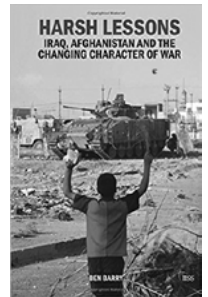
in 2010 were all US troops placed under a unified command. This chapter does highlight one problem with the book: at times, there is too much blurring of the two conflicts, with Iraq and Afghanistan treated as a single pool of experiences and lessons to be learned without adequately differentiating them.

Chapter 3 analyzes the military capabilities, tactics, and operations of both sides in the two conflicts. The strength of this chapter is in Barry's identification of key areas in which a lack of understanding or expertise proved especially deleterious—for example, lack of understanding of cultural differences, such as the problems stemming from the use of dogs inside Iraqi homes; poor intelligence at the tactical level; and a lack of expertise in handling detainees, who could have been important sources of intelligence if treated properly. Barry also points out the limited use of lessons learned from one conflict to another.

Chapter 4 discusses the concept of military adaptation in Iraq and Afghanistan and the need to rapidly change equipment, organization, and methods during war. In both cases, this is largely a story in which insurgents rapidly adapted while the United States and allies struggled to adjust to the conflicts' changing conditions and opponents' actions and capabilities (such as the use of improvised explosive devices).

Chapter 5 explores the utility of force, which allows Barry to examine the conduct and character of contemporary warfare. Here he emphasizes the complexity of war and the unpredictability of enemy actions, providing further discussion of the strategic corporal concept. Just as small unit leaders and actions taken at the tactical level can have disproportionately great effects, they can also have vastly negative effects on the overall war effort, as scandals like the abuse of prisoners at places like Abu Ghraib demonstrated.

Barry's conclusion provides a synthesis of his major arguments on the nature of these wars and likely prospects for future conflicts. He argues the United States deployed inadequate forces and overall effort in building state capacity, after regime changes. In part, this was the product of overconfidence, slowness to adapt to the changing character of war, and too much attraction to the revolution in military affairs, which offered little help in stabilization operations. One of Barry's conclusions deserves repeating: unless regime change is followed by successful stabilization efforts and state institution-building, the resulting conditions are likely to be no better and possibly worse than prior to the campaign (141).

Harsh Lessons is recommended because of its valuable insights about US and allied experiences in the two conflicts. Reading it sparks a great many conversations about the course of these wars, and what they may presage about the future of warfare. While we must be cautious about "overlearning" the lessons of past conflicts—no future conflict will unfold the way that either Iraq or Afghanistan did, and future conflicts with near-peer adversaries will likely look nothing like these campaigns—Barry's effort here is a worthy one.

Israel's Long War with Hezbollah: Military Innovation and Adaptation under Fire

By Raphael D. Marcus

Reviewed by Alma Keshavarz, associate, Small Wars Journal——El Centro

Raphael D. Marcus examines the military history of the conflict between Israel and Hezbollah since 1985. The first part of the book assesses strategic adaptation with an emphasis on Israel's deterrence policy towards Hezbollah. The second examines operational adaptation with a focus on what shaped the Israel Defense Forces's (IDF's) planning and Hezbollah's transformation. Marcus explains how the IDF continuously adjusted its defense policy and its understanding of Hezbollah with each conflict. The author examines key battles and assesses the strategy from the perspectives of Israel and Hezbollah as well as the development and application of the IDF operational warfighting concept in Lebanon. Marcus leads the reader from the beginning of the conflict, through the counterguerrilla campaign, to the Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon, and throughout the war.

The first four chapters of the book provide Hezbollah's background as an unorganized militant group that spearheaded the use of suicide bombings and relied heavily on kidnappings and terrorist attacks. Early in its development, Hezbollah was trained by Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) in "explosive demolition, field intelligence, reconnaissance, and other military skills" (44). Throughout the first decade of Hezbollah's existence, the group engaged in guerrilla warfare, which the IDF fought conventionally. As the author notes, the IDF "conceptually viewed Hezbollah as a routine security threat that was easily dealt with in reactive, low intensity operations" (50). Following the IDF's assassination of Hezbollah's leader, Abbas al-Musawi, in 1992, Hezbollah sought retribution. But high casualty rates during the first decade of the conflict also encouraged the group to reevaluate its technique and strategy towards the IDF. During the 1990s Hassan Nasrallah, Hezbollah's current secretary-general, came to the forefront of Hezbollah's strategic command. Under his leadership, the group evolved from a "terrorist militia to a guerilla force to a commando force" (72). In response, Israel developed the Egoz, which was designed as a clandestine reconnaissance unit that became proficient in concealment techniques, intelligence collection, and urban warfare. This new elite unit was able to embed in southern Lebanon for long periods.

While Hezbollah continued to transform its strategy, the IDF was slow to respond. This is a major theme within the book. Defense Minister Moshe Arens finally adapted the IDF's strategy in the late 1990s with a policy of deterrence. But leveraging the Lebanese government against Syria and Hezbollah was not enough. Domestic pressure led Prime Minister Ehud Barak to unilaterally withdraw the IDF from Lebanon in May 2000, which showed the major rift in civil-military affairs in Israel. As Marcus notes, the IDF's strategic mistake was "the mischaracterization of the nature of the enemy and slow conceptual adaptation" (113). Eventually the IDF changed course and, in 1999, paid greater attention to the threat by acquiring new weapon systems, adjusting its defense
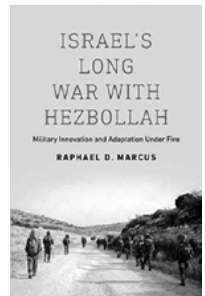
budget, and addressing manpower issues. These changes equated to an Israeli revolution in military affairs (RMA). The author references the IDF perspective on successful US military operations at the onset of the Afghanistan and Iraq Wars, which "validated the utility of the RMA and associated precision technologies" (136). The second half of the book delves deeper into this concept and the Second Lebanon War.

Throughout the course of the book, Marcus demonstrates Hezbollah's effort to take the lessons learned and adapt them to IDF strategy. Although Hezbollah continued persistent rocket fire despite being bombarded by the IDF in 1993 and 1996 conflicts, the author's focus on the 2006 campaign is most noteworthy. Marcus described the IDF's trajectory from the beginning of the conflict with Hezbollah and explained how the force did not manage to respond accordingly. Israel did not lose the war, but neither did Hezbollah; for Hezbollah, it is "victory by not losing" (207). Air campaigns were not sufficient and the authorization to use limited ground operations came later than it should have. What made the fight more difficult for ground operations was that some Hezbollah fighters were uniformed and others were not. It later became apparent that Hezbollah fired rockets from civilian dwellings. Survivability, Iranian assistance, and embedded fighters were some of the challenges the IDF faced. Hezbollah's operational approach blended irregular and guerrilla elements and the IDF was not prepared to fight this type of campaign.

