

## War of Memories: Explaining “Memorials War” in Estonia

By *Heiko Pääbo*\*

The events of April 2007 brought Estonia and Tallinn to the headlines of the international press. A country that was considered as a transition miracle and had the image of a peaceful Nordic country was suddenly reported as a battlefield of ethnic tensions. The centre of the capital, Tallinn, was bust up within one night and the Estonian government had to engage volunteers to help police suppress the riots in Tallinn and North-East Estonia. All Estonian society was shocked and it paralysed the communication between Estonian and Russian-speaking communities in Estonia. In addition to domestic developments, the Russian government and its pro-governmental organisations started to press for the resignation of the Estonian government, adding international dimension to the domestic affairs. All these events have raised several questions: What has happened? Why did it happen? Are they part of general developments? Or is it just a small exception? Was it an internal conflict or a part of a broader international conflict? Although a year has passed since the troubled April days, we are still unable to find proper answers, and there are far too many different narratives circling around to explain the events. The following article includes different perspectives and also dimensions to understand the complexity of the April 2007 events in Estonia. The author claims that the most comprehensive way to define the conflict is to analyse it in the framework of “War of Memories” and that it is crucial to analyse the events separately on domestic and international levels.

### 1. How to understand the concept of “War of Memories”?

“War of Memories” is more complex to understand than war because it is related to more abstract phenomena than a regular war. This notion includes the complex process of identity formation, which is supported by constant propaganda to establish the loyalty of masses for the purpose of the war. To better understand the process, the author explains, firstly, the process of identity formation and the role of “memory” in this process. Thereafter, it will be discussed how propaganda is used in the War of

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Memories as its means. Thus, being a psychological war, it aims at winning the hearts and minds of people.

Identity formation is a relational process, which requires the conceptual pair of “Self” and “Other” (Neumann, 1998:17). In the context of international relations, one should analyse the formation of collective identity, a process which is crucial to understanding how nations define themselves in world politics and how they try to build borders between themselves and others. Therefore, the relation between self and other is the key to state identification, and international relations studies focus on this relational pair by analysing how the border is built between self and other and what the meaning of the other is, because it is as crucial as identity itself.

The formation of collective identity in the context of international relations can be defined as nation-building process which aims at the result whereby “inhabitants of a state’s territory come to be loyal citizens of that state” (Bloom, 1990:55). Moreover, Bloom claimed that the nation-building process is a crucial source for foreign policy because successful nation-building forms “a clear political solidarity in relation to the external environment” (Bloom, 1990:58). Therefore, it is important to understand what the source of national identity is. Bloom (1990) referred to it as “national identity dynamics” (79-80). One of the most important sources of loyalty is evoked by national consciousness, which is based on the “the myths, memories, traditions, and symbols of ethnic heritage and in the ways in which a popular living past has been, and can be, rediscovered and reinterpreted by modern nationalist intelligentsia.” (Smith, 1999:9). National consciousness is strongly related to national collective memory, which is framed by national history narratives, which defined group relations with others in the past, but at the same time also prescribes behaviour in the present as well as in the future. Therefore, memory studies analyse “the representations and images, myths and values recognized or tolerated by groups or the entire society, and which constitute the content of collective psychologies” (Mandrou 1985, cited in Confino 1997:1389). To conclude, collective memory is a crucial element for national identity and it defines self-perception and perceptions of others for a nationally conscious person. Therefore, collective national memory can be also a crucial element of state foreign policy, which can be legitimised through a collective national past or mobilise a nationally

conscious people to protect the national identity. This last one can be defined as securitisation of the national identity through collective memory.

In defining the significance of memory in the identity formation process, it is important to understand its role in international relations. Collective memory defines the values and beliefs of a society. And beliefs are an important source for international behaviour of a nation (Jervise, 1989). The beliefs about the other and the expectations of the other's behaviour are defined by collective memory. Hence, War of Memories occurs in a case of clashing collective memories when different nations have contradicting memories of the common past. It leads to a situation where national identities are perceived as being under threat and therefore it may cause the securitisation of collective memory by the political elite of the nation. Challenging national identity is an essential crisis for each nationally conscious person, and therefore the memory securitization is very easy to accomplish. However, the author claims that War of Memories is subject to political manipulation and occurs in a context where the government demonstrates that national identity is threatened and would be enhanced through a policy that masses would be mobilised to support (Bloom, 1990:79).

In a War of Memories, governments highlight the clash points of collective memories to mobilise the masses so as to get support for its policies; it leads to securitisation of national memories and through it also of national identity. Securitisation means that the government highlights policies related to the securitised objects as extraordinary ones, which should not be discussed or challenged by internal forces (Buzan, 1996). Any contradiction is considered a sign of betrayal and is therefore a security threat. To gain public support and to justify their policies governments use propaganda. In this article, the definition of propaganda is borrowed from P. M. Taylor who states that propaganda should be understood more objectively "as a process for the showing, germination and cultivation of ideas" (Taylor, 2003:2). According to this definition, propaganda is common in all societies and forms a crucial part in power struggle; it is the main instrument of psychological warfare. Governments use collective memory as a source for their propaganda, at the same time reproducing the narratives and myths, which reconstruct the collective memory and national identity, strengthening beliefs, which make states act towards each

other. Therefore, very often one's belief is perceived by others as propaganda and vice versa.

Taylor claimed that propaganda has been a natural part of all wars, being a crucial instrument to win the mental battles and to create myths (Taylor, 2003:5). Although Taylor defined propaganda as a side effect of a war, but as important as any other weapon, in the case of War of Memories, propaganda takes a dominant place in the battles because it aims at changing someone's beliefs and values to win over their loyalty. Therefore "War of Memories" is a long-running process, which can be escalated and de-escalated during different periods, depending on the parties' actions; it can also cause some bigger or smaller outbursts, e.g. April 2007 events in Tallinn.

In the context of the War of Memories, the commemorative activities play a key role. Commemoration is meant "to remember a past event that is considered important for the community or the state" (Onken, January 2007:23). It can be applied by a commemoration day or some certain objects – memorials. Therefore, memorials are important elements for collective memory because they are symbols of the past and by commemoration they help to underline the significance of some certain event. The memorials become especially important in the context of active contest, struggle or annihilation (Gillis, 1994:5), which is part of a War of Memories. In this context, the memorials will be given significance that includes the crucial part of national identity. Through the memorials, the abstract quarrel is materialised and those visual objects make the War more understandable. By giving significance, the governmental propaganda facilitates the cultivation of ideas among the population. Therefore, actions towards memorials in a War of Memories have very symbolic meanings, and it carries a crucial function in the propaganda of a state. Thus, the role of memorials in the War of Memories can play a key role, as happened in Estonia.

The following part of the article deals with the Estonian case of War of Memories. The theoretical framework defined above facilitates understanding of the April 2007 events in Tallinn. The author claims that the riots were only an outburst and escalation of the longer War of Memories. Therefore the article is focused on a longer period than April 2007. It is important to draw a line between the domestic and external

dimensions of this conflict to comprehend the motivation of different agents.

## **2. War of Memories – the Estonian domestic dimension**

By the time of the re-establishment of its independence, Estonia's ethnic composition was totally changed in comparison to the pre-World War II period of independence. Almost 40% of the population were non-Estonians and the majority of them migrated to Estonia during the Soviet occupation. In 1992, the Estonian Citizenship Law from 1938 was restored and all Estonian inhabitants who came to Estonia after June 1940 (the month when the Soviet occupation started in Estonia) and their descendants had to gain Estonian citizenship through naturalisation. It made almost one-third of Estonia's population, mostly Russian-speakers, foreigners or non-citizens (Budryte, 2005:65-66). It was the Estonian government's first act of nation-building, defining the immediate members of the group and who did not belong there by identifying those who had to prove their loyalty to the Estonian state in order to become members of Estonian citizenry. Although during the past 15 years almost 40% of them have been naturalised, others are without citizenship (25%) or have either taken a different citizenship (predominantly the Russian Federation) or left Estonia (Statistics of Citizenship, 2007). The division between Estonian and Russian-speaking communities has not disappeared but rather consolidated as a border between two communities. Those two communities are, in everyday life, relatively separated and also have different values and beliefs. Not surprisingly the communities do not share the same collective memory and the April 2007 events were just one example of it. The focus of those events was World War II and war memorials as the landmarks in collective memories. Firstly, those two different collective memory narratives are defined as identity sources for two communities. It defines the different understandings about the past and origin of people in Estonia and offers a better understanding of what the quarrel is about in this conflict. Thereafter the developments in Estonia during the last three-four years will be analysed by defining the explanations of those events and indicating the role of collective memory in the process.

## 2.1 The Estonian community's view

Estonian national consciousness had already been developed before the establishment of an independent Estonian state, therefore it has an exclusive character. The following part depicts the current predominant understanding of the past among the ethnic Estonians. The Estonian governments have supported this narrative and thus, since the restoration of an independent Estonia, the nation-building process has been based mostly on the nation-state principle that Estonia is home for the ethnic Estonians and all the others are guests/foreigners who have to accommodate to Estonian society. According to the Estonian national history narrative, Estonian independence was declared in 1918 and confirmed by the Tartu Peace Treaty in 1920. In 1940, the Soviet Union violated the earlier treaties and forced Estonia to accept its regime, which started the 50-year occupation. In 1941, the Soviet occupation was replaced by the Nazi occupation, which lasted more than three years, and thereafter the Soviet troops restored the earlier occupation. Estonian men used the German army (Estonian *Waffen SS*) to fight against the approaching Red Army. This fight is considered as the last Independence War against the Soviet Union. On September 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1944, Tallinn was taken from the legitimate Estonian government, which had managed to take power from the German occupation forces a couple of days before. Therefore the Red Army did not liberate Tallinn and Estonia but conquered it and re-established the Soviet occupation, which caused huge casualties (estimated 17.5% of the population) (Estonian State Commission on Examination of the Policies of Repression, 2005). This national history narrative underlines the victimisation of the Estonians and offers justification for the chosen nation-building process.

In addition, the de-legitimization of the Soviet history narrative also required a reassessment of the national history of Estonia. During the Soviet occupation, men who fought for Estonian independence were condemned as fascists. Therefore, according to the Estonian national elite in the restored independent Estonian Republic, justice should be restored and the Estonian soldiers should be respected and honoured as freedom fighters. In addition, Estonia should remove all symbols of the occupations, Soviet ones as well as Nazi symbols, because both regimes were equally criminal by causing a lot of suffering for Estonians. The war memorial in Tonismäe ("The Bronze Soldier") was perceived as a symbol

of the Soviet occupation, and the most disconcerting aspect was that Estonian Russian-speakers celebrated May 9<sup>th</sup> (the Soviet Victory Day) and September 22<sup>nd</sup> (anniversary of Tallinn's conquest) with different Russian/Soviet flags in the middle of the Estonian capital, next to the Estonian national parliament. It was perceived as disrespect towards the Estonian independent state and Estonians' sufferings during the occupation years.

