



# **“Security in a Complex World”**

**Presentation at FORSCOM**

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- ◆ **Five Classes of Actors**
- ◆ **Six Key Trends**
- ◆ **Top Dozen Hot Spots**
- ◆ **Strategy for Meeting New Challenges**

# Five Classes of Actors

	Examples	Norms	Capabilities	U.S. Interests
Market Democracies	NATO Japan South East Asia Southern Cone	Ours	Under utilized	Recast as partnerships Get more contribution
Transition States	China Russia India Central Asia	Undecided	Helpful or harmful	Encourage transition
Rogue States	N. Korea Iraq Iran Cuba	Oppose ours	Inferior but dangerous	Restrain Push toward transition
Failing States	Bosnia/Kosovo Pakistan Indonesia Colombia Haiti Congo	None	Drain	Improve multilateral capacity
Non-State Actors	NGOs Organized Crime Terrorists	Diverse	Growing	Homeland defense

# Six Key Trends

- ◆ Globalization: Does right make might?
- ◆ Fragmentation: Devolution of power gone wild?
- ◆ Democratization: The end of enlargement?
- ◆ Proliferation: A new nightmare?
- ◆ Polarization: A new bilateral world?
- ◆ Isolation: Must we act alone?

# Globalization

- ◆ Most powerful trend
- ◆ An American phenomenon
- ◆ Binds and reinforces market democracies
- ◆ Facilitates integration and fosters civil society in transition states
- ◆ Can cause anti-Americanism, create new rogue states
- ◆ Creation of a “Globalization Gap” and more failing states
- ◆ Empowers non-state actors
- ◆ Reduces risk of conflict over resources
- ◆ Asian crisis demonstrates risks
- ◆ Increases U.S. vulnerabilities
- ◆ Stimulates U.S. RMA

**Conclusion:** On balance a positive trend but could polarize and create new vulnerabilities.

# Fragmentation

- ◆ Devolution of power a world-wide phenomenon
- ◆ Causes:
  - Cold War's end removes common enemy
  - Globalization empowers locally
  - Nationalism used by local leaders
  - Repression of minority rights
- ◆ Division of states can be bloodless: USSR, Czechoslovakia
- ◆ Many states at risk: Canada, Britain, Belgium, Angola, Sudan, Iraq
- ◆ Fragmentation in rigid societies causes failing states
- ◆ Primary cause of peace operations and transnational threats

**Conclusion:** Fragmentation will remain a major cause of U.S. force deployments.

# Democratization

- ◆ Fukuyama's End of History: democracy dominant
  - ◆ Clinton policy of enlargement
  - ◆ 117 of 191 nations electoral democracies
  - ◆ But about 1/3 are "illiberal democracies"
  - ◆ Sometimes democratizing states do go to war
  - ◆ Democracy in failing states can be destabilizing
- Conclusion:** Growth in democracy may have plateaued.

# Proliferation

- ◆ Creates new asymmetric threats, more dangerous rogues
- ◆ Global non-proliferation policies successful: NPT, CTBT
- ◆ But regional policies failing: South Asia, North Korea, Iran, Iraq, etc.
- ◆ Could have 10 nuclear states from the Med to the Pacific
- ◆ Russia, China, and North Korea principal suppliers
- ◆ Rumsfeld report and Taepo Dong test wake-up calls
- ◆ Theater Missile Defense needed but stimulates proliferation
- ◆ New risk is terrorists with WMD: Aum Shinrikyo, bin Laden

**Conclusion:** Fighting nastier Rogues requires new procedures, enhanced deterrence, capable intelligence, and TMD/NMD.



# State Supporters of Terrorism and NBC Programs

State Supporters of Terrorism	Nuclear Program	CW Program	BW Program
Cuba	None	None	Confirmed
Iraq	Confirmed	Confirmed	Confirmed
Iran	Confirmed	Confirmed	Confirmed
Libya	Confirmed	Confirmed	Confirmed
North Korea	Confirmed	Confirmed	Confirmed
Sudan	None	Suspected	Suspected
Syria	None	Confirmed	Confirmed