Ultimately, Marcus adequately presents the military history of the Israel-Hezbollah conflict. He features the processes of Israel's political echelons and military officials as well as Hezbollah's leaders, and how both sides adapted their strategies and warfighting techniques with each conflict. *Israel's Long War* explains the IDF's difficulty with military adaptation and conceptualizing the Hezbollah threat. While there are a number of available works covering the long Israel-Hezbollah history, Marcus's work is in the minority that details the operational and strategic aspects of both sides. The book is a significant contribution to the study of this conflict and of Hezbollah. But it also serves as a case study on how militaries—both state and nonstate—can learn from battlefield mistakes and evolve to match threats. The afterword briefly discusses Hezbollah's continued transformation with Iranian and Russian assistance in Syria. Hezbollah has endured losses since the Syrian Civil War started in 2011, but it has also gained invaluable battlefield experiences against the Islamic State and other groups countering Bashar al-Assad's forces. This book is worth the attention of anyone interested in learning the intricacies of the civil-military dynamic and those who seek a deeper knowledge of the military history surrounding the Israel-Hezbollah conflict.

The 1st Infantry Division and the US Army Transformed: Road to Victory in Desert Storm, 1970–1991

By Gregory Fontenot

Reviewed by Colonel Tarn Warren, former chair, Department of Military Strategy, Planning and Operations, US Army War College

Colonel Gregory Fontenot's *The 1st Infantry Division and the US Army Transformed: Road to Victory in Desert Storm, 1970–1991* brings to life the "Big Red One" by telling the story of a US infantry division, reborn from the post-Vietnam malaise, forged into an effective fighting unit, tested in fast-paced conventional combat, and emerging victorious. The book provides a historical narrative that will interest a wide range of readers, from young soldiers and leaders to national policymakers. Indeed, the author exposes several lessons that should leave lasting impressions on those who would contemplate warfare and those who would serve in it. He also thickens the historiography of this topic and uses a wide range of primary and secondary sources, that include hundreds of personal interviews, to tell the story and make his points.

The book starts big, gains focus by plowing through incredible tactical details, and ends big, again with valuable insights. Appropriately, the author begins by providing some context. He adeptly describes the post-Vietnam Army-wide challenges and their negative impact on such elements as force development, training, logistics, and morale. The 1st Infantry Division (1st ID) was hit particularly hard because it was not considered a high-priority unit. As a result of these problems, the book describes how senior Army leadership in the 1970s and 1980s implemented new concepts, doctrine, programs, and equipment such as AirLand Battle, Return of Forces to Germany (REFORGER) exercises, Field Manual 100-5, various weapon systems, and the National Training Center to attempt positive transformation of the force and regain high-end combat effectiveness. More specifically, the author relates how two successive division commanders, General Gordon R. Sullivan and Lieutenant General Thomas G. Rhame, made the most of few resources to slowly improve, in fits and starts, the 1st Infantry Division's combat readiness up to the beginning of the Persian Gulf War in 1991. Fontenot makes it clear they did much with little.

Leading up to the Gulf War, the narrative provides some needed background on Saddam Hussein, Iraq's war with Iran, and Iraq's strategic view at that time. Shifting to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990, the US-led coalition responded and the Big Red One played a significant role. Now the book dives deep and stays there among the division's tactical units until the end, popping up at brief intervals for some strategic air. Fontenot places the reader in the midst of the 1st Infantry Division's battalions and brigades as they struggle to uncoil from Fort Riley, rail to port, load ships, sail and fly to Saudi Arabia, unload, and move 500 kilometers to their assembly areas. A Herculean effort, to be sure, made tougher by never having enough of anything. Throughout, the book also commendably exposes how the fog of war and demands of combat impact key-leader decisions, relationships, and command and control at
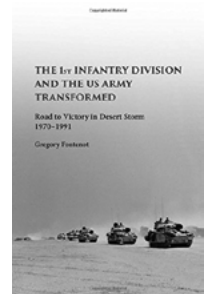
all levels from US Central Command down through VII Corps to the 1st Infantry Division and its subordinate tactical units.

Readers are immersed in the intensive preparations for the attack north and the great "left hook" to roll up the enemy's right flank. With precision and clarity, Fontenot weaves a narrative of leaders and soldiers dealing with confusion, scarcity, surprise, culmination, euphoria, and ultimately, victory—all buoyed by faith in purpose and mission command. Importantly, the book is candid and balanced, exposing failures and fratricide. The author does not cheerlead; instead, through the words of those who were there, he reminds us that the preparation for, and conduct of, large-scale combat operations is hard, really hard.

With an entire mechanized corps on the move, the author makes a big desert small. The author devotes several riveting chapters to the Big Red One's initial breach and subsequent offensive operations, moving the point of view from tank turrets, to resupply columns, to higher operations centers, and to his own tank battalion. As the 100-hour war unfolds, the story grips the reader with first enemy contacts, lost fuel convoys, and navigating at night in a featureless desert without global positioning systems, all in pursuit of the Iraqi Republican Guard. After more than three straight days of combat, fatigue bites hard, and with units stretched out over hundreds of miles, effective command and control is severely strained, if not absent. Fontenot convincingly describes the culmination of VII Corps and the 1st ID on February 28, now well inside Kuwait, due mainly to a lack of gas and sleep. The story concludes with the Big Red One's hasty and difficult transition to improvised stability operations in Kuwait and the long road home, ending back at Fort Riley.

The book concludes with some important points for Army leaders at all levels. First, rigorous training pays off—eventually. The huge investments in concepts, doctrine, equipment, and the National Training Center helped foster success against the fourth largest army in the world at the time. Second, good leadership is decisive amid the chaos of combat, and the US belief in mission command and commanders' intent remains a key, if not unique, strength. Third, Fontenot vividly relates how strained operational and tactical sustainment can be a greater threat to success than enemy resistance. These lessons have particular relevance today as the United States Army refocuses on near-peer competitors. The main criticism of this book is that it could have been shorter and delivered the same effect. The breadth and volume of tactical detail was at times too scattered, somewhat affecting coherence. Nonetheless, through dedicated research and gripping personal accounts, Fontenot tells a worthy war story with timeless lessons for future conflict.