## **2.2 The Russian-speaking community's view**

The Russian-speaking community's collective memory from the Soviet period is totally opposite and for them it is difficult to understand why the Estonian government pushed them out of the Estonian political community. The restoration of the Estonian independence was not a convincing argument for them. The majority of the Estonian Russian-speaking community or their ancestors arrived to Estonia during the Soviet years: some of them were directed to Estonia by the Soviet labour and migration policies, some came to Estonia because it offered them better opportunities and living standards. Estonia was perceived as a part of the Soviet Union and therefore migration to Estonian territories was perceived as regular domestic migration and not as a colonial policy, like it is depicted by the Estonian narrative. During the restoration of the Estonian independence, a significant part of the Russian-speakers supported an independent Estonia; as well as the other part, although smaller but the most active one, was strongly against it. Therefore, restoration of the old citizenship law was a disappointment for the Russian-speaking community and the introduction of the Law on Aliens in 1993 was perceived by them as ethnic cleansing (Budryte, 2005:72). The Russian-speakers did not share with the Estonians the undisputable position of the Estonian national narrative that Estonia was forcefully occupied by the Soviet Union in 1940. In 2005, 56% saw it as voluntary act and only 30% of the Russian-speakers agreed with the Estonian position (Vetik, 2007).

The Russian-speaking community shares a common understanding about the Second World War with Russia, which defines it as the Great Patriotic War and depicts it as the Russians' self-denying fight against evil fascism. Therefore, on September 22, Tallinn was liberated from fascists, and the Estonians, as all other European nations, should be grateful to the Russians for liberating Europe from the criminal Nazi occupation. It is important to

underline that, among Russian-speakers in Estonia, as well among the Russians in Russia, the Great Patriotic War is perceived as a people's fight against fascism, not as a fight for Stalin or for the communists, as the Estonian narrative depicts it (Pavlovskiy, 2008). It is also difficult to understand the victimization of the Estonians because, according to the Russian collective memory, everybody suffered, and Russians were the biggest victims (Lotman, 2007). The Estonian government's policy towards the Memorial of Tallinn Liberation ("The Bronze Soldier") was perceived as a denial of the sacrifice of the Russian people and an equalization of the Soviet regime with the Nazi one, almost as criminal as the latter regime itself. In addition, the Memorial that symbolised occupation for the Estonians has a totally different significance for the Russian-speaking community. Astrov claimed that the intensity of the Estonian Russian-speakers' self-identification with the monument may be explained by the structural similarity between theirs and the monument's status within the structure of the Estonian society. Both the Russian-speakers and the monument were excluded from the proper public sphere. At the same time, in this capacity, they served as markers of the foundations of the Estonian statehood: as long as the restored Estonian state defined itself by reference to the occupation, the monument and the Estonian Russian-speakers (as "colonists") served as a marker of this specific foundation of Estonian state (Astrov, 2007).

### **2.3 Domestic factors for escalating the conflict**

The April 2007 events were the culmination of the tensions between the above mentioned collective memories. Although the violent outburst was surprising and shocking for both communities in Estonia, the conflicting narratives and understandings were identified in the society earlier. The question of the removal of the "Bronze Soldier" was raised already in the 1990s, but the politicians could not manage to resolve the issue. In 2002, a memorial for the Estonians who fought in the German army was erected, and thereafter quickly removed in Pärnu. The real escalation of tensions started with the first battle of the "Memorials War" in Lihula, in 2004. As mentioned above, memorials play a crucial role in the War of Memories as commemoration objects. In the following, firstly, a short description of those events will be given; thereafter the domestic factors will be analysed.



The events in the Western Estonian municipality of Lihula are the trigger of the “Memorials War” in Estonia. In August 2004, the municipality of Lihula led by the national-radicals decided to erect a monument, “To the Estonian men who fought in 1940-1945 against Bolshevism and for the restoration of the Estonian independence”; this war monument was removed in 2002 from Parnu, the neighbouring town (BBC, 2004). During the Soviet times, those soldiers were officially condemned and considered as fascists, because they fought in the German army. In the current Estonian collective memory, they are honoured as freedom fighters who tried to use the last chance to stop the Soviet occupation. Thus, the men’s motivation to fight in German uniform is controversial. The erection of the war monument caused a strong international outcry, referring to an Estonian wish to rewrite history and glorify the war criminals (Droge, 2004; Simon Wiesenthal Centre, 2004). Although an Estonian semiotic analysis reached the conclusion that the monument was not depicting a Nazi soldier but had several particular elements of Estonian symbols, the Estonian government could not explain it to the international public and the monument was removed (Postimees, 2004). The removal caused resistance, and Estonian riot police had to intervene in the process. This event marked the first step towards the securitisation of the Estonian collective national memory and gave grounds for the Estonian national radicals to claim that the Estonian national identity was threatened.

The “Memorial War” was intensified step by step after the Lihula events in 2004. Although the Soviet monument in Tonismäe was blemished by vandals in 2005, and also some other monuments were damaged, the public opinion nevertheless did not consider it a major issue. According to Juhan Kivirähk (2005), the majority of the Estonian population presumed it a normal phenomenon that war veterans were gathering at the “Bronze Soldier”; he estimated that less than 25% of the ethnic Estonians did not tolerate it (BNS, 2005). But, a year later, the Estonian nationalist radicals as well as their Russian-speaking community counterparts were dominating in the public discourse. In May 2006, the nationalist forces in both communities defined their positions: the Estonian national-conservative political party Pro Patria required the removal of the “Bronze Soldier”, and a Russian-speaking political party, the Constitutional Party, declared that they would defend the statue. In addition to the political parties, the radical movements were involved in the debate, which culminated in the Estonian national radicals’ provocative demonstration in the middle of the Russian-

speakers' Victory Day celebration at the "Bronze Soldier" on May 9<sup>th</sup>, 2006. To avoid a bigger conflict, the police removed a small Estonian group from the Russian-speaking crowd, but it raised the discussion in the Estonian public discourse, as to why the Soviet flags were tolerated and the Estonian one was removed in the middle of the capital of independent Estonia; and why the monument in Lihula was removed so quickly, while in Tallinn the government's policies were toothless (Postimees, 2006a; Postimees, 2006b). That was the second step for involving the collective memories more and more in the political debate and to mobilise the nationally conscious people for the support of a certain idea.

All those sudden issues involved the government more and more in a conflict they wanted to avoid. The turmoil in May 2006 can be considered as the hijacking of the political forum by the radicals who started escalating the tensions and emphasised the clash between two different collective memories. The manipulation with the national consciousness forced the government to get involved in the public debate, and politicians had to take positions on the issue of the monument. During the period of May-July 2006, the Estonian and the Russian media focused heavily on the "Bronze Soldier" issue. Politicians, with their public statements pro or contra removal of the monument, escalated the tensions in society even more (Konno, 2006). On the one hand, the radicals' actions and statements forced the government to take positions and actions; on the other hand, those acts and statements gave more ground to broaden the debate, which earlier was located in the periphery of the public discourse. Also, the discussion changed public opinion in Estonia and deepened the polarisation between the Estonian and Russian-speaking communities: by the end of May, 53% of the ethnic Estonians supported removal of the "Bronze Soldier", 29% were against; 16% of the Russian-speakers supported it and 73% were against it (BNS, 2006).

One very important domestic factor in the escalation of the War on Memories was the elections to the Estonian national parliament, Riigikogu, in March 2007. It was strongly related to the previous factor and was one of the reasons why the radicals managed to raise this peripheral issue to the centre of political debate. In his media report, Konno concluded that one of the most common positions in the media, and mostly in the Estonian media, was that the "Bronze Soldier" was put into service to gain political support (Konno, 2006:10). However, this forced and uncomfortable

situation for the politicians was gradually transforming to an active pre-election campaign. Whereas at the beginning the political parties were forced to become involved in the debate over the “Bronze Soldier”, then later the political parties started using collective memory for their own benefit. As much as the main coalition partners differed in their positions (the Reform Party supported the transfer of the monument to the military cemetery and the Centre Party supported the status quo), at the beginning it was considered as an unsuccessful attempt to break the coalition (Savisaar, 2006). In the second half of the year, the parties were already more openly disagreeing on this issue, and it became an important topic in the pre-election debates, occupying more space than it was worth. At this point, it is important to analyse the motivations of the main parties.

The biggest clash was between the Reform Party and the Centre Party. Pro Patria and Res Publica, representing national-conservative forces, had strong positions on this issue already earlier – the “Bronze Soldier” should be removed. The Social Democrats and the People’s Party tried to avoid taking clear positions; however, the Social Democrats tended rather to support the transfer of the monument and the People’s Union rather not. The Centre Party has the biggest Russian-speaking electorate in Estonia, and therefore this party became the defender of the idea that the war monument should stay in Tonismäe because it is an important symbol for about 200000 inhabitants of Estonia (Savisaar, 2006). In contrast to the Estonian mass media, the Russian mass media in Estonia did not make any big difference between the Estonian political parties, and all Estonians were accused of nationalism and, in the worst cases, even of fascism; the transfer of the “Bronze Soldier” was seen as the expression of those tendencies in the Estonian society (Konno, 2006:10). Therefore, it was crucial for the Centre Party to take a very clear stance on this issue, as not to lose the Russian-speaking electorate. The public opinion poll demonstrated that the Centre Party lost almost 10% of its Russian-speaking electorate (TSN EMOR, 2006). It is also important to mention that one of the Russian-speaking parties (the Constitutional Party) was very closely related to the Russian-speakers’ radical movement “Night Watch” and therefore could gain the votes lost by the Centre Party.

The Reform Party was focused on gaining votes from the Estonian electorate. In the elections of 2003, a new political force, Res Publica, won big support and took votes from the national party Pro Patria with its mild

national rhetoric. For the elections in 2007, Pro Patria and Res Publica merged into a moderate national-conservative party Pro Patria and Res Publica Union. The Reform Party could see the necessity of increasing its national stance. In addition, being in government during the events in May 2006, prescribed a more national rhetoric for this party. The public opinion polls showed that the united Pro Patria and Res Publica was catching up on the Reform Party and the latter was losing its electorate (Koch, 2006). In addition, the Reform party had been the major counterweight to the Centre Party and the earlier main dividing issue of tax policy was overshadowed by the debates, which were supported by the collective memory arguments, making the “Bronze Soldier” one of the main topic in the elections. After winning elections and forming a coalition, the Reform Party and the Pro Patria Res Publica Union had to implement the policies they promised during the election campaign. In this way, those parties were hostages to their own tactics of using the collective memory in their election campaigns.

The broader domestic background of the War of Memories is related to the Estonian nation-building process and the failed integration policy. Estonia, like any other post-soviet nation, faced the challenge of state- and nation-building. The above-mentioned restoration policy was based on exclusion rhetoric, and the bigger part of the Russian-speaking minority was treated as immigrants. The identity construction was supported by a collective memory, which did not consider the local Russian-speaking community as a natural part of the Estonian society. The constructed national history narrative focused on the expression of suppressed memories about repression and injustice during the Soviet years and did not include at all other nations living in Estonia (Onken, January 2007:33). Focusing on Estonians and relying on the nation-state principle, the Russian-speaking minority was presented as an undesirable relic of the Soviet period. Thus, the Russian-speaking population could not find a proper place in Estonian nation-building and was hindered by the identity formation of this community – they are not considered as Russians in Russia; at the same time, they are not taken as Estonians in Estonia, because the definition of an Estonian is narrowly based on the ethnic Estonians.

During the 1990s, the Russian-speaking community was associated with Russia, and, as much Russia was considered as the biggest threat for

Estonians, then, instead of constructing an including narrative for all people living in Estonia, the formed identity excluded most of the Russian-speaking people. The only way to become included was to learn the Estonian language, and this became the main measurement of loyalty to the Estonian state. By the turn of the century, the appearance of a new inclusive identity was notable but the Lihula events in 2004 established a new confrontation (Ehala, 2007:5). The confrontation of the 1990s was more related to the Russian threat; the new confrontation was more heavily related to the collective memories. However, the division before the April 2007 events was not so strongly based on ethnic division, and Ehala claims in his report that around 40% of the Estonian population was ready to take up the new inclusive identity, but the radicals on both sides managed to establish a new dividing line (Ehala, 2007:7). At this point, one can see the influence of the clashing collective memories. The formation of a common identity required a uniting collective memory, but it was missing, and the identity formation processes escalated the War of Memories which existed already earlier. It is also important to underline Russia's policies as an external factor in this process but this issue will be discussed later.