# Impact of Asymmetric Attacks

## Strategic Effects

	WMD	Niche High-tech	IW	Terrorism
Project and Strike (capabilities)	↓	↓	↓	
U.S. Sanctuary (will)	↓		?	↓

# Polarization

- ◆ We are in the 6<sup>th</sup> International System in 200 years
- ◆ International Systems tend to have a life cycle: from fluidity to rigidity and bipolarity
- ◆ Alliances tend to form against perceived hegemony
- ◆ Bipolar systems have tended toward conflict; Cold War the exception
- ◆ Current international system is fluid
- ◆ Key question: will the system become bipolar?
- ◆ U.S. unilateral actions increase the prospect of bipolarity
- ◆ New bipolarity: have vs. have nots; China + Russia + Rogues + Terrorists

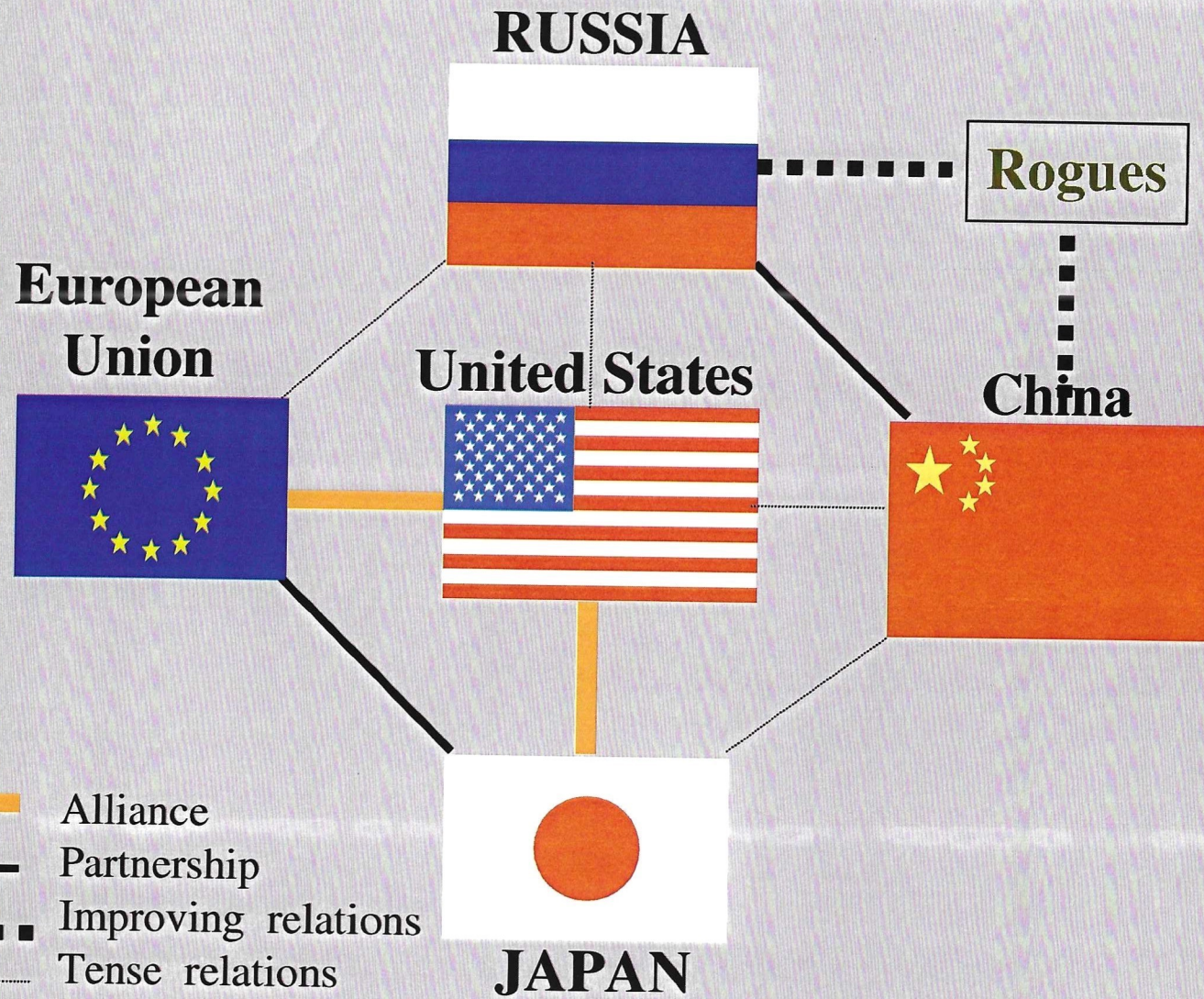
**Conclusion:** Our diplomacy needs to remain alert to this danger.