## Anatomy of a Campaign: The British Fiasco in Norway, 1940

By John Kiszley

Reviewed by Dr. James Corum, lecturer, Department of Politics and Contemporary History, Salford University, United Kingdom

The campaign in Norway, which lasted from April to June 1940, is one of the understudied campaigns of World War II. After all, Norway never assumed the decisive importance that both the Germans and the British thought it would have. After the German offensive in the west in May 1940, it was seen as something of a sideshow. Yet the Norwegian campaign highlights an incredible level of deficiencies in the British wartime command and control system at the strategic, operational, and tactical levels at the outset of the war. It was a campaign that the British, French, and Norwegian forces might well have won if only they had possessed a basic competence in joint operations and a command system capable of effective and rapid planning and response. Unfortunately, the Germans possessed an effective command system and understanding of operational warfare in 1940 while the British did not.

Retired Lieutenant General John P. Kiszely, an officer with an impressive background in command and higher staff positions, has written about the 1940 campaign in Norway with a new perspective that focuses on British leadership and command. Few historians would have the insights into the personalities of high command that General Kiszely has, simply because the author spent years in the senior staffs in Whitehall and has a clear understanding of what commanders need to know and do. Thus, his analysis, based on a careful reading of the minutes of the staff conferences, is pretty damning in terms of the performance of Britain's military chiefs in April and May 1940.

In this thoroughly researched and documented study, General Kiszely dissects the campaign and explains how the world's top navy, alongside a very capable air force and a less capable army, could fail so badly. A British campaign that included poor planning, muddled decision-making, failed coalition operations, and a lack of any operational concept or interservice cooperation plagued the allies from the start. The title describing the British fight in Norway as a "fiasco" is apt, and in Kiszely's analysis none of the major British strategic players—the service chiefs, the military staffs, the war cabinet and First Lord of the Admiralty Sir Winston Churchill—performed well.

Both the Germans and the British saw Norway as strategically important, and the military staffs of both countries began planning for major operations there in December 1939. The contrast in planning is remarkable. The German navy, Luftwaffe, and army staffs worked closely together, understanding this campaign would be the first campaign in warfare in which all three services would play a major and essential role. The German plan identified the forces to be allocated, which included almost all the German navy's surface fleet, a few recently raised infantry divisions not needed for the upcoming spring offensive, and a sizeable and well-balanced air component. German operational planning anticipated some of the obvious requirements of the campaign.
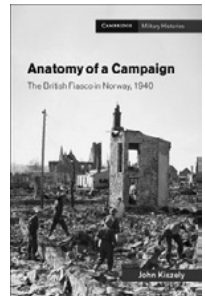
Widely separated task forces would require a lot of communications, and the Germans built a considerable signals force into their initial landing plan. A joint operation would require close interservice cooperation, and the German staffs established an effective liaison and command system under a theater headquarters. At the lower level, the German army task forces ensured they had a good mix of supporting arms, especially antiaircraft and engineers, in the first attack wave.

The contrast with the British approach to planning is striking. At the lower levels, the British Army planning for deploying forces to Norway were abysmal. Little thought was given to ensuring adequate communications, liaison with the other services, or in ensuring adequate antiaircraft cover. In short, pretty basic stuff was ignored. There was no British theater headquarters or commander, and when the fight came, the different British landing forces in central Norway and Narvik all reported to different commanders in London.

On paper the British seemed prepared for joint warfare. Britain had the Military Coordination Committee with some exceptionally capable officers assigned to it. But at this stage of the war, the committee had no real staff and limited powers, and its role had not been clearly defined. The war cabinet providing strategic policy was too large to be effective. Interservice rivalry was intense. Poor communications kept the military chiefs in London in the dark about the conditions in Norway. The British did not appoint a senior liaison officer to the Norwegian Army and this considerable force, eager and ready to fight, was virtually ignored in British operations. The British effort at the tactical level included some successes in the fight for central Norway and in the Royal Navy's destruction of ten German destroyers at Narvik. But the confused headquarters in London failed to exploit tactical success.

General Kiszely demonstrates how the personalities of the service chiefs can have a decisive impact on a campaign. In the case of the British service chiefs, all were seasoned professionals with good reputations, but none were perfect, and all exhibited serious flaws in their command style. Admiral of the Fleet, Sir Dudley Pound, was already worn out and exhibited little interest in issues that did not directly involve his service. Chief of the Air Staff Sir Cyril Newall was known as a talented administrator, but had a weak understanding of doctrine and operations. Like Pound, he declined to get involved in issues of joint operations. Chief of the Imperial General Staff Sir Edmund Ironside had a superb military record but had always served as a field commander, had never served on the senior staff, and had no experience in strategic level planning. The senior officers of each service well knew much better candidates for these jobs were available.

The technology of war has greatly changed since 1940, but the human aspects including the essentials of command, planning, and coordination have not changed. This is why I highly recommend this book as essential reading for all military officers and civilian leaders to understand the dynamics of decision-making, operational planning, and execution in modern conflict. As we have learned from some recent conflicts, experienced and highly educated senior officers can get campaign planning and execution horribly wrong. Sometimes we need to highlight a campaign that offers some concentrated lessons on the basics of senior leadership and organization.

The Fighters: Americans in Combat in Afghanistan and Iraq

By C. J. Chivers

Reviewed by Russell W. Glenn, director, Plans and Policy, G2, US Army Training and Doctrine Command

The Fighters provides an overview of US military operations in Afghanistan and Iraq via the experiences of six American military personnel—three from the Army (a helicopter pilot, member of the special operations community, and infantry soldier), two from the Navy (a corpsman and an aviator), and one Marine Corps officer (infantry platoon leader)—with a total of more than seventeen years of combat experience in those countries. Chivers, a former marine, repeatedly visited the two theaters, meeting four of his subjects there and complementing his reconstruction of the events with additional interviews in the United States. Individuals contacted in these later instances include the subjects, servicemembers from their units, and family members. The result is combat related through the eyes of men and women who have seen the elephant and others close to them, individuals who make known their doubts regarding the conduct, purpose, and chances of success in the two ongoing contingencies.

This is ever a view from the bottom up. The perspectives are personal, the takes tactical. Readers will find little consideration of concerns at the operational and strategic levels of war. Such a focus is deliberate. Combined with the multiple standpoints through which we view each combatant are moments wherein Chivers relates the same event through very different lenses. For example, one member of a trio is killed in a rocket attack as the men approach a PX trailer. His companions reflect on the event as they recover from their own wounds, one finding confirmation of his faith in survival, the other marveling at the play of chance as dictator of whether one lives or dies, mends or is forever crippled. The tactical perspective also offers validation of the unfortunate truth that lessons learned are too often lessons later forgotten.