Government's ignorance towards integration issues and the neglected policy cultivation of the Russian-speaking community were important factors for the April 2007 events. The Estonian government was not able to understand that, when they want to achieve their goals, they have to deal efficiently in propaganda among the Russian-speaking community. Instead of cultivating its ideas among the Russian-speakers, the Estonian government focused on the Estonians and offered arguments why this policy was important. In case the statements of the Estonian politicians reached the Russian-speaking community, the argumentation was given in the framework of Estonian collective memory and therefore was not well understood by the Russian-speaking recipients, which deepened even more the feeling that the Estonians wanted revenge by removing the monument and facilitated the victimisation tendencies among the Russian-speakers. This community was neglected and the situation was escalated by the position of the Estonian government that they do not have any serious political representation in Estonia to negotiate with (Berg, 2007). The Russian-speaking community felt that they were left aside and the removal of the "Bronze Soldier" was an example of their marginalisation in the Estonian society. Therefore one additional factor was also a feeling of disappointment that the government did not take their opinion into

consideration, and the big secrecy surrounding the transfer of the memorial caused a lot of distrust towards the Estonian government (Vetik, 2007:3).

To conclude the domestic factors of the War of Memories, it is important to emphasise the domination of radicals in both communities, which forced the inclusion of this topic into the main political discourse and, during the pre-election period, transformed it into a part of the election campaign. In addition, the misperception of integration and ethnocentric nation-building processes were the reasons and a fertile soil for the clash of conflicting collective memories. However, understanding of the conflict would not be comprehensive if the international dimension was excluded.

### **3. War of Memories – the international dimension**

At the beginning of the April riots in Tallinn, the Estonian government had a firm position that it was a domestic issue and therefore Estonia didn't need any international support or involvement. When the events developed further and the Estonian Embassy in Moscow was besieged by the pro-Kremlin youth movement *Nashi*, the Estonian government realised that it was more than a domestic conflict and vandalism in Tallinn. Later, it was even comfortable to solely blame Russia for it and to avoid acknowledging the domestic reasons for the conflict. Hereby, the article defines two aspects in the international dimension of the War of Memories: the general context of the conflict and the battlefield actions.

#### **3.1 War of Memories – Russia vs. Central and Eastern Europe**

The author claims that the “Memorials War” in Estonia is only one battlefield of a general reviewing of European history. By the end of World War II, Central and Eastern European nations found themselves in the iron grip of the Soviet Union. The misunderstandings and roles of different nations in the war were not discussed, but the Soviet historical narrative replaced all possible individual memories. To survive this potential schizophrenia, nations had to accept a voluntary amnesia (Judt, 2002:167). The collapse of the Soviet Union opened a new chance to look at the national pasts and to change the dominant Soviet history narrative with national ones by questioning the taboo issues from the past. Russia, as the successor state of the Soviet Union, was also trying to redefine its identity. Fifteen years later, the European geopolitical map was changed by the

enlargement of the European Union and NATO. The former Soviet countries feel themselves as fully-pledged members of Europe and, on the European level, the earlier European understandings of the past are challenged. Western Europe has the problem of a shortage of memory, aiming to forget the horrors of the war; Central and Eastern Europe have the problem of too many memories and unanswered questions (Judt, 2002:172). Many questions make them look inquisitively at Russia but they find in bewilderment that Russia has returned to the earlier Soviet narratives. That is the main reason for collective memory clashes in Central and Eastern Europe.

The former Soviet bloc countries are interested in that their sufferings are fairly treated, and therefore the Central and Eastern European countries lobby for the position that Nazism and communism are similar totalitarian regimes (Lauristin, 2007:403). Those countries have raised the issue of condemnation of communism crimes in the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly. In 2006, it adopted the resolution 1481 “Need for International Condemnation of Crimes of Totalitarian Communist Regimes”, which was relatively toothless because of the strong resistance by the Russian and Unified European Left delegates (Onken, January 2007:31-32). Also, in the European Parliament, the delegates from the Central and Eastern European countries lobby for a universal European condemnation of communists’ crimes. Estonia has strongly supported these initiatives. The Estonian case was perceived by Russia as a dangerous precedent, which, if left without punishment, would cause a “domino effect” in the region, and also other countries who question the liberator role of the Soviet Union may take up similar activities. The Estonian policy found support and encouraged similar debates in other Central and Eastern European countries, e.g. Poland (dgs/ap/dpa, 2007).

In addition, one can see the War of Memories on the bilateral level. At the same time as the Central and Eastern European countries deal with the condemnation of the communist past on the European level, Russia has been focused on strengthening its national pride through the glorious victory in World War II. This war plays a crucial role in the Russian collective memory. It is depicted as the heroic fight of the people against the evil fascists who wanted to annihilate the Russian people; therefore it was not an ideological war but a fight for life or death, and the Russians managed to win it (Pavlovskiy, 2008). The first bigger clash on the bilateral

level was related to the grandiose celebrations of the 60-year anniversary of the end of the Great Patriotic War in 2005. Russia's President Vladimir Putin invited the world leaders to celebrate the event in Moscow, including the Baltic as well as Polish presidents. The Estonian and Lithuanian presidents declined the invitation, claiming that this day was not a celebration for their nations; the Latvian and Polish presidents decided to participate but actively raised the issue of the Eastern European view of World War II (Onken, January 2007:39-40). This event also started an active historical debate inside those countries. On the one hand, the Estonian government focused on uncovering and publicizing the crimes of the Soviet occupation (e.g. White Book: Estonian State Commission on Examination of the Policies of Repression, 2005), and strengthening the victimisation of the Estonians. On the other hand, the Russian politicians denied the occupation of the Baltic states, and its historians started to publish literature, which showed that the Soviet repressions in the Baltic states were overestimated (e.g. "Myth about Genocide: Soviet Repressions in Estonia (1940-1953)" by Alexandr Dyukov, 2007). This "debate" does not target the historians in Estonia or Russia but is meant for propaganda to convince the audience of the truth of the narrative of their collective memory.

This broader context is important for understanding the significance of the "Memorials War" in Estonia. The conflict around the war monuments in Estonia is only a little battle in the bigger War of Memories, and it is crucial to realise the general framework of the conflict for analysing the international dimension of this quarrel. It is not only an Estonian-Russian bilateral issue, but a part of a general reconstruction of a common European identity and its collective memory on the one side; on the other side, it is part of the Russian collective memory consolidation and the reconstruction of a (post-)imperial identity.

### **3.2 War of Memories – "Battlefield Estonia"**

Below I analyse the Russian and Estonian actions during the period of the "Bronze Soldier" crisis and show how both sides tried to legitimise their activities. The clash of collective memories of the two communities in Estonia would get much less attention if it only stayed inside the borders of Estonia. Russia used the possibility to play its role in the full scale and its behaviour escalated the conflict inside Estonia and rendered it the



European and even the North-Atlantic dimension. The Estonian politicians used Russia's overreactions as a shield to cover their shortcomings and failures, and the initial position of it being a domestic problem which was successfully replaced by a picture that it was all organised and conducted from Moscow. The latter version facilitated the mobilisation of the Estonian population and gave the government a skyrocketing support (84% of the ethnic Estonians supported the government's policies (TNS EMOR, 2007)).

Although the propaganda war between Estonia and Russia existed before the April riots in Tallinn, the initial position of the Estonian government was that it was an Estonian domestic issue and that no other country should be involved in this process. Emotional Russian statements and youth demonstrations at the Estonian Embassy in Moscow made the Estonian government separate the internal conflict from Russia's policies. Therefore, Estonia was looking for the support from its allies for claiming that Russia should not be involved in the Estonian internal affairs (Postimees, 2007, online). The aim of the Estonian government was to demonstrate that Estonia is a sovereign nation and that no other country, particularly Russia as the former occupant nation, should prescribe the policies for Estonia. In the context of the War of Memories, it was a very important symbolic act of emancipation from the collective memory – a sovereign nation has the right to understand its past as it wants. The Russian politicians' claims that the Estonian government's activities were the reasons for war (MP D. Rogozin, April 19<sup>th</sup>, 2007 (Rosbalt, 2007)) or that the Estonian government should resign (head of the Russian State Duma delegation to Estonia L. Slutski, April 30<sup>th</sup>, 2007 (Postimees, 2007a)) were useful statements for the Estonian government's propaganda to consolidate the Estonian nation and to demonstrate that Russia was challenging the Estonian collective memory, identity and independence. This policy worked effectively to mobilise the ethnic Estonians, but at the same time it alienated the non-Estonian population who did not show their loyalty to the Estonian government and mainly condemned the government's policies (TNS EMOR, 2007). It offers the possibility to measure the success of the Estonian and Russian sides in the battle for the hearts and minds.

It is also important to analyse how the battle over the hearts and minds worked. The Estonian official policy is that the Estonian state language is

Estonian, and therefore the Estonian government has not established any public Russian language TV channel. Although the Russian-speaking elite has lobbied for the idea of establishing an information channel in Russian to inform the Russian-speakers in their native language, this idea has not found strong support among the Estonian politicians (Mikko, 2007). The major problem is that the Estonian and Russian-speaking communities live in different information spaces – the Estonians get information from the Estonian channels and the Russian-speakers receive it predominantly from Russia's TV channels. It is not only a problem that the Estonians and the Russian-speakers perceive the world differently, but it has also caused the situation where Russia has the possibility to socialise and form the worldview of the majority of the Estonian Russian-speaking community (Kalev, 2007:3). In this situation, the Estonian government's policies have created an advantageous situation for the Russian government to spread its propaganda among the Estonian Russian-speakers. In the international context, the behaviour of Russia's politicians and pro-Kremlin activists seemed to be very irrational. Instead of convincing the international public that their positions were right and Estonia was the wrongdoer, their activities rather seemed to harm Russia's international status. At the same time, it was very useful for the internal audience and also not less valuable to gain the loyalty of the Estonian Russian-speakers.

In addition to the statements, which claimed the injustice and discrimination of Russian-speakers by the Estonian government, the glorification of the past heroism of the war veterans, underlining the sacrifices of those killed in the war, was undertaken. Russian propaganda was based on a clear-cut logic: if one does not accept the fact that the Red Army liberated Europe from fascism, then the one supports fascism, the biggest evil in the world. Those people do not deserve respect, and the governments who are against Russia's narrative are as inhuman and criminal as the Nazi government was. Therefore, on the Internet, large amount of video material was spread around about the arrests by the Estonian police, with a Nazi musical background; the Estonian Ambassador in Moscow was depicted with Hitler's moustache; the name of the Estonian Prime Minister Andrus Ansip was written AnSSip, etc. All those symbols underlined the anti-fascist emotions in the Russian collective memory and aimed at comparing Estonia with the Nazi-Germany, which deserves at least heavy contempt, if not in fact war. In addition, Russia's mass media also created powerful symbols, e.g. Dmitriy Ganin, a 20-year

old citizen of the Russian Federation, who was killed during the riot nights in Tallinn. He was made a martyr in the Russian media to show how the Estonian police tortured him and left him to die (Pesur, 2007). Some Russian politicians even proposed to rename the street in Moscow where the Estonian Embassy is located into Dmitriy Ganin Street, after the hero who protected the memorial of his ancestors (MK.RU, 2007). This propaganda worked effectively to sow distrust among the Russian-speakers towards any information that was offered by the Estonian government, and most of the events were commented on in the context of the Russian narrative.