# Lessons from History

1. 1789 - 1815: Napoleon balances the princes → Waterloo
2. 1815 - 1855: UK external balancer → Crimean War
3. 1855 - 1914: Germany internal balancer → World War I
4. 1919 - 1939: Collective Security → World War II
5. 1945 - 1991: Bipolar → Collective Defense → Cold War

US neutral/isolationist in periods 2, 3, 4

# New Bipolarity?



# Isolation

- ◆ Will our allies fight with us?
- ◆ UK and France have limited power projection capability
- ◆ German and Japan still cautious
- ◆ Allies not supportive of U.S. diplomacy
- ◆ The coming RMA gap
- ◆ NATO summit seeks new missions and capabilities

Conclusion: The U.S. may increasingly be fighting alone or with UK only.

# Consequences of Trends

- ◆ Other market democracies not carrying enough burden
- ◆ Globalization strongest positive factor for transition states
- ◆ Could have more and nastier rogue states; principal U.S. military mission
- ◆ Fragmentation increases failing states; principal U.S. military preoccupation
- ◆ Homeland defense a new priority

# Top Dozen Hot Spots

## Market Democracies

- ◆ Turkey - Greece

## Transition States

- ◆ China - Taiwan - South China Sea
- ◆ Russia nuclear
- ◆ India - Pakistan - Kashmir
- ◆ Caspian Sea Region

## Rogues

- ◆ North Korea
- ◆ Persian Gulf

## Failing States

- ◆ Former Yugoslavia
- ◆ Israel-Palestine
- ◆ Latin America: Colombia, Haiti
- ◆ sub-Saharan Africa

## Transnational Actors

- ◆ Homeland defense



# Turkey - Greece

- ◆ Turkey new “epicenter” of region of crisis
- ◆ Turkish military struggling against Islamists and Kurds
- ◆ Governments unstable; Refah forced out
- ◆ EU rejecting Turkey, future orientation uncertain
- ◆ Cypriot decision not to deploy S300 eases crises
- ◆ Turkish - Greek relations remain tense

**Implications:** U.S. support for Turkey critical.

# China - Taiwan - South China Sea

- ◆ Chinese economic problems causing high anxiety
- ◆ Preoccupation with Party control, internal stability, preserving sovereignty options in Taiwan and South China Sea
- ◆ External land borders secured; new littoral focus
- ◆ Military modernization low priority; PLA focus on missiles, space, and information war
- ◆ March 1996 Strait Crisis and “Three No’s” sobered Taiwan
- ◆ Qualitative military balance in Strait shifts around 2005
- ◆ China unlikely to threaten freedom of seas in South China Sea
- ◆ U.S. TMD will stimulate Chinese nuclear programs