Some readers will, at times, find themselves dissatisfied as *The Fighters'* prose slips into the subjective. That Chivers has little sympathy for decision makers at higher echelons is immediately apparent in the preface where he concludes the lives of Afghanistan and Iraq veterans have been "harnessed to wars that ran far past the pursuit of justice" and were "betrayed not by their neighbors, but by their leaders" (xxii–xxiii). The naval aviator repeatedly expresses fear and remorse that his strikes might have killed innocents; he is thankful when a sortie does not require him to release munitions. Readers would have benefited from deeper probing into why a leader so fearful of war's play of friction and chance chooses to return to theater on multiple tours.

Successfully mining the ore of human emotions during combat is a task often undertaken but rarely accomplished. Many of the elite works, perhaps most, are firsthand accounts. E. B. Sledge's *With the Old Breed* does so with gripping and gritty recollections from World War II foxholes in the Pacific as *We Were Soldiers Once . . . and Young*, coauthored
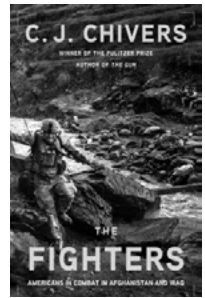
Breed does so with gripping and gritty recollections from World War II foxholes in the Pacific as *We Were Soldiers Once . . . and Young*, coauthored by journalist Joe Galloway and then Lieutenant Colonel Hal Moore, does primarily from LZ X-ray in the la Drang Valley of Vietnam. Clinton Romesha's *Red Platoon* more recently antes up with its gut-wrenching recall of fighting at Combat Outpost Keating in Afghanistan. Students of leadership still await a post-Second World War equivalent of *Defeat into Victory*, Field-Marshal Viscount Slim's masterful blend of tactical, operational, and command considerations in recounting the campaign that ousted the Japanese from WWII India.

The task is harder yet when the telling is not from a first-person combatant's pen. Recent accomplishments that hurdle this obstacle include Mark Bowden's *Black Hawk Down*, David Zucchino's *Thunder Run* narration regarding the first days of US forces in 2003 Baghdad, and the likewise exceptional yet little known, *Dead Men Risen* regarding the British Army's Welsh Guards in Afghanistan by Toby Harnden. Other offerings can add to our understanding, if less so. They might accomplish this end via an occasional unique observation that provides insights regarding the ever-evolving being that is the combat soldier. These remind leaders of the view from the sharp end of the spear, that of the combatants who benefit from or suffer the consequences of decisions made at higher echelons. It is an invaluable perspective however maintained.

IRREGULAR WARFARE

Boko Haram: The History of an African Jihadist Movement

By Alexander Thurston

Reviewed by Dr. W. Andrew Terrill, professor emeritus, US Army War College

Princeton, NJ: Princeton
University Press, 2018
333 pages
$29.95

Alexander Thurston has written an excellent study on the development, evolution, rise, and decline of the African terrorist group Boko Haram, which operates in Nigeria with some spillover into Chad, Niger, and Cameroon. The group's name is based on the Hausa word *Boko* meaning Western education (and implying culture) and the Arabic word *Haram* referring to things that are forbidden by Islam. Over time, the group, which was always radical, became increasingly violent and eventually inured itself to the deaths of Muslim bystanders to its actions. It also unsuccessfully attempted to join al-Qaeda but later was able to affiliate with the Islamic State at a nominal level. Thurston's study addresses numerous factors contributing to the rise of Boko Haram and its turn to violence in 2009 as well as its later expansion and setbacks.

The author notes that Boko Haram originated with radical Salafi preacher Mohammed Yusuf who operated from the city of Maiduguri in northern Nigeria. As the leader of Boko Haram, Yusuf preached a doctrine of religious exclusivism and railed against democracy (which he said was used to replace the rule of God), secular laws, Christians, and Muslim minorities such as Shiites and Sufis. He presented his fiery sermons to audiences of ordinary people in northern Nigeria's vernacular languages, establishing a populous niche that helped him advance his own status and agenda.

In the early 2000s, the government considered Yusuf to be a minor nuisance and did not seriously oppose him. Yet, his movement was growing, and his sermons often addressed topics of concern to some Muslims. Yusuf's criticisms of Nigerian government corruption seemed honest, and many parents were also afraid that Western-style schools would lead their children to become Christians or atheists.

When oil revenues fell in the early 1980s, the governmental program for universal primary education collapsed leaving many young people unable to obtain either a Western or Islamic education. Under these circumstances, a number of young men entered into criminal gangs, substantially increasing violence in northern cities and shantytowns, making life there almost intolerable. Moreover, by the mid-1980s, some Nigerian Muslims believed their country had failed at all major secular forms of government: parliamentary, presidential, and military, as well as capitalism and small amounts of socialism. Islamic government may have seemed like a way to roll back kleptocracy and nepotism and to reestablish some level of order.

As the northern crisis deepened, Nigerian leaders became increasingly concerned about Boko Haram and eventually moved against it within the larger context of an antibandit campaign. The campaign during 2009 was authentic, but it was also used as cover to

strike the organization, with several battles paralyzing Maiduguri before the government defeated the radicals. In this struggle, hundreds of Boko Haram members were killed, and Yusuf was captured and killed in what was almost certainly an extrajudicial murder. After these events, the Nigerian leadership believed that the danger had passed. But it had not. The new Boko Haram leader, Abubakar Shekau, was determined to rebuild in a way that radically expanded the use of violence. Under his leadership, the organization evolved from the broken fragments of a mass preaching movement into an exceptionally brutal terrorist and guerrilla-warfare organization.

Correspondingly, Boko Haram prioritized efforts to obtain military-grade weapons and learn how to manufacture bombs. It also had considerable success in attacking prisons, freeing at least hundreds of incarcerated members to replenish the organization's ranks. By 2013, the organization sought territorial conquest and displayed a willingness to confront Nigerian forces in open battles. In late 2014, Shekau declared that territory under Boko Haram's control was no longer part of Nigeria. Rather, it was a new territory defined by devotion to true Islam.

As the struggle developed, Boko Haram also faced a number of problems in part due to its extensive and often arbitrary brutality and murder. Concurrent with his many successful efforts to rebuild the organization, Shekau also adopted broad and savage criteria for declaring other Muslims to be unbelievers who had to be killed. Such actions provoked fear and backlash among the northern population and became a problem for Boko Haram when the government created an official vigilante force to assist military units and provide them with local intelligence. Further complicating the situation, in late 2011 breakaway members of Boko Haram formed a less murderous splinter group.

Disaffected senior members would later accuse Shekau of killing civilians on a whim or for his personal benefit. The most infamous of the Boko Haram attacks, the kidnapping of 276 Chibok school girls in mid-April 2014, led to increased Western military aid to the Nigerian government for its struggle to destroy the organization. In early 2015, the Nigerian president, under severe domestic and foreign pressure, initiated an offensive to destroy Boko Haram that also involved the militaries of Chad, Niger, and some foreign mercenaries. In December 2015, the Nigerian president announced the defeat of the group, which had lost most of its territory, but clearly continued to exist.