The Estonian mass media and public were also dominated by government propaganda that aimed at building full loyalty for the government. The above-mentioned mobilisation of the society was achieved by demonstrating Russian wish to restore its earlier power over Estonia. The Estonian politician Mart Laar compared Slutski's statement about the resignation of the Estonian government with the events in 1940, when Estonia was occupied by the Soviets (Postimees, 2007b). In addition, the increasing tension in Moscow around the Estonian Embassy, culminating with the assault on the Estonian Ambassador Marina Kaljurand, turned her into an Estonian national heroine. Also, the Estonian government spread the information that the cyber assaults against the Estonian governmental and public servers traced back to the Kremlin offices (Postimees, 2007c). However, the external experts did not find very strong evidence of the Kremlin's involvement (Lesk, July/August 2007:76). At the same time, when the Estonian government used Russia as the historical enemy in order to evoke the loyalty of Estonians, the internal opposition was condemned heavily. The dominating discourse was: We have to support the government and deal with the problems later because Estonia is under threat. Firstly, the mayor of Tallinn and leader of the Centre Party, Edgar Savisaar, was condemned publicly because of his criticism of the government policies and his inactivity towards easing the tensions in Tallinn (TNS EMOR, 2007). His behaviour was considered as treason and his closer relations with the Russian political elite were underlined. It is unclear what exactly his motivation during this crisis was, but most probably it can be classified as the culmination of the confrontation from the election campaigns. Secondly, social scientists were also condemned and labelled as "red scientists" (meaning pro-Marxism and pro-communism) because they raised the issue of the shortcomings of the

Estonian nation-building process and the failure of the integration process (Piltre, 2007). By this labelling, the statements and conclusions of those scholars were undermined because it established a clear connection with the Soviet past and, in the Estonian collective memory, everything related to the Soviet period is perceived as negative and untrue.

During the crisis, the fierce battle for the hearts and minds worked effectively for both sides and established a strong polarisation in the Estonian society, simultaneously shaking up the Estonian ignorance towards the integration issues and giving ground for rethinking the principles of the current integration policy. In the context of the international dimension, it was only a short period of intensification of the conflict (maybe even a litmus test) but the War of Memories has lasted longer and will continue. According to the research by the University of Tallinn (2007), naturalisation in Estonia slowed down and differences in the understanding of the past increased during last years (Heidmets, 2007:1). It shows that it is a long-running process and there are likely to be escalations in the conflict, some of which may be shocking outburst like those in Tallinn in 2007, or the “Memorials War”, which was just a battlefield of the War of Memories.

### **Conclusions:**

#### **What can be learned from the Estonian case?**

War of Memories is a long-lasting psychological conflict, which can be more intensive or less notable but it is a constant process. The Estonian case was only one of the battlefields that currently exist in the Central and Eastern Europe. To define the lessons learned from the Estonian case, it is important to start from the general context. The main lesson for Europe is that it should be able to define a new collective memory and particularly review the memories of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century because it is the most painful period. The dominant narrative, that it was only a fight against fascism, is not plausible anymore. There are too many alternative versions, which all need some attention. To deny those memories and to look only to the future does not resolve the problem because collective memory plays an important role in identity formation and there should be a common understanding about the past. Also, European identity needs some common narrative to build its identity on. Requiring the European Union new members to adopt the old narrative does not work, because it forces

them again to a collective amnesia that also existed during the Soviet time, and it only undermined the general narrative. Russia is promoting the old narrative to avoid looking at its own past, and this narrative is more understandable to Western European countries. It is something they are used to but it only accommodates the situation of two levels of sufferings, like it was expressively described by the Estonian member of the European Parliament, Katrin Saks (Alandi, 2008). Therefore, in the European context, the new understanding of the past should be defined.

In the context of the Estonian domestic dimension, the greater turbulence is over and all the new ideas provided to alleviate the crisis are forgotten. If Estonia wants to avoid those conflicts in the future, then the integration process should become a national priority. The notion of integration should be redefined and it should be more than only learning the Estonian language. During the crisis, some politicians realised that integration is the mutual approach of two communities to each other. It also requires reviewing the principles of nation-building, which would not focus anymore on the ethnic-based nation state but on a multi-national state. The identity of the Estonians as people living in Estonia should be created, and therefore the collective memory also needs reviewing, which is probably the most painful and difficult process. To diminish the influence of Russia's involvement as the main disturbing factor of integration, acceptance of the Russian language into the public sphere (Russian public information TV channel, providing state information also in Russian) should be given. Those policies need a long-term consensus and an open debate to include different opinions and not to build a new identity, which includes some but at the same time excludes others. Therefore openness and tolerance towards different opinions should be encouraged by the government. It would mean that the Estonian government de-securitised the nation-building process.

To conclude, identity formation is a long and difficult process and the results of the decisions, in one way or the other, are notable only over several years and decades. Identity is not an a ready-made unchanging product; it is constantly changing to be in accord with realities. It is important to bear in mind that inclusive identity formation decreases the disappointments and marginalisation of social groups, which is the biggest potential internal threat in case of a recurring War of Memories, which

challenges the existing identities. And it is important not only in the context of one nation but also for the entire Europe.

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## “Lesser Evils” and “Dirty Hands”: A Response to Asta Maskaliunaite

By Irfan Khawaja \*

*...the implication that something can be right without being expedient,  
or expedient without being right, is the most pernicious error  
that could possibly be introduced into human life*  
Cicero, *De Officiis*, II.9

*This therefore is the first precept of law, that good is to be done and pursued, and bad is to be  
avoided. And on this all other precepts of the natural law are founded.*  
St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* I-II, Q. 94, Art 2

On May 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2004, *The New York Times Magazine* published a controversial essay by Michael Ignatieff called “Lesser Evils” (Ignatieff, 2004a), intended as a companion piece to his book *The Lesser Evil: Political Ethics in an Age of Terror*; published later that month by Princeton University Press (Ignatieff, 2004b). In the article, Ignatieff had revived a mode of argument advanced by the social theorist Michael Walzer in a 1974 essay called “Political Action: The Problem of Dirty Hands,” and had applied it to the contemporary context of the U.S. “war on terrorism.”<sup>1</sup> About two weeks later, I wrote a response to Ignatieff’s essay, published on the website of the History News Network, in which I took issue with three distinct themes in it: first, that liberty was inherently opposed to security; secondly, that imminent threats are the only ones that justify pre-emptive action; and thirdly, that unsavoury methods of self-defence can accurately be described as “lesser evils” (Khawaja, 2004, referred to hereafter in the text as “the HNN Critique”): “It was the last of these three issues that I regarded as fundamental: The proper function of government is to secure our liberty. If liberty is the end of government, that end (sincerely pursued) really does morally justify whatever means are required to secure liberty. If an act is justified in this way, it cannot be accurately described as ‘evil’, however bloody or repulsive it might be”. I ended by suggesting that the Walzer-Ignatieff thesis was “deeply confusing and profoundly demoralizing to a population at war” and ought to be abandoned.

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Asta Maskaliunaite's essay "Protecting Democracy from Terrorism: Lesser Evil and Beyond" (Maskaliunaite, 2007) is in large part an attack on Ignatieff's views, including the *New York Times* essay I had discussed in my HNN Critique. In the course of her criticisms of Ignatieff, however, Maskaliunaite offers the following comment on my essay:

While Khawaja is right in pointing out a possible influence of Walzer on Ignatieff, his further criticism, it must be said, does not have much value. It completely mixes up the morality of means and that of ends with its principal argument that "what is genuinely 'necessary' to preserving rights is not a necessary or lesser evil; it's not an evil at all." In addition, the author claims, it is "profoundly demoralizing to a population at war" because "it's not clear that anyone can sustain a long-term commitment to policies and principles avowed as 'evil' or to do so in a consistent and clear-headed way." This, I would argue, is a completely Machiavellian argument. It is dressed in the rhetoric of "good" and "evil," which is a mark of ethics, but these robes only conceal the reality that these are the political reasons of expedience, not the moral reasons of right and wrong. In some circumstances we could possibly be convinced that the tactics employed in a dirty war are necessary and useful, but that killing, maiming, or torturing human beings can be anything more than a lesser evil cannot be assumed by any ethical system on which democratic governments are based. This argument is the same as to say "in order to protect democracies, anything goes" which leaves a question – what would be left of the democracies if anything goes in their protection. And this question invites a very gloomy answer (Maskaliunaite, 2007: 19-20).

My HNN Critique was a very brief and programmatic outline of an alternative to the Walzer-Ignatieff conception. In the present essay, I propose to respond to Maskaliunaite's criticisms, and elaborate on aspects of my own view. I count four distinct criticisms in Maskaliunaite's argument:

1. Khawaja inappropriately equates necessity, utility, and expediency with moral rightness.
2. Khawaja confuses issues concerning ends, means, and liberty.
3. Khawaja's view is Machiavellian.
4. Khawaja's view entails that "anything goes in defence of democracy.

In my judgement, none of these criticisms succeeds. The first two make undefended, and I think, indefensible assumptions about the nature of morality, practical necessity, and liberty. The third misreads Machiavelli and likewise misinterprets my argument. The fourth misunderstands the implications of my argument, but also rests on questionable assumptions about the requirements of an effective counter-terrorist policy. In what follows, I take each criticism in order, and end with a critique of some of Maskaliunaite's policy recommendations.

## 1. Practical necessity and moral rightness

As just remarked, in my HNN Critique, I had equated “what is necessary” to preserving liberty with “what is morally right” and on that basis rejected the Ignatieff-Walzer thesis that what is practically necessary is a lesser evil. In the view I was defending, what is genuinely necessary (or useful or expedient) is in *no* sense an evil, *a fortiori* not a lesser evil. Thus my view entails that the supposed distinction between the necessary, useful, and expedient on the one hand, and moral rightness on the other is a mistake: it misconceptualises both necessity and morality. As we’ve seen, Maskaliunaite distinguishes what I equate. In her view, there is an *obvious* distinction to be drawn between necessity and moral rightness, and a theorist’s failure to observe this distinction entails the wholesale failure of his theory.

This is, obviously, a fundamental normative disagreement. In philosophical terminology, the dispute between us concerns *teleological* versus *deontological* moral conceptions: teleological conceptions (like mine) equate morality with practical necessity; deontological conceptions (like Maskaliunaite’s, as well as Walzer’s and Ignatieff’s) distinguish them.<sup>2</sup> Lacking the space here to offer a full defence of my view, I’ll sketch the basic features of teleology and deontology with a view to demonstrating the coherence of my equation of morality and necessity, and the incoherence of the attempt to distinguish them.

### 1.1 Teleology and its implications

“Teleology” refers to a family of moral theories opposed principally to “deontology.” Very broadly speaking, whereas teleological theories regard moral norms as *promotive* of beneficial consequences, deontological theories regard them as *constraints* on the promotion of what is beneficial.<sup>3</sup> Understood in this way, “teleology” is the prior and conceptually self-sufficient concept, “deontology” the posterior and parasitic one: the concept of a beneficial consequence is obviously prior to the concept of a constraint on the pursuit of a benefit. We thus need a prior account of teleology in order to understand the claims of deontology.