**Implications:** - Conflict with China possible but avoidable  
- China an unlikely peer competitor.

# Russia

- ◆ Russia becoming a “city state”
  - ◆ Nuclearization of Russian defense policy
  - ◆ Loose nukes danger reflected in new \$4.2B proposal
  - ◆ Post Yeltsin contenders: Primakov, Lebed, Luzhkov
  - ◆ Primakov’s foreign policy unites Russians but causes tensions with US
  - ◆ Duma appears unwilling to ratify START II
  - ◆ ABM Treaty modifications opposed in Moscow
- Implications:** We need to manage a downward spiral in U.S.-Russia relations

# India - Pakistan

- ◆ Hindu and Muslim extremism on the rise
- ◆ Politics in both countries unstable; Pakistan could fragment
- ◆ No flexibility on Kashmir; fighting continuous
- ◆ India seeks to deter China; may want 150 warheads
- ◆ Pakistan adopting first strike counterforce doctrine
- ◆ Missile tests on both sides will continue
- ◆ Both may sign CTBT, but too late
- ◆ U.S. mediation efforts bearing limited fruit
- ◆ Most likely spot for nuclear confrontation

**Implications:** U.S. may become involved through CBM implementation.

# Caspian Sea Region

- ◆ Estimated oil 3-5 mbd; not new Persian Gulf
- ◆ Area of instability
- ◆ Neighbors suspicious of U.S.: Russia, Iran, China
- ◆ US pipeline choice: thru Georgia/Turkey
- ◆ US business seeks greater U.S. involvement

**Implications:** The U.S. should not over-commit to the area.

# North Korea

- ◆ DPRK may not implode, reform, or reconcile
  - ◆ 1994 Nuclear Framework a limited success
  - ◆ ROK sunshine policy rejected by DPRK
  - ◆ DPRK belligerence: threats, missile tests, underground site
  - ◆ Support for existing U.S. policy eroding: Perry mission
  - ◆ New “bigger carrot, bigger stick” policy likely
- Implications:** Increased short-term risk of confrontation.

# Persian Gulf

- ◆ Shifting oil dependence
- ◆ Dual Containment collapsing
- ◆ DESERT FOX a military success
- ◆ But UNSCOM dead and sanctions dying
- ◆ Saddam's new threat to Kuwait and Saudi Arabia
- ◆ US Iraq Liberation Act criticized by Zinni, others
- ◆ New approach: Suspend sanctions and reliance on deterrence?
- ◆ Modest opening to Khatemi's Iran still possible
- ◆ Iran also close to nuclear capability

**Implications:** U.S. military presence still required but environment more dangerous.

# Former Yugoslavia

- ◆ Bosnia remains unstable: exit strategy is constabulary force
  - ◆ Kosovo
    - US goal is autonomy not independence
    - Requires leverage on Belgrade and KLA
    - Potential missions: bombing or arms interdiction
    - Dangerous to deploy forces without agreement
    - PKO Deployment: 30,000 (2-7,000 U.S.), European command
    - Likely outcome is Kosovo independence
  - ◆ Macedonia is greatest danger: risk of wider war
    - Triggered by Kosovo spill over
    - Both UN and NATO forces there
  - ◆ Montenegro may also erupt: Djukanovic-Milosevic split
- Implications:** U.S. will be increasingly engaged in the area<sub>24</sub>



# Israel - Palestine

- ◆ Threat to Israel shifts from “tanks” to “knives and missiles”
  - ◆ Rabin assassination critical turning point
  - ◆ Netanyahu backing away from Wye Agreement
  - ◆ Arafat threatening declaration of Palestinian State
  - ◆ May 1999 deadline for Oslo process will not be met
  - ◆ Palestinian and Israeli extremists more active
  - ◆ Mordechai joins centrist party: May 99 elections key
  - ◆ Potential Jordanian instability complicates process
- Implications:** U.S. diplomatic involvement key but minimal consequences for military.