In considering this struggle, Thurston also discusses Boko Haram's ties with radical groups such as al-Qaeda and its affiliates and the Islamic State. He acknowledges information on such ties is limited, and his conclusions have to be tentative. According to Thurston, Boko Haram seems to have maintained only limited contact with al-Qaeda in Pakistan and Afghanistan. But the group sought to improve these ties to obtain weapons, money, and training. They further sought to reach out to al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), one of the core organization's most important affiliates. AQIM may have initially provided limited support, but Shekau appears to have undermined his case for further aid by ordering the murder of several Nigerian jihadists within Boko Haram, whom AQIM knew and respected. Al-Qaeda central appears to have decided against any agreement with Shekau as he increasingly appeared headstrong, erratic, and willing to engage in

gratuitous violence against even very conservative Muslims. Thurston also doubts that the Islamic State provided much support to Boko Haram even after it declared loyalty to the Caliphate in March 2015. At that point, Islamic State leaders might have viewed Nigeria as a marginal sideshow, although this situation may yet change.

Thurston doubts the Nigerian government will permanently defeat Boko Haram or its descendants as long as poverty, unemployment, and corruption dominate northern Nigeria. He also states that harsh Nigerian military tactics can harm civilians and inadvertently strengthen Boko Haram. Unfortunately, his search for alternatives does not come up with much. He likes the concept of a deradicalization program, but such efforts have often failed outside of Saudi Arabia, where they are exceptionally well funded in ways that few other countries can duplicate. Nevertheless, Thurston is clearly correct that efforts to destroy Boko Haram will need a political as well as a military component and that the government needs to make a strong effort to win the loyalty of all its northern citizens. Finally, a central lesson of this study is that Boko Haram rose from the ashes once in its history and could do so again as the result of Nigerian and world complacency.

Congo's Violent Peace: Conflict and Struggle Since the Great African War

By Kris Berwouts

Reviewed by Diane Chido, author of *Intelligence Sharing on Transnational Organized Crime in Peace Keeping Environments*

London: Zed, 2017

167 pages

$25.00

The Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) strives to prove the central theme of George Friedman's book, *Flashpoints*: the most dangerous thing in the world to be is rich and weak. With nearly 20 years of experience working and living in the country for which he expresses great love and despair, author Kris Berwouts endeavors to overcome the casual observer's tendency to miss the region's complexity and nuance and to dismiss the frequent and intense violence as "senseless savagery." He provides a cogent analysis of the three root causes of conflict as the dismemberment of the Congolese state, the extension of the Rwandan conflict, and the illicit exploitation of Congo's natural resources.

The key takeaway of this book is an appreciation of Congo as a nation of extremes. It is the largest country in sub-Saharan Africa. It has the greatest variety and amount of natural resources. It has borne the deadliest series of conflicts since World War II. And, its 2006 election was so heavily supported by the European Union that it has been called the most expensive poll in history. The dizzying array of violent armed groups, which Berwouts terms "social bandits" exacerbating violent conflict in Congo, caused this analyst to long for a social network map, but the acronym list provided a critical reference.

For a brief historical recap, King Afonso I ascended the Congolese throne in 1506, soon after the first Portuguese settlers arrived, and reigned for the next 40 years as the slave trade gained momentum and utterly transformed the region. Afonso sent many letters to King John

III in Lisbon imploring him to only send priests and teachers to Congo and not the traders with their Western wares for which "a monstrous greed" had adversely affected his subjects.

Foreshadowing modern Western involvement that would have little regard for what the Congolese want or need, the slave trade continued and with the reign of Belgian King Leopold II from 1865, conditions for the population of Congo only became increasingly worse. Although Western interest in exploiting Congo has not waned and should not be excused, regional and domestic corruption and avarice are the more immediate causes maintaining this "violent peace."

Mobutu Sese Seko's harsh autocratic 32-year rule continued the enslavement of the population and provided very little healthcare, education, or economic opportunity, much less political freedom under the one-party system. Deep entanglements with neighboring Rwanda also prevent peaceful development, as does the unfortunate role of the Congolese defense forces as more of a problem than a solution to Congo's many ills.

Berwouts argues the end of the Cold War and Mobutu's departure in 1997 caused Congo's current disarray and frequent violence as societal institutions and networks were dismantled in a rush to democratization, as in contemporaneous Yugoslavia, while the autocratic rule at the top lost its patrons and was no longer able to suppress the fires of nationalist secession. Although the overt genocide in Rwanda during 1994 appeared to be managed, the struggle between Hutus and Tutsis has continued with Congo as a new battlefield.

While Mobutu was deathly ill, Rwanda and Uganda supported Laurent Desire Kabila as the only warlord who, while enriching himself in Tanzania, had not been a Mobutu crony. The first phase of their great African war fought on Congolese territory installed Kabila as president about 10 days after Mobutu had left the country for medical treatment. By July 1998, Kabila was viewed as Rwanda and Uganda's puppet, so he ousted Rwandan officials to save his domestic reputation. These former allies returned with their armies in an effort to replace him. The Southern African Development Community (SADC) sent a multinational contingent to restore stability, but the war still resulted in massive displacement and the creation of huge and vulnerable refugee camps that remain targets for political wrangling and violence. Thus delivered, Kabila presided over the fractious DRC until his assassination in 2001. He was then succeeded by his son, Joseph, who has held power since.

Berwouts painstakingly describes the various players and their wrangling, with elections and a fragile peace process as a backdrop, emphasizing that the cause of the continuing violence was not the great African war but rather the ready availability of exploitable resources that enable all of the elite and armed factions involved to continue to fund themselves and their personal battles for territory and power. Their nationalism is a thin veneer as they form alliances of convenience across ethnic lines, thus reducing the population to the status of pawns.

The failure of colonial Europeans to understand the natural fluidity of identity led to the creation of national and subnational borders that were assumed to be related to the populations that lived in given

locations, but for the populations, ethnicity was not a binary concept. The new maps and their enforcement created territorial enclaves that solidified identity, and thus today's identity-based politics. These associations were exacerbated by the Belgians importing labor, creating a sense of nativism versus foreigner, even within the same ethnic group.

With democracy and land ownership came new a concept that the size of a constituency mattered for elections, so implementing exclusionary rules for determining who is a citizen with voting and landowning rights coupled with targeted violence made perfect sense. Such outcomes resulted in communities and individuals with economic interests who perceived a need to form armed militias. Thus, it is clear that the savagery is by no means senseless.