The rationale for teleology may be stated as follows. Each person is an *agent* with a capacity to initiate and be responsible for his or her voluntary

actions. This capacity gives us a range of possible courses of action, or options. Each option, in turn, would, if acted on, lead to a distinctive set of consequences, and each consequence, or set of them, can in principle be ranked by the benefit or harm it can be expected to produce. Suppose that there is something about the world that *requires* us to bring about benefits and avoid harms. Think of this “something” as a fixed, higher-order goal – an ultimate value – that lies behind the discrete options, benefits, and harms that we face. This value would be a source of practical necessity, but it would also, given its connection to benefit, have moral significance: it would oblige us to rank our options from best to worst, and oblige us to act on our rankings. The best action would be the one expected to be most beneficial; the worst, the one expected to be least so, or most harmful.

Physical health provides a clear example of teleology in an everyday setting. We all face options that bear on the preservation of our health, and we can in principle rank those options by their conducivity to health. Assume for argument’s sake that health is a goal across a person’s lifespan. In that case, it would require the person to choose between health-relevant options in such a way as consistently to promote health and rule out non-health across his or her lifespan. Notice that health becomes both means and end in this enterprise: health is a future consequence we aspire to bring about (hence an end), but once produced, it is on a given occasion the present means of reproducing itself in the future (hence a means). Notice also that in this respect health-based norms can, with perfect accuracy, be described as “constraining” us: they can tell us to stop smoking, stop drinking alcohol, stop eating unhealthy foods, and so on. But when they do, they do so in the name of a greater benefit, i.e., better health. So a teleological constraint constrains in one respect while benefitting in another; it never simply constrains in the name of constraint.

Teleological conceptions differ on *how* they conceptualise benefit, and whom they identify as the beneficiaries of individual action. *Egotic* conceptions identify benefit with individual well-being, and enjoin each individual to be the ultimate intended beneficiary of his or her own actions. *Classical utilitarian* conceptions identify benefit with the maximisation of pleasure, and enjoin each individual to bring about the greatest pleasure for the greatest number. And so on. What all teleological conceptions share in common is the idea that moral rightness consists in selecting the best of the available options under the circumstances that confront the moral

agent. And the best option is the one that produces the most beneficial consequences.

Though this may sound to some like mere common sense, teleology has several non-trivial implications for ethics. For one thing, it entails by definition that “the end justifies the means.” In a teleological view, some (complex) end is taken as fixed and objectively valuable, and its fixity and value determine the place and value of all subordinate means and ends. Thus “teleological justification” is equivalent to demonstrating something’s propensity to promote some ultimate end: no norm or action is justified unless it is a means to that end.

Second, most teleological systems involve a complex end with multiple interconnected facets (more complex than health, which is itself far from simple). Given this, most teleological theories are in effect integrated *systems* of means and ends. So conceived, the ultimate goal in such a system generates subordinate goals, which function as means to the ultimate goal; these subordinate goals, in turn, generate further subordinate goals which function as means both to the subordinate goals and the ultimate goal; and so on. The more complex the end, the more complex the system of means to which it gives rise.

However complex the system, though, some norms will fail to find a place in it – i.e., fail to promote the end – and will, of course, thereby fail to be justified. On a teleological view, there is no way to pronounce on the moral rightness or wrongness of an act independently of its place in a hierarchy of means and ends. The rightness of an act consists, in a given case, in its conducivity to the ultimate goal identified by the theory’s standard of value. The wrongness of an act consists in its failure to do so.

We can, of course, make generalisations about the relationship between types of act, types of circumstance, and types of expected consequence. Acts of a certain type, performed in a certain circumstance, may be expected – with high likelihood or even certainty – to yield consequences of a certain variety. If these consequences promote the relevant goal, we can know ahead of time that the act will be right; if the consequences subvert the relevant goal, we can know ahead of time that the act will be wrong. Further, some goals are, logically and practically, constituents or parts of other goals, so that there is no way to perform the one goal

without performing the other (think of the relation between metabolism and health). And some means are, in effect, the only or best routes to certain goals in almost all situations, making those particular means causally indispensable to effectuating the goals (think of the relation between aerobic exercise and cardiac health).

What we cannot do on a teleological ethic is to generate an acontextual list of moral duties and prohibitions such that any duty on that list must be performed regardless of the circumstances or consequences, and any prohibition must be observed in the same way. There are, in a teleological view, no “musts” apart from the benefits that make them necessary. Thus a teleological ethic demands that any candidate norm be demonstrated to promote benefits. A norm that lacks any relation to benefit has no legitimate claim on our credence or our sense of obligation – something as true of the norms offered up during wartime as it is in any other context. We have, in this view, no reason to affirm or comply with norms that (say) enjoin us to obey international law *unless* it can be shown that affirmation or compliance with such norms promotes benefits of the relevant kind. Of course, when this *is* shown, affirmation and compliance become mandatory.

Given the foregoing, I think we can now see that Maskaliunaite’s bifurcation of the necessary and useful on the one hand and moral rightness on the other simply asserts what a teleological conception of morality denies. For on a teleological conception – as my epigraph from Cicero suggests – there is no such distinction to be made. Given a justifiable goal, rationality requires our taking the necessary and available means and ends for promoting it, consistent with the full system of means and ends brought into existence by some ultimate value. An action so described is simultaneously morally right and practically necessary. Indeed, it is right *in virtue of* being necessary, and necessary in virtue of being right. So Maskaliunaite is not entitled to dismiss my view merely by asserting that what is necessary and useful must be distinguished from what is right. That is precisely the distinction I reject.

Nor, as I’ll argue in what follows, can a teleological ethic be accused of claiming that “anything goes.” “What goes” is what is required by some ultimate value, and not everything qualifies as a candidate for ultimacy. Further, the teleologist’s equation of morality and necessity implies that

necessity can neither be set up as a rival to morality, nor invoked as an excuse for choosing lesser evils or dirtying our hands. A teleological moral conception demands that we *always* do what is right, self-consciously describing it as “right,” and never indulge what we take to be wrong regardless of the temptations for doing so. It follows that what a teleological morality requires of us can be difficult to discover and perform, but is always straightforward: if something is right, it is obligatory; if it is wrong, it is impermissible. This apparently trivial claim has momentous implications for the ethics of warfare.

## 1.2 Deontology and dirty hands

A deontological conception of morality is the contrary of a teleological one. Where teleological theories focus above all on the promotion of valuable goals/consequences, deontological theories focus instead on constraints on the pursuit of such things (Nozick, 1974:28-42). Thus where teleological theories advise agents to identify the optimal outcome, deontological theories restrict the pursuit of optimal outcomes in favour of principles that produce explicitly suboptimal outcomes.

I defined teleology as the view that every act ought to promote the best of the expected consequences from among the options available to the agent at a given time. Deontology, then, is the view that *not* every act ought to do this; some acts ought to be performed for their own sake, and in no sense for the consequences they produce. In other words, certain acts ought not to be performed even if their performance *would* promote the best expected consequences, and some acts ought to be performed even if their performance *would not* promote the best expected consequences. Deontologists are therefore concerned to generate a roster of duties – both injunctions and prohibitions – that are morally obligatory regardless of the consequences of performing them. Much of the just war tradition as well as international war law take deontology so construed as a basic axiom (see McMahan, 1991).

A commitment to deontology is an explicit feature of Walzer’s, and an implicit feature of both Ignatieff’s and Maskaliunaite’s theorising on the topics under discussion (Ignatieff, 2004b:7, 24). Such a commitment is, in any case, a logically necessary condition of espousing the “lesser evils” or “dirty hands” conception of morality that all three of them end up

espousing. The point is most clearly described by Walzer, who describes the dirty hands dilemma as follows:

In modern times the dilemma [of living a moral life in politics] appears most often as the problem of 'dirty hands' and it is typically stated by the Communist leader Hoerderer in Sartre's play of that name: "I have dirty hands right up to the elbows. I've plunged them in filth and blood. Do you think you can govern innocently?" My own answer is no, I don't think I could govern innocently; nor do most of us believe that those who govern us are innocent – as I shall argue below – even the best of them. But this does not mean that it isn't possible to do the right thing while governing. It means that a particular act of government (in a political party or in the state) may be exactly the right thing to do in utilitarian (i.e., teleological)<sup>4</sup> terms and yet leave the man who does it guilty of a moral wrong. The innocent man, afterwards, is no longer innocent. If on the other hand he remains innocent, chooses, that is, the 'absolutist' side of (the) dilemma, he not only fails to do the right thing (in utilitarian (teleological) terms), he may also fail to measure up to the duties of his office (which imposes on him a considerable responsibility for consequences and outcomes). Most often, of course, political leaders accept the utilitarian (teleological) calculation: they try to measure up... Nevertheless we would not want to be governed by men who consistently adopted that position. The notion of dirty hands derives from an effort to refuse 'absolutism' without denying the reality of the moral dilemma. Though this may appear to utilitarian (teleological) philosophers to pile confusion upon confusion, I propose to take it very seriously" (Walzer, 1974:63-64 footnote omitted).

In other words, the politician gets his hands dirty when, faced with a conflict between what teleology requires and what deontology prohibits, he performs the action teleology requires but accepts deontology's verdict on his having done so. In such a case, the Walzerian politician chooses the lesser of the two evils (the first), and is therefore obliged to pay a moral "price" for having done so (Walzer, 1974:68, 82).

Walzer is right to suggest that a teleologist/utilitarian would regard his account as confused – indeed, as completely incoherent. For one thing, without quite defining either "teleology" or "deontology," or announcing a definite adherence to either, he attempts to combine them while flouting the incompatibility between them. Without explaining why, he assumes that teleology is incompatible with the requirements of rights and justice, and that deontology is their precondition. Having set up what he himself describes as a "dilemma," he "resolves" it arbitrarily by choosing the teleological side of it against the deontological side of it, offering no reasons for doing so. Having made these entirely unargued stipulations, he



is predictably led to a *reductio ad absurdum* of his own argument: that it is wrong to do what is right, and right to do what is evil; that a politician who does the right thing should feel guilty for doing it; and that a person who regularly violates his own moral principles can achieve “salvation” by engaging with equal regularity in a secular version of penance, knowing full well that he will repeat the process after having repented (Walzer, 1974:66, 68, 79-80). The essential contradiction, however, comes with the first step of the argument: the self-contradictory attempt to combine teleology with deontology.

Maskaliunaite does not discuss the underlying logic of the dirty hands dilemma as explicitly as Walzer does, but her acceptance of the legitimacy of that logic is clear. Recall her claim: “In some circumstances, we could possibly be convinced that the tactics employed in a dirty war are necessary and useful, but that killing, maiming, or torturing human beings can be anything more than a lesser evil cannot be assumed by any ethical system on which democratic governments are based” (Maskaliunaite, 2007:19). This passage implies that a teleological approach to warfare can require “dirty” tactics that violate deontological strictures. Because deontology dictates the content of morality, the tactics are evil. But because deontology conflicts with practicality, morality’s verdict is, practically speaking, inconclusive. We’re therefore permitted to do what is evil, fully recognising it as evil, so long as we admit that it is evil, and so long as the evil is “lesser.”<sup>5</sup> Thus, despite her strenuous disagreements with Ignatieff, Maskaliunaite is in fact in fundamental agreement with both Walzer and Ignatieff on the underlying issue. All three are conflicted deontologists who regard evil as useful and morality as impractical.