# Latin America

- ◆ Region generally stable with few exceptions
- ◆ Colombia:
  - 80% of world cocaine, 65% of U.S. heroin
  - Pastrana government not in control, peace process stalled
  - Paramilitary controls west, FARC the east
  - Both sides conduct massacres, protect cartels
  - U.S. aiding Colombian police and now military against FARC
- ◆ Haiti:
  - Preval moving towards rule without Parliament; backlash possible
  - U.S. aid frozen
- ◆ Cuba:
  - No longer a direct threat to U.S.
  - Need to avoid failed state

**Implications:** U.S. may become more involved in Colombia.

# Africa

- ◆ UN and U.S. reluctant after Somalia
  - ◆ Rwanda genocide has triggered broader conflict
  - ◆ African states intervening in neighbors' civil wars
    - 9 states in Congo civil war
    - Nigerian intervention in Liberia, Sierra Leone
    - Senegal troops in Guinea - Bissau
    - South African troops in Lesotho
    - Ethiopia and Eritrea near conflict
  - ◆ Most states suffering instability at home
- Implications:** U.S. efforts to establish regionally based peacekeeping not succeeding.

# Homeland Defense

- ◆ First stressed by National Defense Panel report
- ◆ New task forces for counterterrorism and WMD response
- ◆ PDD 62 calls for military role in consequence management
- ◆ PDD 63 on protection of critical infrastructures
- ◆ New roles for the National Guard
- ◆ FY 2000 budget includes \$10 billion to defend against terrorism, WMD, cyber attacks
- ◆ Narcotics cost US \$67 billion annually in law enforcement, corrections, public health
- ◆ \$6.6 billion more for national missile defense
- ◆ New roles for services

**Implications:** ACOM will be dealing more closely with civilian agencies.

# U.S. Military Strategy

- ◆ More dangerous world
- ◆ U.S. policy goals: security, prosperity, democracy
  - New stress on security
- ◆ Adjust National Defense Strategy
  - Shape environment to prevent bad outcome
  - Respond to broader contingencies
  - Prepare not just modernization but strategic flexibility

# Shaping the Environment

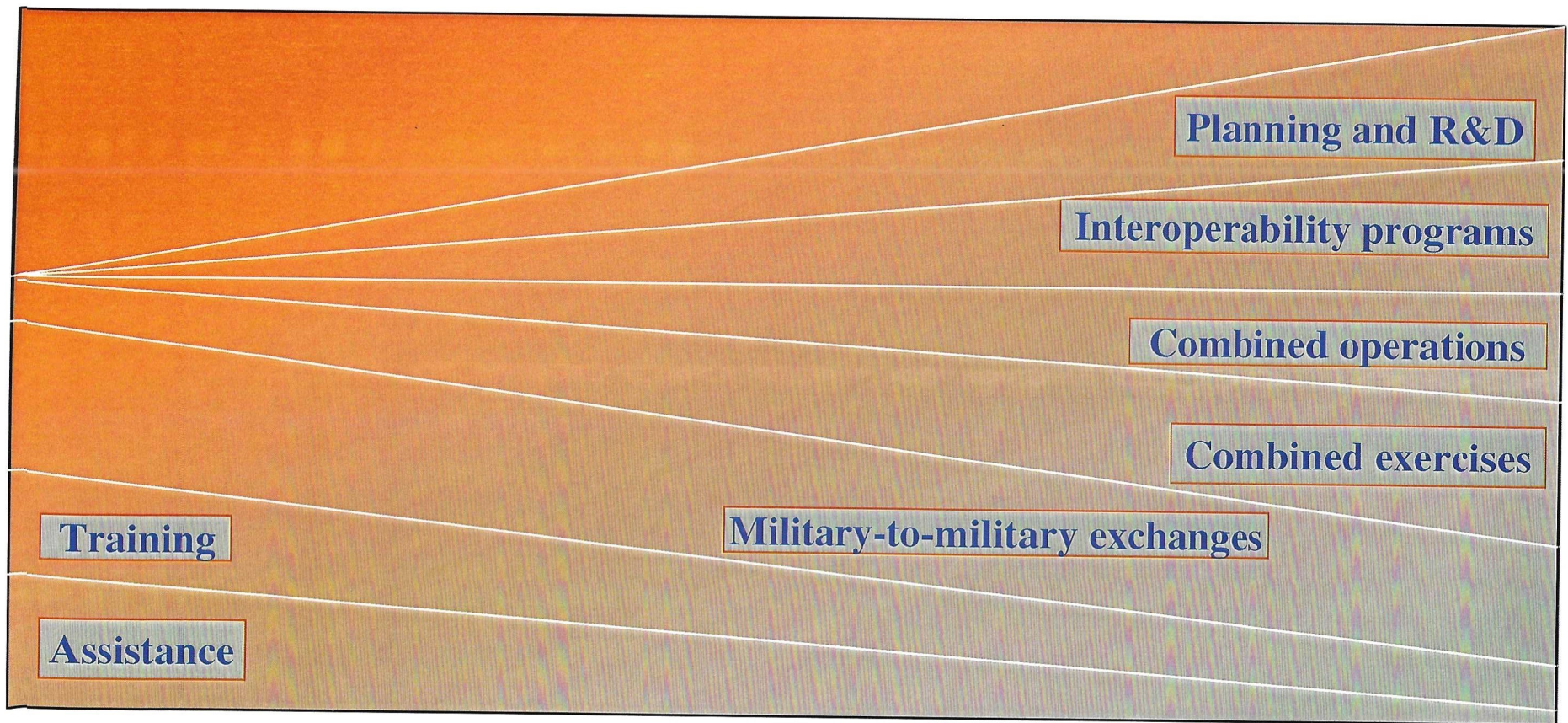
## Different goals for different regions