Berwouts concludes that the international community continues to "benevolently" impose new peace and stability efforts on DRC and the region as a whole that ignore local realities. A lack of political will within the domestic arena, along with the failure of the international community to hold DRC to recommended security sector reforms, as well as police and military leaders who see their territories as personal piggybanks, have led to a continued vortex of violence and exploitation.

Berwouts describes the use of rape as a calculated weapon of war that has three decisive effects. First, women are used as a spoil of war to define the victor. Then in the spirit of genocide, as a direct attack on the reproductive capacity of the target group. And finally, just when it seems the conflict is over, security forces, and even local members of a community, engage in such acts with impunity, thus solidifying the poison of conflict in the population's culture.
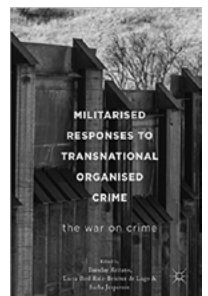
With greed, a lack of legitimacy and governance, and stalled security sector reform, Congo has been exploited since its "discovery" without pause for its valuable resources, including its people. In fact, Berwouts posits "kleptocracy" was coined to describe Congo, leaving the reader with a feeling of dread for the country's future.

Militarised Responses to Transnational Organised Crime: The War on Crime

Edited by Tuesday Reitano, Lucia Bird Ruiz-Benitez de Lugo, and Sasha Jesperson

Reviewed by Robert J. Bunker, adjunct research professor, Strategic Studies Institute, US Army

Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018
359 pages
$159.99

Militarised Responses to Transnational Organised Crime is drawn from a series of conference papers—delivered at expert seminars in London in November 2015 and in Geneva in February 2016 by sixteen contributors—along with introductory and concluding contextual essays penned by two of the editors. British and European scholarly thinking and perceptions primarily influence the work that has direct linkages to the Global Initiative against Transnational Organized Crime based in Geneva and the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies based in London.

The book focuses on militarized responses to organized criminal actors engaging in four forms of illicit activity: wildlife crime, piracy, smuggling of migrants, and drug trafficking. It concerns the decades old "blurred crime and war" operational environment—both these activities and the responses to them are covered within. A key statement found in the introduction related to militarized response to transnational organized crime (TOC) is as follows:

> Militarised approaches are at one end of a spectrum that extends to people-centred development approaches. In light of the discussions around comprehensive approaches, responses to organised crime should sit near the centre of this spectrum. They should constitute a mix of security responses that combine intelligence, law enforcement, and the direct pursuit of criminals with development strategies that engage with the factors that make a country vulnerable to organised crime. (3)

Unfortunately the "spectrum" insight is not further developed within the work—nor is a more in-depth treatment of the proposed integrated response later advocated in the concluding chapter (346–47). Conceptually, the term "ungoverned" as opposed to "alternatively governed" spaces is utilized for a sectional header, which represents a missed nuance (5). Nature abhors a vacuum, and when the state was never present in an area or has since been forced to retreat, criminal actors actively fill the void with their own form of street governance. We also get a sense of the sizes and monetary values of some of the economies related to the different illicit activities focused upon, but this was never made fully clear within the book. The intractability of these illicit activities is summed up at the end of the work: "The conclusion therefore is for the urgent need to build awareness and capacity in policymakers to view organised crime as a nuanced threat—one that often has deep socio-economic roots and few easy solutions" (348).

This, however, then takes us down the path of requiring a "multidimensional harm reduction narrative" and monitoring "the evolution of war talk" to help mitigate the propensity for militarized response (348). What results is a catch-22 situation regarding development—formal economy creation is desperately needed to address underlying socio-economic conditions in areas where organized crime is taking root, but development is not taking or simply cannot take place. In a globalized economy where multinational corporations and sovereign wealth funds are constantly shifting assets to achieve the highest annualized returns—and at times either indirectly or directly profit from the illicit economy—investing in development for its own sake is a minor consideration. As a result, with organized crime either outgunning or co-opting the policing and law enforcing institutions of beleaguered states, the only remaining viable responses to such activity are either military (institutional) or vigilante (armed citizen) or mercenary (paid corporate contractor).

The work itself is composed of two introductory essays, four thematic illicit activity sections (wildlife crime, piracy, migrant smuggling, and drug trafficking) each comprised of four essays, a conclusion, and an index. Endnotes and the authors biographies are provided at the back of each of the nineteen essays found within the book. A number of figures also exist within the well-referenced work. Of the four thematic essay clusters, the reviewer found wildlife crime to be the most interesting

followed by piracy, migrant smuggling, and then drug trafficking—though this may well be due to his in depth knowledge related to the latter. A most illustrative essay, by Julian Rademeyer, on rhino poaching in South Africa's Kruger National Park provides an overview of what has become an increasingly militarized and unwinnable conflict between park rangers and gangs of armed poachers (43–59). That these poachers should be celebrated by locals in songs and considered victimized when killed—as opposed to the dwindling herds of rhinos preyed upon or the rangers defending them—adds a surreal nature to these criminal acts.

A minor difficulty with the work is that the individual essays are drawn from two expert seminars then grouped together in thematic clusters. This creates a bit of uneven coverage of the topical areas of emphasis as well as generates some noticeable differences in the quality of the contributions themselves. Another more pressing issue with the work is its steep cost. This suggests that it will be accessed primarily through university libraries or interlibrary loan, which will greatly limit its impact.

A final assessment of *Militarised Responses to Transnational Organised Crime* is that it only has marginal utility for the majority of senior defense community members. Unless such a community member has a specific need to address militarized responses to TOC (either generally or related to a specific form of illicit activity), the work is too specialized a read. Further, the overall gestalt of the work, which is more military response debate, focused essentially long on what is wrong with such responses but offered little on what to do about them (3). Thus, interest will be higher among academic readers. Given the volume is meant to fill an analytical and research gap in this area of policy studies, it should be considered more an exploratory effort than a more mature study for defense community application.

SECURITY STUDIES

The Angel: The Egyptian Spy Who Saved Israel

By Uri Bar-Joseph

Reviewed by Dr. W. Andrew Terrill, professor emeritus, US Army War College

The Angel is an interesting and important examination of one of Israel's most successful espionage efforts. This operation began in 1970 and involved the penetration of the highest level of Egyptian political and military decision-making by a spy within Egypt's political elite. The author of this study, Uri Bar-Joseph, is an Israeli scholar with a background as a military intelligence officer and access to a variety of declassified Israeli military files. Bar-Joseph identifies Ashraf Marwan as Egypt's most important traitor as well as the most valuable spy in Israeli history. Marwan was the son-in-law of Egypt's President Gamal Abdul Nasser, and became a key advisor to President Anwar Sadat after Nasser's death. Perhaps surprisingly, Marwan played only a marginal role in the Nasser government since his father-in-law disliked him and thought he had married his daughter, Mona, as a career move. Nasser also obtained evidence that Marwan had received money through personal corruption and then angrily pressured Mona to divorce her husband. Mona steadfastly refused to do so, and Nasser grudgingly allowed his son-in-law to continue work as a minor official in the president's office under the supervision of Sami Sharaf, Nasser's despotic chief of staff.