I have in a way already responded to this view, but two further observations are worth making. First, it is worth bearing in mind that “killing” and “maiming” are necessary concomitants of ordinary self-defence even outside of the context of warfare. If I am faced with an armed attacker and happen to be armed myself, the right of self-defence – a central principle of liberal democratic theory – dictates that I can kill or maim him without regret. (In the U.S., one is generally entitled to shoot *any* intruder in one’s home after dark.) There is no clear reason to describe such acts as “dirty” or “evil.” They are more accurately described as the justified (if unfortunate) consequences of justified actions. The same point holds, I would argue, of warfare. Second, Maskaliunaite fails to see that her

view leads to a serious dilemma. If we bifurcate the necessary from the moral as she thinks we should, then in any case where they conflict (as on a non-teleological view, they systematically will), we have to choose which of the two will govern our decision in a given case. Either we choose for morality against necessity, or vice versa. But what principle dictates how this decision is to be made?

Maskaliunaite not only offers no such principle, but faces absurdity in either direction. If she chooses necessity in defiance of morality, she is led to a view according to which we are “required” to commit evil. She is also led to the very concept of Ignatieff’s that she claims to deplore, namely, dirty hands. But if she chooses morality in defiance of necessity, she is led to a view that constrains us from doing what is necessary to defend ourselves against evil. This choice contradicts her own repeated claim that counter-terrorist tactics must be chosen by the pragmatic standard of what “works” (Maskaliunaite, 2007:6, 11, 23). A view that admits that evil must be done is ipso facto incoherent: regardless of its quantity, evil is by definition what should *not* be done. But a view of warfare that prohibits doing what is necessary to defend against evil is also deficient: it counsels surrender to evil in the name of morality. Given the bifurcation of morality and practicality required by deontology, however, this bind is as debilitating as it is unavoidable.

## 2. Human flourishing and liberty

I turn now to the second of Maskaliunaite’s objections: that I confuse issues of ends, means, and liberty. In fact, what Maskaliunaite describes as a “mix up” is a self-conscious theoretical commitment on my part: what I espouse is a morality of ends that dictates the preservation of liberty (or rights)<sup>6</sup> as an indispensable means.

In section 1.1, I offered a generic account of teleology and remarked that specific conceptions of the doctrine differ on how they conceptualise benefits and beneficiaries. My own brand of teleology might well be described as an *objective egotism*, according to which each individual is the ultimate intended beneficiary of his own actions, and benefit consists in the promotion of one’s *flourishing* as an ultimate value.<sup>7</sup> The word “flourishing” comes to modern English by way of the old English word *florissen*, meaning “the blossoming of a flower.” In ethical contexts, an ethics of

flourishing is one that supposes that human beings possess certain natural powers which exist to promote their long-term survival and happiness, conceived a certain way. “Flourishing” in this context denotes the lifelong pursuit of those goals and inculcation of those traits and principles which, over a lifespan, *do* in fact promote survival and happiness: “the terms, methods, conditions, and goals required for the survival of a rational being through the whole of his lifespan – in all those aspects of existence which are open to his choice” (Rand, 1964:26). Thus “flourishing,” by analogy with health, is a specific instance of the “fixed higher-order goals” or ultimate values to which I referred in section 1.1. (For a much fuller discussion, see Smith 2000, chs. 5-6, and 2006).

The basic social principle of this ethic has nicely been stated by Ayn Rand: “(J)ust as life is an end in itself, so every living human being is an end in himself, not the means to the ends or welfare of others...therefore...man must live for his own sake, neither sacrificing himself to others nor sacrificing others to himself. To live for his own sake means that the achievement of his own happiness is man’s highest moral purpose” (Rand, 1964:30).

I’ll call this *the principle of ends*. The principle has two basic implications. The first is that as a rational agent, I am obliged to treat my life as an end-in-itself, and to demand that others do so as well: my own flourishing or happiness is my highest moral purpose, and not one that I ought to sacrifice or allow to be attacked by others. The second is that in dealing with other rational agents (*qua rational*), I am obliged to respect their obligation to follow the same principle: their flourishing or happiness is their highest moral purpose, and not one they ought to sacrifice, or allow to be attacked. Nor is sacrifice something I can expect or demand of them, or impose on them.

This latter implication may perhaps be counter-intuitive to some. Our lacking an interest in self-sacrifice is perhaps obvious. But according to objective egoism, it is equally true, though perhaps less obvious, that we have nothing to gain from violating *others*. When I violate another, I subvert his capacity to act on the principle of ends. I thereby subvert his ability to act for his highest purposes. But (on the view in question) I am obliged always to seek the greatest benefits in every action I take, and the *greatest* benefits can only be gotten from dealing with others acting at their

best, i.e., for their *highest* purposes. By contrast, the values to be gotten from the subversion of another's good are suboptimal as compared with those to be gotten from his or her compliance with the principle of ends. If this is so, insofar as possible, we should strive to interact with others by treating them as ends and interact only with those who will deal similarly with us.

There are many ways of violating the principle of ends in one's interactions with others, but one violation belongs in a category of its own: the initiation of force against them. To initiate force against someone is by definition to prevent that person from exercising independent judgement, and thus by definition to treat her as a means, and subvert her capacity to act for her own survival and happiness. Confronted with a force-initiation against me, it is rational for me to respond in such a way as to neutralise it, so as to restore the status quo prior to the initiation, and thereby restore my capacity to act in an untrammelled fashion for my own ends.

Given the very nature of force – namely, its liability to spiral out of control, and the stakes involved when it does – it is in our interest to regulate it in a systematic manner. And so the principle of ends leads to the principle of rights/liberty: the principle of rights defines and sanctions each person's freedom of action in a social context, identifying the acts she can legitimately take without initiating force, and the rectificatory actions she (or her agent) is entitled to take if force is initiated against her. Thus while an egoistic ethic forbids the *initiation* of force, it takes seriously the threats posed by aggressors, and seeks to ensure that defenders prevail against aggressors (on rights generally, see Smith, 1995).

It may seem puzzling how a teleological ethic like objective egoism can accommodate such strict norms as the principle of ends and that of rights. But there is no incompatibility here. A teleological ethic is incompatible with norms that make no contribution to valuable goals. But it is perfectly compatible with stringent norms that *do* make such a contribution. The contention here is that the principles of ends and of rights are inherent parts of the goal of human flourishing (as metabolism is to health), and so are essential and indispensable means of bringing it about. This implies that in order to flourish in a dignified way, we are obliged to treat others as ends, and to respect their rights. The claim here, against deontology, is that our doing so promotes our flourishing, and is justified because it does;

rights are not a set of norms that bind us independently of the consequences they promote.

It is an implication of the preceding view that the principles of ends and of rights privilege those who affirm and comply with them. We are to treat as ends those who treat us as ends (insofar as they do), and we are not to initiate force against others. But when others mistreat us, they are not entitled to be well-treated in return, and when they initiate force, they are not entitled to the same protections as those who respect rights.

In the current war against Islamist terrorism, we face (outrageously) non-compliant parties who intend our subordination or destruction on the basis of a series of ultimatums and demands generated by supposed claims of supernatural justice. As Osama bin Laden puts the point: “Every Muslim...hates Americans, hates Jews, and hates Christians. This is a part of our belief and our religion. For as long as I can remember, I have felt tormented and at war, and have felt hatred and animosity for Americans” (Bin Laden, 2005:87). On this basis, Al Qaeda has called for a “balance in terror” involving the deaths of four million Americans (Bin Laden, 2005:114; Abu Gheith, 2002). It has demanded the “subjection of the entire Earth” to Islamic rule (Abu Gheith, 2002), and has repeatedly insisted that supernatural considerations take precedence over earthly considerations in the effectuation of its ends: “We love this kind of death for God’s cause as much as you like to live. We have nothing to fear for. It is something we wish for” (Bin Laden, 2005:56). There can be no question of treating *such* people as ends, and whatever rights they have must be understood in the context of their commitment to a wholesale violation of ours.

The relevant question, then, concerns the norms by which we justify the use of retaliatory force on behalf of those who wish to flourish in a rationally justifiable manner. And it is perfectly consistent to say that we must conceive of the norms of retaliatory force to be consistent with our ethics as a whole, but likewise effective at neutralising the threat posed by those who would, if they could, make human flourishing impossible. On a teleological ethic, morality itself can demand that we do what it takes to preserve the requirements of flourishing – among them liberty or rights – against aggressors. It thus makes perfect sense to think of our liberty or rights as among the things it is both necessary *and right* to defend.

### 3. Machiavellianism?

With the preceding in place, we can, I think, dispense relatively easily with Maskaliunaite's claim that my view is "Machiavellian." This topic may seem to be a digression, but I think the contrast between my view and Machiavelli's is worth identifying, if only because (ironically enough) it throws light on the similarities between Machiavellianism and the view Maskaliunaite herself espouses. The superficial similarity between my view and Machiavelli's arises from Machiavelli's notorious assertion, in chapter 18 of *The Prince*, that "the end justifies the means." But a look at the context of this assertion makes clear that Machiavelli's understanding of that claim is incompatible with mine:

A prince must take great care that nothing goes out of his mouth which is not full of the above-named five qualities, and to see and hear him, he should seem to be all mercy, faith, integrity, humanity, and religion. And nothing is more necessary than to seem to have this last quality, for men in general judge more by the eyes than by the hands, for every one can see, but very few have to feel. Everybody sees what you appear to be, few feel what you are, and those few will not dare to oppose themselves to the many, who have the majesty of the state to defend them; and in the actions of men, and especially of princes, from which there is no appeal, the end justifies the means (Machiavelli, 1950:65-66).

This conception differs from mine in three essential respects: its conception of ends, of means, and of justification. First consider ends. In the view I have defended, a single fixed and ultimate end determines a single objectively right system of means which are justified by their conducivity to that end. Ends that conflict with any part of this system are all morally impermissible. For Machiavelli, by contrast, no single end is fixed, no end is impermissible, and there is in consequence no single system of ends or means that can claim authority as morally right. It is the prince who decides such things on entirely subjective grounds, which is why (Machiavelli says) "there is no appeal" from his actions.

Now consider means. In the view I've defended, some means are indispensable to or constituents of the end of human flourishing, and are thus inviolable, including what I earlier called the principle of ends and the principle of rights. Machiavelli, by contrast, espouses no conception of inviolability, and upholds no stable principles of justice or rights. Though he has a conception of liberty, his conception (unlike mine) is avowedly

illiberal, and is a necessary condition not of individual human flourishing but of politics abstracted from individuals (Skinner, 2000, ch. 3).

Finally, consider justification. In the view I've defended, justification is a complex but still intelligible affair: an ultimate end sets a hierarchy of means conducive to the end, and thereby justifies them. By contrast, though he uses the word "justifies," it is unclear whether Machiavelli has any conception of justification or any genuine interest in the topic. Thus he tells us, in a notoriously tangled passage in chapter 15 of *The Prince*: "it is necessary for a prince, who wishes to maintain himself, to learn how not to be good, and to use this knowledge and not use it, according to the necessity of the case" (Machiavelli, 1950:56). Machiavelli distinguishes sharply here between what is practically necessary and what is morally justified, suggesting that practical necessity must *sometimes* override moral justification. He then tells us in the next breath that "the necessity of the case" is what ultimately dictates how one acts, so that necessity *always* overrides morality. But if the prince were to ask whether he was *justified* in systematically overriding morality, Machiavelli appears to have nothing to say, offering up the cryptic response that the topic of discussion is "how we live" as opposed to "how we ought to live" (Machiavelli, 1950:56). It's not clear that Machiavelli's claims here are coherent, much less that they involve a clear conception of justification.