	Europe	E. Asia	Middle East	CIS	Latin America	Africa
Improve Coalitions	X	X	X	X	X	X
Limit Threats	X	X	X	X		
Defense Reform	X	X	X	X	X	X

X - major

X - minor

# Shaping: Different Tools for different stages



Transition States



Core Partners

Emphasis on Reform

Increasing sophistication and integration

Emphasis on Coalition Capability

Ukraine →

Poland →

S. Korea →



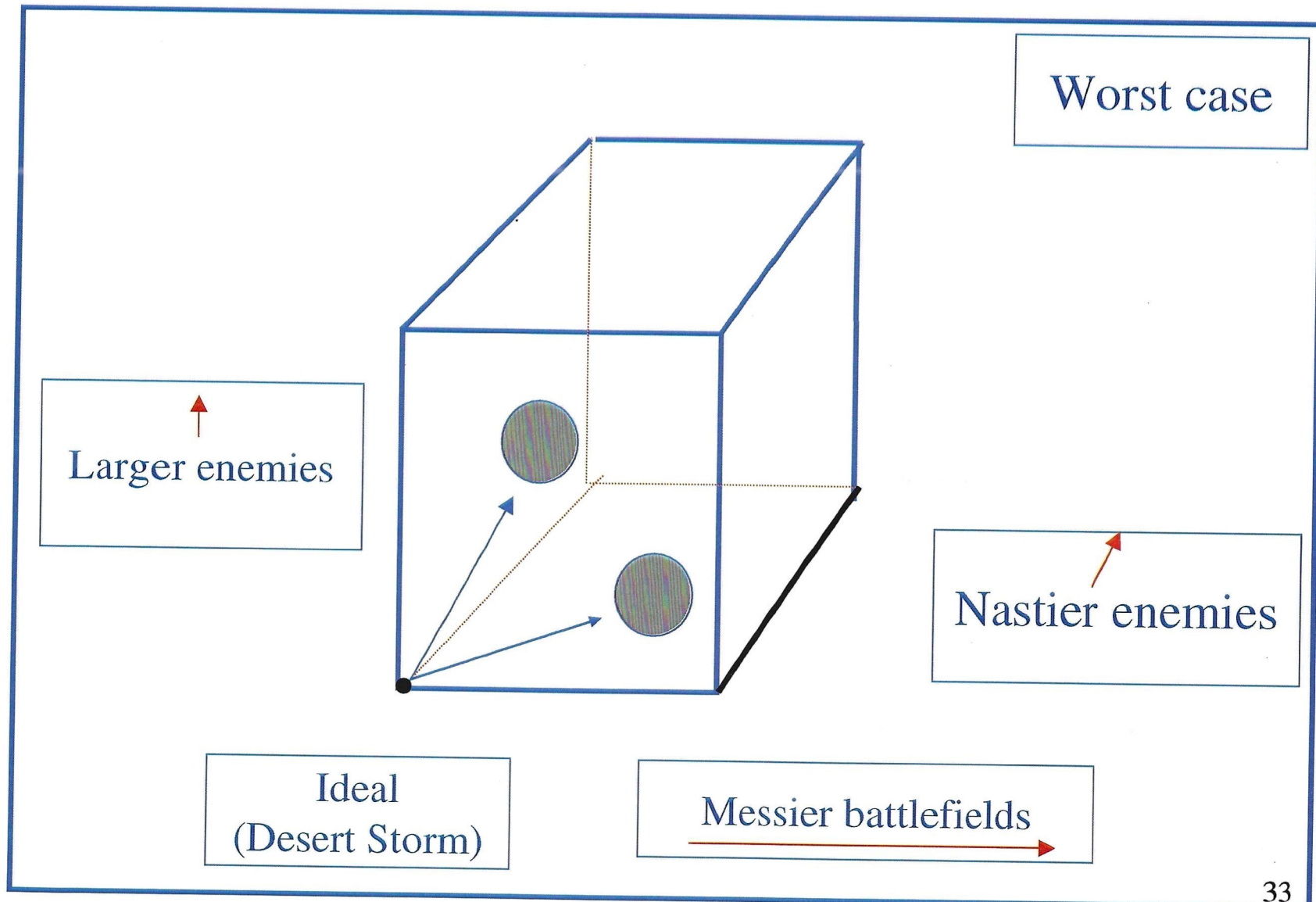
United Kingdom

# Responding to Crises

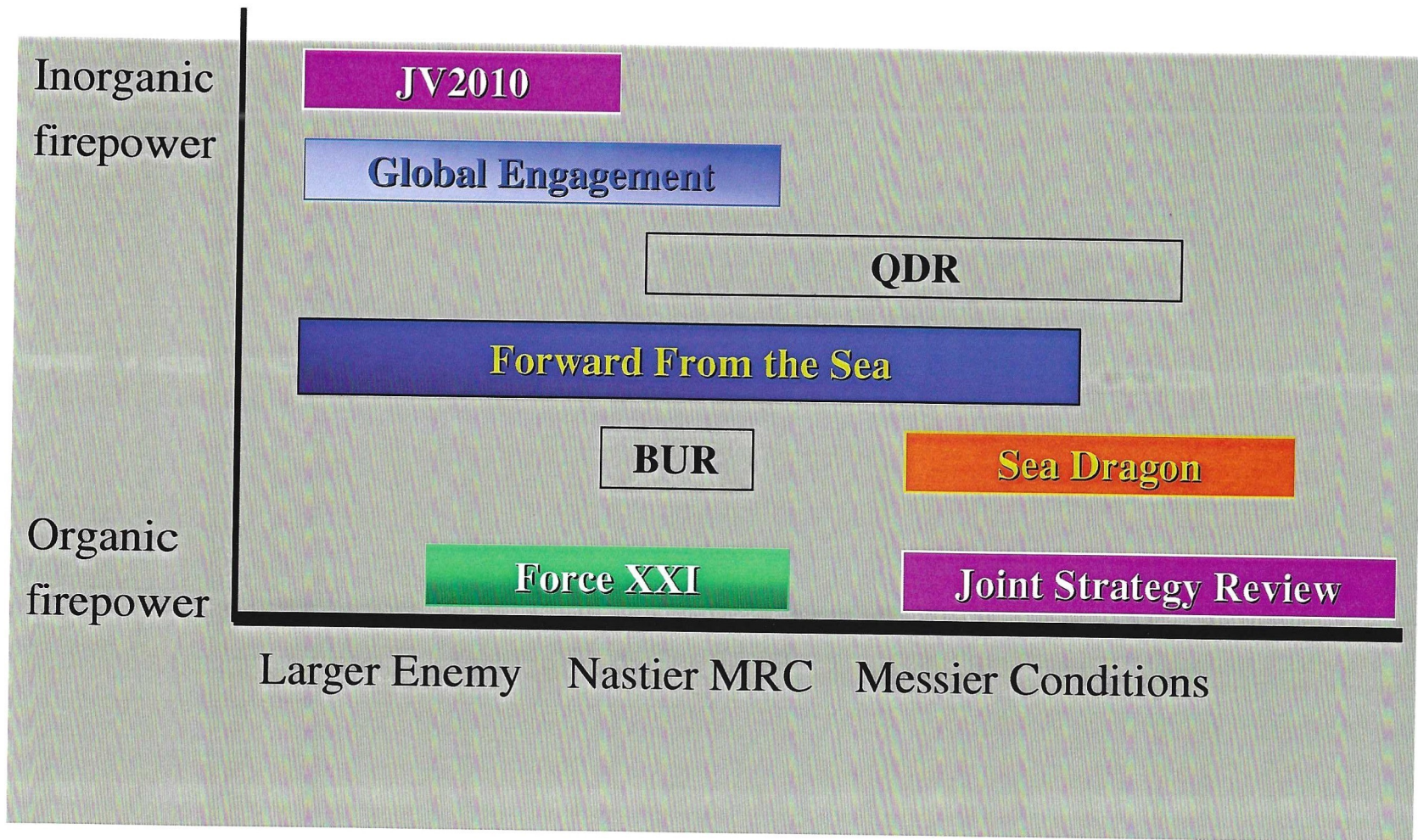
- ◆ Major Theater Warfare (MTW)
  - “defeat initial enemy advances short of enemy objectives in two theaters in close succession”
  - halt, build and pound, counter offensive
  - U.S. capabilities significant today