Unsurprisingly, Marwan was miserable in his job, which (along with his wife's salary) allowed him only a frugal middle-class lifestyle, far less than what he had expected at the time of his marriage. He probably hated Nasser, who continued to view him with contempt, and he also did not enjoy enforced private austerity. Thus, for whatever mix of reasons, in the summer of 1970, Marwan chose to contact Israeli intelligence operatives via the embassy in London, England, where he occasionally traveled and volunteered for service as a paid Mossad spy. All intelligence agencies are suspicious of such "walk-ins," but the Israelis were also intrigued. Although Marwan was not an important decision maker within Nasser's staff, he did have access to important documents, and quickly demonstrated his ability to obtain valuable information, which seemed genuine and could be at least partially validated by other sources. Mossad gave Marwan the codename of "The Angel" which referred to the 1960s television series, *The Saint*, broadcast in Israel as *The Angel*.

Nasser's September 1970 death gave Marwan an opportunity for advancement within the Egyptian hierarchy, but only if he could find a patron who viewed him as useful and perhaps was not so puritanical about corruption. He placed his hopes on President Anwar Sadat, Nasser's vice president and successor, who was widely viewed as a caretaker who would quickly be brushed aside by powerful opponents. Moreover, Sadat, unlike his rivals, did not have a network of loyalists and had to take his help where he could get it. Threatened with ouster, Sadat made his move in May 1971 when he undertook what he called the "Corrective Revolution" and removed his most powerful enemies

from positions of power. Bar-Joseph maintains that all sources on this power struggle agree that Marwan "played a central role in helping Sadat overcome his opponents and establish his rule over Egypt" apparently by providing the president with incriminating documents about his rivals (88). These assessments of Marwan's actions in the crisis appear to have been borne out by his rapid and dramatic promotion to the important posts of presidential secretary and Sadat's personal emissary to Libya and Saudi Arabia. Without Nasser's restraint, Marwan again began enriching himself through graft, while maintaining his lucrative financial sideline of selling secrets to Israel.

The most pressing question for Israeli intelligence at this time was under what conditions would Egypt consider itself ready to attack Israel, even if only for limited war aims in Sinai. According to Bar-Joseph, Marwan provided important and detailed documents indicating how Egyptian forces planned to cross the Suez Canal. This information on Egyptian strategic thinking helped provide the framework for "the Concept," an overarching paradigm that guided Israeli strategic planning and military decision-making from late 1970 until October 1973. The Concept dictated that the Egyptians would not attack into the Sinai Peninsula without first developing a way of compensating for Israeli air superiority other than surface-to-air missiles on the west bank of the Suez Canal (many of which were at fixed sites). Additionally, according to the Concept, Sadat would fear attacking Israeli forces under any circumstances without a deterrent force to threaten Israeli cities and thereby prevent a process of escalation that might include bombing of Egyptian targets throughout the country. Such sites could not be protected by the Egyptian Air Force. Bar-Joseph bluntly maintains that Israeli military intelligence was then under the command of a group of officers whose commitment to the Concept was "unwavering, almost religious" (189).

In early 1973, Marwan reported that Egypt was becoming increasingly interested in a limited war to challenge a status quo that its leaders viewed as intolerable. Sadat had by then made some progress in obtaining appropriate aircraft and Scud missiles able to provide some sort of minimal deterrent against Israeli strikes on Egypt's urban areas. In this environment, Marwan became a key source of information about Egyptian changes in strategic thinking and the development of a workable plan for attacking Israeli forces. Unfortunately for them, many Israeli military leaders refused to abandon or even modify the Concept, which was by now deeply rooted in their strategic outlook.

Additionally, Sadat closely protected the exact date of the attack, and Marwan found out only by accident one day before the initial Egyptian and Syrian strikes. He passed this information on to his Israeli contacts, although some key military intelligence officials doubted the warnings. Under these circumstances, Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir made the hard choice of overruling her defense minister and fully mobilized Israeli reserve forces. Bar-Joseph maintains that this action prevented an even larger Israeli defeat than occurred in the first week of the war, before Israel was able to turn the situation around.

After the war, Marwan's relationship with Sadat cooled, and he was dismissed from his role in the president's office in March 1976 in order to lead an industrial consortium. Marwan's power within the Egyptian

leadership then ended when Sadat was assassinated in 1981 and Vice President Hosni Mubarak (whom Marwan disliked) took power. Correspondingly, Marwan moved to London in 1981 where he sought to make money, making good use of his contacts throughout the Arab world and continuing to provide what information he could to Mossad. At this time, Marwan faced some serious problems as information started to leak about his activities with Mossad. Bar-Joseph accuses a former head of Israeli military intelligence of leaking this information on the basis of his belief that Marwan was a double agent, a charge he dismisses as "baseless fantasy" (228).

As sometimes happens with spies, in June 2007, Marwan died a mysterious death when he jumped, or was pushed, from the balcony of his London apartment. Bar-Joseph believes he was killed by Egyptian intelligence, although Marwan's widow, Mona, later told the *Observer* that Mossad had killed him for being a double agent for Egypt. Bar-Joseph strongly maintains that Mossad leaders saw his death as a disaster since they now looked incapable of protecting their spies, something that could seriously undermine future recruitment.

Bar-Joseph's book is well researched and well reasoned, but early books on complex and multidimensional intelligence operations using authoritative but incomplete sources can often be unreliable. Bar-Joseph is aware of this shortcoming and expresses his hope that this work survives the test of time. While some formerly classified Israeli information on this matter has been released, Mossad files on Marwan remain closed, and the organization has little incentive to release them in the foreseeable future. Bar-Joseph has therefore written the most complete and authoritative book that can be expected under contemporary circumstances, but there may be many plot twists to this story that remain unknown, at least for now.
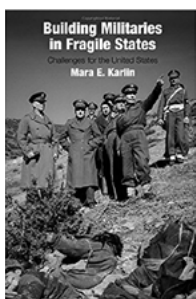
Building Militaries in Fragile States: Challenges for the United States

By Mara E. Karlin

Reviewed by MAJ Jonathan Freeman, strategic planner, Headquarters, US Army

Those interested in building partner militaries should be delighted to find that Mara E. Karlin's book is extremely well written and very well organized. A reader can easily navigate through the chapters and the concepts. Those who have read a fair share of national security policy-oriented books will appreciate the author's writing style and clear language, which make the book a relatively easy read.