Ironically, this very passage from Machiavelli brings home the affinities between his view and the one espoused by Walzer, Ignatieff, and Maskaliunaite. In self-conscious opposition to Cicero, Machiavelli bifurcates what is "necessary" from what is "good," and in so doing, inaugurates the idea that it can be evil to do what is necessary—precisely the distinction between necessity and moral goodness that, as we've seen, lies at the heart of the Walzer-Ignatieff conception. And both Walzer and Ignatieff explicitly recognise this. As Walzer puts it, Machiavelli is perhaps the first philosopher to be led to the dirty hands thesis, and he is led there because while his political judgments are teleological, his moral judgments are deontological, and he insists on affirming both simultaneously (Walzer, 1974:77).<sup>8</sup> In consequence, Ignatieff tells us, Machiavelli is led to a view that makes politics unavoidably amoral: "as Machiavelli understood a long time ago, [morally] dubious decisions are not just accidental incidents in political life; they are intrinsic to political action" (Ignatieff, 2004:15). Thus Machiavelli affirms precisely what I have been at pains to deny.

When Maskaliunaite writes that “we could possibly be convinced that tactics employed in a dirty war are necessary and useful” and thus justifiable as lesser *evils*, the irony is that she is echoing Machiavelli’s rhetoric in the act of accusing me of Machiavellianism. She is telling us – siding with Machiavelli against Cicero and Aquinas – that we have to “learn how not to be good.” But as I’ve argued, I take precisely the reverse view.

#### 4. “Anything goes in defence of democracy”

The preceding discussion has been highly abstract, focused primarily on conceptual and textual issues. A reader might well agree in a general way with everything I’ve said so far, and yet still sympathise with Maskaliunaite’s objection that in a view like mine, “anything goes in defence of democracy.” In other words, one might wonder what my view entails in the way of specific restrictions on the use of force in counter-terrorist operations. In what follows, I offer a clarification about “liberty” and “democracy,” and sketch an account of some of these restrictions. Though I cannot offer a full theory of self-defence and warfare, what I say should make clear that my view does not entail that “anything goes.”

Democracy, as Maskaliunaite correctly points out, has a narrow sense and a broad one (Maskaliunaite, 2007:7-9). In the narrow sense, it merely means majority rule. In the broad sense, it includes a form of constitutionalism that involves the protection of liberty. Just as “democracy” has both a narrow and a broad sense, so does “liberty.” In the narrow sense associated with Hobbes, “liberty” denotes the absence of impediments to acting on one’s desires. In the broader sense associated with Locke, “liberty” denotes the absence of impediments to acting on one’s moral rights, where these rights identify individual entitlements to independence of action, but are not reducible to desires. In the Hobbesian view, because our desires are inherently conflictual, so are our liberties: my liberty conflicts with yours whenever our desires conflict (see Steiner, 1991). In the Lockean view, because our rights are inherently compossible, so are our liberties: rights are conceived in such a way that all moral agents have the same rights; neither rights nor liberties conflict (see Smith, 1995, ch. 6).

Maskaliunaite clearly takes herself to understand “democracy” in the broad sense, and “liberty” in the narrow sense (Maskaliunaite, 2007:9-11). Thus in her view, the aim of a counter-terrorist policy is to protect a form of



constitutionalism expressing a Hobbesian, desire-based conception of liberty. It follows from such a view that our desire for security might well conflict with our desire for liberty, and when it does, we must choose between two distinct and conflictual values.

My HNN Critique took a different view. I was not strictly speaking discussing the defence of democracy at all. I was discussing the defence of liberty in the broad sense. Thus in my view, the aim of a counter-terror policy is to protect those regimes – democratic or not – that value liberty on the Lockean interpretation (contrary to Ignatieff, 2004:3-5; see Zakaria, 2003, for further discussion). It follows from my view that security and liberty are two aspects of the same value, and that we have no need to choose between them. In this respect, I took myself to be following (and defending) the view of the American founders and the U.S. Constitution, which aims, in the words of its Preamble, to “*secure* the blessings of liberty” (my emphasis). Or, in the words of the Fourth Amendment (my emphasis): “The right of the people to be *secure* in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated....”

As I said in the HNN Critique itself, the requirements for the preservation of liberty set the terms of our war against aggressors against that liberty. I should perhaps emphasise that “the preservation of liberty” means the preservation not just of American, but of *human* liberty. Though a nation has a special and overriding obligation to “provide for the common defense” of its own citizens, I do not take this obligation to nullify the more general obligations it has to respect the rights of non-citizens, whether domestically or abroad. Of course, it bears repeating that a right to common defence entails the right to use sufficient force against aggressors so as to prevail against them. An aggressor has no right to immunity from such force.

A full theory of self-defence would provide an integrated account of all of the factors mentioned in the preceding paragraph. I cannot provide such a theory here. Instead, I enumerate three restrictions on the use of force that follow from the principle of rights mentioned above. Recall that in the view described there, rights-violations are initiations of force against rights-respecting parties. In that case, force can be used in retaliation against

aggressors, subject to the following (somewhat overlapping) considerations:

1. When force is used in a retaliatory fashion, it must be used as narrowly as possible to target those responsible for initiating force – though as broadly as is necessary for victory against them – and it must do so in order to protect those who have been aggressed against. Thus initiatory force can *never* be justified and retaliatory force must never be gratuitous.
2. The use of retaliatory force should be sufficient to neutralise threats to liberty, but to the extent possible, should neutralise such threats without undermining the liberty of those who pose no threat. Thus collateral damages can be justified, but must be *minimised* (consistently with the requirements of victory).
3. Retaliatory force should be used in such a way as to aim at a maximally durable and maximally liberty-respecting peace once victory against aggression has been achieved. This provision minimises collateral damage, like (2), but it also implies that war-fighters should not be expected or permitted to take actions that would be incompatible with their living liberty-respecting lives once they return.

The preceding rules may strike many readers as too minimal or abstract to be sufficiently restrictive of retaliatory force. It is, I admit, a very brief and non-exhaustive list. But it is enough to indicate that my view does not literally entail that *anything* goes in defence of the national security of a democratic nation. At a bare minimum, rules (2) and (3) condemn such crimes as those committed by U.S. soldiers at Abu Ghraib Prison, and generally condemn actions prosecutable under the Uniform Code of Military Justice, as well as policies like those legitimated by the notorious *Korematsu* decision (justifying mass internment of Japanese Americans during World War II). As I have argued elsewhere, I am inclined to think that other aspects of proposed and actual U.S. counter-terrorist policy violate the provisions as well (see Khawaja 2005, 2007, and 2008).

## 5. Policy issues

Though my principal aim here has not been policy analysis, it might be appropriate briefly to apply the preceding framework to issues of policy, if

only to indicate the policy implications of the theoretical views I've defended, and to indicate how those views differ from Maskaliunaite's. An initial issue is the need to be clear about the sort of threat we face from terrorism. On this point, it seems to me that Maskaliunaite's analysis has two clear deficiencies.

For one thing, her examples of terrorism and counter-terrorism are remarkably Eurocentric, and offer no extended discussion of the nature of contemporary Islamist terrorism. It is not at all obvious that we can understand Islamist terrorism by analogy with secular European terrorism of the last several decades, as Maskaliunaite does. Islamist fundamentalism is a distinctive political force with worldwide scope and ambitions, with millions of adherents, and with access to military weaponry and powerful capacities for military-scale operations.

Maskaliunaite suggests that such terrorism can be handled as though it were on par with ordinary crime, by the methods of law enforcement of the variety appropriate to the criminal justice context. But the example of September 11<sup>th</sup> suffices to demonstrate the ineffectuality of a law enforcement, or even paramilitary, approach to terrorism. (Put aside the fact that in many countries, including the U.S., criminal law enforcement has of necessity *become* a paramilitary endeavour.) The September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks were designed by conspirators in Afghanistan, themselves protected by tens of thousands of heavily armed militants in a country existing at the time in a virtual state of anarchy. Even if we imagined that the task of dealing with Al Qaeda in the wake of the attack was a matter of bringing criminal indictments against individual members of the organisation, the task of doing so far exceeded the capacities of any strictly police-level apparatus. It was obviously a military task, and one at which, to date, U.S., Afghan, Pakistani, and NATO forces have yet to succeed (see National Commission, 2004, ch. 1; Yoo, 2006, ch. 2).

Related to the preceding is the unclarity of Maskaliunaite's account of threat assessment. She is committed in her paper to the following set of claims (Maskaliunaite, 2007:12-17):

1. All threat assessments are subjective.
2. Governments exaggerate threat levels.
3. Since terrorists use a spiral-of-violence strategy, it is counterproductive to confront them.

4. Car accidents and natural disasters are worse than terrorism.
5. Terrorists may develop the capacity to use weapons of mass destruction, and in doing so, would constitute an important threat to constitutional democracies. But this set is multiply inconsistent.

First, and most obviously, claim (1) contradicts claims (2), (3), (4), and (5). If threat assessments are subjective, it is not possible to say that governments *exaggerate* threat levels, that confrontation of terrorism is counterproductive in *reducing* threat levels, that terrorism is *less threatening* than other events, or that terrorism could be an *important* threat. If threat assessments are subjective, we have no objective standard by which to measure their significance. But each of the italicised words presupposes an objective standard of measurement. One can't affirm the subjectivity of claims about threat assessment while making objective claims about it. One has to choose.

Second, claim (2) is true, but incomplete. It omits the fact that governments not only overstate threats, but understate them and state them accurately (National Commission, 2004, ch. 3). Maskaliunaite does not offer evidence for a blanket statement about exaggeration. The same might be said about claim (3). Terrorists use a spiral-of-violence strategy, and when they do, it is indeed counterproductive to confront them. But terrorists also prey on appeasement, and when they do, the failure to confront them emboldens them, and leads to more terrorism (National Commission, 2004, chs. 3-8).

Claim (4) is what logicians call a red herring – an irrelevant issue that functions to distract attention away from a relevant one. Even if car accidents and natural disasters produced more deaths than terrorism, we would still have to deal with terrorism; we would have to deal with all three things simultaneously. (After all, if accidents turned out to be worse than natural disasters, would Maskaliunaite argue that we should ignore natural disasters?) The fact remains that terrorism is a threat to which we must respond with force; accidents and natural disasters are not. Since the fundamental question at issue concerns the proper use of force, government policy concerning accidents and natural disasters is beside the point.

Finally, despite admitting its cogency, Maskaliunaite does nothing to deal with claim (5). But the truth of claim (5) affects that of all the other claims. As Ignatieff soundly points out, the use of WMD by terrorists would represent a fundamental evolution for the worse in the war on terror (Ignatieff, 2004b, ch. 5). Given the preceding, I find Maskaliunaite's discussion of specific counter-terrorist tactics questionable and oversimplified.

She tells us that the case against indefinite detention is "closed" because we can surveil suspected terrorists upon release (Maskaliunaite, 2007: 20). But this ignores the fact that surveillance is extremely difficult, that it can and often does fail, and that it is practically guaranteed to fail when a prisoner is released to an inaccessible foreign country where we have few reliable intelligence assets (for a notable example, see National Commission, 2004: 181-82). It also ignores the standard argument for indefinite detention: the individuals detained are enemy combatants who lack the status of prisoners of war, but can, like prisoners of war, be held until the end of hostilities.