  - Hindered by asymmetric challenges: WMD, cheap high-tech, IW, terrorism
- ◆ Smaller Scale Contingencies (SSC)
  - includes: humanitarian assistance, peacekeeping, disaster relief, no-fly zones, NEO, limited strikes
  - create OPTEMPO problems for portion of the force
  - will this lead to split force?
- ◆ Transnational Threats
  - include: terrorism, narcotics/crime, environment, refugees
  - primarily police functions, military back-up



# Predicting the Future



# Preparing for the Future



# USACOM and Service RMA Efforts

## **USA Force XXI & AAN :**

### **A New Way of Land Warfare**

- Force XXI: Focus on Digitization of the Battlespace
- AAN War games and seminars
  - NATO Land Ops 2020
  - Strike Force SIMEX

## **USAF Global Engagement**

- 6 battle labs (C2, UAV, AEF, Space, IW, Force Protection)
- Global Engagement Games
- EFX-98/99 Experiments
  - Reachback/Extended Range Operations
  - Distributed C2

## **ACOM Experiments**

- Strategic Development
- Advanced Warfighting Experiments
- Functional Capabilities
  - Joint Battle Lab

## **USMC Operational Maneuver from the Sea**

Extensive use of the sea to gain advantage over enemy:

- Warfighting Lab
- Sea Dragon
  - Hunter Warrior
  - Urban Warrior
  - Capable Warrior

## **USN Forward...From the Sea**

Projecting power from the sea to influence events ashore via:

- Maritime Battle Lab
- Fleet Battle Experiments
- Netcentric Warfare
- IT-21