In focusing on internal rather than external threats, Karlin magnifies the focus against the popular idea within the national security community that *more* is always the answer. As someone who deployed to Iraq in 2007 as part of the Military Transition Teams, I understood and appreciated the more nuanced argument: "To effectively strengthen partner militaries in fragile states, the US military must transform its engagement with them" (2).

Karlin's case study selections are excellent. Though her choice of Vietnam as an example of failure was a little obvious, she did a very good job of staying on her point and avoiding the likely pitfalls. While the choice of Greece as an example of successful buildup of partner militaries is interesting, the dichotomy of the two Lebanese cases makes this book unique. In the first case, Karlin makes a solid argument that US support for the Lebanese military partially failed due to the involvement of regional actors. The second case, however, truly displays the complications of building partner militaries when she discusses how the Lebanese both criticized US assistance although the Lebanese officials and also failed to take full advantage of that assistance. A perfect example was the number of Lebanese officials that declared they were more pleased with American training than equipment, while placing an officer recently trained in counterterrorism in charge of the gym at the Beirut officers' club.

The critiques of *Building Militaries in Fragile States* involve the definitions, charts, graphs, and the Vietnamese case study. The definitions avoid taking a strong stance, which makes the book read more like a history than a social science-based policy book. Whether referring to military assistance, security force assistance, or something else entirely, Karlin is in a unique position to enlighten her readers about her definitions of concepts, and even how those definitions evolved during her career in academe and policy. The charts and graphs seemed to be more of a distraction than a visual enhancement for the argument. More than likely, these unnecessary illustrations were added at the behest of senior academics.

Lastly, the Vietnamese case study was problematic. Though the conclusions are understandable and correct, the manner in which Karlin comes to them will likely concern people far more knowledgeable of Vietnam than me. Karlin operates on the theory that the failures in Vietnam of the Military Assistance Advisory Groups and the Army of the Republic of Vietnam were due primarily to the lack of focus on internal security and the toxic leadership of Lieutenant General Samuel T. Williams. Appreciating that this study focused on the military, there can be no denying that government corruption of the Republic of Vietnam was a major factor in losing hearts and minds. From the aspect that the failure of Vietnam was due to Williams's specific personality, there was little mention of either President Diem Ngo Dinh or Major General Edward G. Lansdale, both of whom could have easily had the failure of Vietnam laid at their feet.

In summary, *Building Militaries in Fragile States* is an excellent policy book trying to wrestle with a problem that has confounded the United States for many, many years. Karlin speaks from a unique academic and policy background, making a case that few can. She neither tries to cheapen her argument with easy fixes or silly analogies but charges all academic, government, and military professionals to continue searching for answers. Her main point emphasizing *how* is one that policymakers should, and hopefully will, be more considerate of. For those interested in becoming acquainted with the topic or those trying to consider different solutions to age-old problems, I highly recommend this book both for its content and readability.

Contributor's Guidelines

Article Submissions

The editor welcomes unsolicited works that adhere to the following criteria:

Content Requirements

Scope: The manuscript addresses strategic issues regarding US defense policy or the theory and practice of land warfare. Visit our website (http://ssi.armywarcollege.edu/pubs/parameters/submission.cfm) to gain a better understanding of our current editorial scope.

Audience: US Army War College graduates and other senior military officers as well as members of government and academia concerned with national security affairs.

Clearance: If you are a member of the US military or a civilian employee of the Department of Defense or one of its service departments, your manuscript may require official clearance (see AR 360-1, ch. 6). Contact your local Public Affairs Office for assistance.

Concurrent Submissions: The manuscript is not under consideration with other publishers and has not been published elsewhere, including on the Internet.

Formatting Requirements

Length: 5,000 words or less.

File Type and Layout: MS Word Document (.doc) or Rich Text Format (.rtf) file; Times New Roman, 12-point font; double-spaced; 1-inch margins.

Visual Aids: Only include charts, graphs, and photographs when they are essential to clarify or amplify the text. Images must be grayscale, a minimum of 640 x 480 pixels, and submitted in their original file format (.tiff or .jpg). It is not sufficient to submit images embedded in a .doc or .rtf file.

Citations: Document sources as footnotes. Indicate all quoted material by quotation marks or indentation. Reduce the number of footnotes to the minimum consistent with honest acknowledgement of indebtedness, consolidating notes where possible. Lengthy explanatory footnotes are discouraged and will be edited. *Parameters* generally uses the conventions prescribed in the *Chicago Manual of Style*.

Submission Requirements

Submit to: usarmy.carlisle.awc.mbx.parameters@mail.mil

Include:
- Each author's full name, mailing address, phone number, email address, and curriculum vitae or biographical sketch. When there are multiple authors, please identify the primary point of contact
- All original files (.doc or .rtf, and any .tiff or .jpg files, if applicable) as attachments
- An abstract

Lead Times: If you would like your manuscript considered for a specific issue, submit it by the following dates:
- 1 December—Spring
- 1 March—Summer
- 1 June—Autumn
- 1 September—Winter

Note: Lead times only ensure the editor will consider a manuscript for publication in a specific issue; however, the editor reserves the right to recommend a manuscript for publication in any upcoming issue to meet space or topic requirements.

Review Process: Upon receipt, we will send you a confirmation email. The review process can take four to six weeks from date of receipt.

Book Review Submissions

Parameters publishes reviews of books on history, political science, military strategy, grand strategy, and defense studies. The editor welcomes inquiries for potential book reviews.

Email inquiries about a potential book or requests to review a specific title to usarmy.carlisle.awc.mbx.parameters@mail.mil. Please provide:

- The book's title and the name of the author(s) or editor(s)

- Your qualifications, full name, e-mail address, phone number, and mailing address.

Statement of Ownership, Management, and Circulation

(Required by 39 U.S.C. 3685.)

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Antulio J. Echevarria III, Editor.

US Army War College Quarterly

Parameters

The US Army War College

The US Army War College educates and develops leaders for service at the strategic level while advancing knowledge in the global application of landpower.

The purpose of the US Army War College at this time in our nation's history is to produce graduates who are skilled critical thinkers and complex problem solvers in the global application of landpower. Concurrently, it is our duty to the Army to also act as a "think factory" for commanders and civilian leaders at the strategic level worldwide and routinely engage in discourse and debate on ground forces' role in achieving national security objectives.

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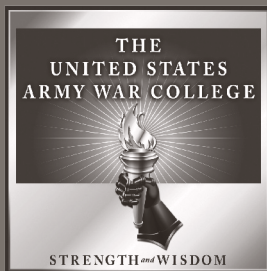
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