Maskaliunaite asserts categorically that torture is wrong regardless of the circumstances (Maskaliunaite, 2007:20-21). Though I agree that there ought to be a presumption against torture, Maskaliunaite ignores the remarkable vagueness of the definitions of the relevant concepts ("torture," "coercive interrogation," "cruel and unusual treatment," "demeaning treatment," etc.; see Wittes, 2005/2006 and Yoo, 2006 ch. 7). She also ignores the difficult scenarios that might make coercive interrogation plausible (cf. the interrogation scenes in Winterbottom, 2007).

She likewise asserts that targeted killing is ineffective, but her argument is quite one-sided (Maskaliunaite, 2007:21; contrast Kershner, 2004; Yoo, 2006, ch. 3). For one thing, in relying on a pragmatic standard, she offers no in-principle argument that assassination is morally wrong. As for the pragmatic standard itself, since she offers no baseline for comparison, she offers no convincing empirical evidence that assassination of terrorists leaves us worse off than letting them live. Put bluntly, she offers no argument to show why the assassination of Al Qaeda operatives by the U.S. or Hamas operatives by Israel, has made things any worse than if those operatives were still alive. Commonsensically, the death of terrorist operatives diminishes the threat that comes from them.

Finally, on the question of pre-emptive strikes, she suggests that they cannot work because the targets of such strikes are fanatically motivated to fight back (Maskaliunaite, 2007:22). But this argument ignores the fact that no matter how fanatically motivated they may be, they cannot do so if they lack the material infrastructure to engage in combat. If pre-emptive strikes destroy that infrastructure, they destroy the enemy's material capacity to fight regardless of his motivation to do so. For all their zeal, the Afghan *mujahidin* would not have prevailed against the Soviets had they not been supplied by the U.S. with Stinger missiles, a material resource (Coll, 2004:11-13, 149-51). Even the most fanatical members of the Iranian military were forced to a stalemate in the Iran-Iraq war by the superior firepower of the Iraqi military (Pollock, 2002: 24). For all their motivation, the Nazis and Imperial Japanese were forced to surrender after facing a sufficiently powerful onslaught of physical force.

When a definite terrorist threat materialises, it has the same moral status as any threat (e.g., an ultimatum issued by a gunman): it is an initiation of force. It is therefore morally justified to respond to it with force. Al Qaeda issued its first threat against the U.S. in 1996. Had a pre-emptive strike destroyed the entire organisation at that time, it would have precluded the several Al Qaeda attacks that materialised thereafter. That by itself should show that pre-emptive strikes can in principle be justified.

Despite the length of my discussion, I am well aware that I have merely sketched a position that would take a great deal more elaboration to answer all reasonable objections. A sceptical or critical reader might, with perfect justification, demand a more detailed account of flourishing, justice, and rights than I have given here, and a more detailed account of how I would deal with apparent conflicts between rights and security. He or she might justifiably wonder about similarities between objective egoism and Machiavellianism not discussed here, and also wonder precisely how far I would be willing to go in defending indefinite detention, coercive interrogation, assassination, and pre-emptive strikes. These are legitimate questions, but they are questions at a different level of abstraction from the present essay, and have to be deferred for another occasion.

What I have been principally concerned to dispute here are the too-easily-accepted dichotomies that govern discourse on counter-terrorist policy and the ethics of warfare. It is much too quickly assumed in such discussions

that morality must be contrasted with practicality, that a concern for consequences conflicts with a concern for principle, that respect for rights necessarily conflicts with the requirements of security, and ultimately, that a concern for morality conflicts with a desire for victory. Such dichotomies, in my view, add nothing but confusion to a topic that is difficult enough to make sense of without them. Having said that, I would insist that the arguments for the dichotomies I challenge are weaker than the arguments I have presented. My aim here has been to push the burden of proof back toward those who espouse them, and offer a friendly challenge to them to meet it.

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<sup>1</sup> Walzer, 1974, which develops themes in the writings of Sartre, Camus, Machiavelli, and Weber.

<sup>2</sup> I prefer the term "teleology" to the more commonly-used term "consequentialism," as "teleology" more explicitly ties the view in question to its ancient sources in the writings of Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, and Aquinas. See Pettit, 1991. Some philosophers equate "consequentialism" with "utilitarianism" and thereby contrast "deontology" with "utilitarianism," but as the text makes clear, this is a mistake.

<sup>3</sup> Some philosophers define "deontology" in terms of "intrinsically wrong acts," where the act is wrong in virtue of its "inherent nature," and this inherent nature is (supposedly) describable independently of its consequences. I confess to being unable to make any coherent sense of this idea: as far as I can see, the inherent nature of an act is tied to the consequences it either invariantly or characteristically brings about. It is one thing to say that certain consequences are part of the very identity of the act and another to say that the act is to be conceptualized independently of *any* consequences. The latter idea, central to a standard approach to deontology, strikes me as unintelligible, as is the idea of a theory based on it.

<sup>4</sup> See note 2 above.

<sup>5</sup> In fact, the very distinction between "lesser" and "greater" evils presupposes a teleological perspective, and so introduces yet another complication, and another incoherence, into the mix. A "lesser evil" is "lesser" in the sense of *producing less evil*. But "production of less evil" is by definition a teleological consideration, not a deontological one. In any case where the agent chooses the lesser over the greater evil, then, he or she is, as far as action is concerned, guided by teleological considerations. If teleological considerations guide the action, why think that the deontological verdict on the action has any significance?

<sup>6</sup> I take "liberty" and "rights" to be essentially interchangeable: a right is a type of liberty, and a liberty is the freedom to act on one's rights. For the rationale for this sort of view, see Smith, 1995, chs. 6-7.

<sup>7</sup> I take "survival," "flourishing," and "happiness" to be essentially interchangeable. For an excellent discussion of the rationale for this, see Smith, 2006:31-2

<sup>8</sup> In fact, Walzer uses the term "consequentialist" instead of "teleological"; see note 2 above.



## Counterinsurgency and Military Culture: State Regulars versus Non-State Irregulars

By Robert M. Cassidy\*

*“Any good soldier can handle guerrillas.”*  
Krepinevich, 1986:37

*“Our enemies understand that irregular warfare  
is the bane of regular military traditions.”*  
Cassidy, 2007:44

The first quote is attributed to the U.S. Army Chief of Staff during 1961 when the U.S. Army was on the verge of escalating its commitment to help fight insurgents in the jungles of Vietnam. The officer to whom the first quote is attributed was steeped in the conventions of regular Army forces' organization, training, and education. The second quote is an inference about the difficulties that obtain when big power militaries attempt to fight against irregular adversaries without adapting their methods to meet the exigencies of irregular warfare. U.S. military operations in Somalia from 1992 to 1994 under the aegis of the UN saw the operation evolve from peace enforcement into what was essentially irregular warfare in and around Mogadishu. By June 1993, U.S. Soldiers and Marines were fighting a counter-guerrilla war against Mohammed Farah Aideed's irregulars. The October 3<sup>rd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup>, 1993, battle in Mogadishu was the culminating battle which saw U.S. regular and elite infantry battalions, along with special operators, fighting out of the city against swarming irregulars. In fact, the battle in Mogadishu that night represented the most intense light infantry battle experienced by the U.S. Army since Vietnam at that time. Rangers, special operators, and the infantrymen of the 10th Mountain Division acquitted themselves with courage and élan in the most difficult of circumstances. However, the ultimate outcome of Somalia, where the U.S. pulled its military forces out, would seem to refute the veracity of the first quote above and attest to the merit of the second one. In Somalia, American forces possessed a technological advantage and an ostensible numerical advantage in regular military formations. Yet in this first

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experiment with irregular warfare after the end of the Cold War, the big conventional war military cultural orientation of the American military was manifest, as it had for many years almost exclusively focused on regular or, conventional war. The regular military forces of the U.S. faced Somali indigenous forces which employed the irregular methods of the insurgent.

## 1. Military culture

This article postulates that one would observe continuity in American military cultural preferences for big conventional wars for up to a decade after the Cold War ended because not enough time elapsed between the end of the Cold War and the Somalia intervention for military cultural change to occur, it normally takes from five to ten years. Organizational culture is defined as the pattern of assumptions, ideas, and beliefs that prescribe how a group should adapt to its external environment and manage its internal structure. Military culture can therefore generally be defined as the embedded preferences within a military organization that shape that organization's preferences on when and how the military instrument should be used. It is derived or developed as a result of historical experience, geography, and political culture. Core leaders inculcate it and perpetuate but it is most pronounced at the operational level because when armies have met with success in war, it is the operational techniques and the operational histories, by which enemies were defeated, which are consecrated in memory. Because cultural preferences tend to value certain roles and to devalue other roles, military culture can impede innovation in ways of warfare that lie outside that military's preferred core roles. Thus, one would expect to observe continuity in military preferences for the use of force in Somalia, and that these preferences would reflect an emphasis on organizing, training, and equipping for regular war. This paper will show that during the first post-Cold operation that pitted the U.S. military against irregular adversaries, its big war military culture exhibited an almost exclusive preference for regular (conventional) war, a concomitant aversion to irregular warfare, a propensity to use maximum force, and a reliance on technology. This paper initially explores emerging American doctrinal concepts for irregular war, the impetus for which did not emerge until a decade after Somalia, when the growing insurgency in Iraq finally compelled the U.S. military to seriously adapt to counterinsurgency. The second section examines how American military cultural preferences manifested themselves during

operations in Somalia. The final section concludes with some implications for the U.S. military and future irregular wars (Weigley, 1973:vii; Kier, 1995:66; Klein, 1991:5-6, 10, 13; Cassidy, 2004:7-10).

### **1.1 Irregular war**

Irregular warfare is a complex and ambiguous social phenomenon that does not engender neat and precise definition. It is a violent struggle among state and non-state actors for legitimacy and influence over the relevant populations. The nature of irregular warfare requires national governments and militaries to achieve levels of unified action that are capable of integrating all available instruments of national power to address irregular threats. Irregular warfare does not rely solely on military prowess, as it also requires a sound foundation and understanding of tribal politics, social networks, religious influences, and cultural mores. People, not platforms and advanced technology, are crucial to success in irregular warfare. Irregular warfare represents a typology of armed conflict that has replaced “low-intensity conflict” (LIC), the previous term used to categorize these types of endeavours within the American military doctrinal lexicon. Irregular warfare is a form of warfare that encompasses insurgency, counterinsurgency, terrorism, and counterterrorism, placing them on an equal footing with regular armed warfare and disabusing the military cultural perception that they are somehow a lesser form of conflict, below the threshold of warfare. What makes irregular warfare distinct from regular warfare is an operational focus on relevant populations and a strategic purpose that seeks to gain influence over and the support of those relevant populations. In other words, irregular warfare focuses on the legitimacy of a political authority to control or influence a relevant population (USSOCOM and USMC, 2007:1, 6-7).

On the one hand, conventional or “regular“ warfare is a form of warfare between states that employs direct military operations to defeat an adversary’s armed forces, destroy an adversary’s war-making capacity, or seize territory in order to compel a change in an adversary’s government or policies. The focus of conventional military operations is normally an adversary’s armed forces with the objective of influencing the adversary’s government. The regular warfare model generally assumes that the indigenous populations within the operational area are non-belligerents and will accept whatever political outcome the belligerent governments impose

or negotiate. A fundamental military imperative in conventional military operations is to minimize civilian interference in those operations. On the other hand, irregular warfare focuses on the control or influence of indigenous populations, and not necessarily on the destruction of an adversary's forces or the seizure of his territory. Irregular warfare is essentially a political struggle with violent and non-violent components. The fundamental imperative for irregular warfare is the centrality of the relevant populations to the nature of the conflict. The belligerents in irregular warfare, whether they are states or non-state armed groups, seek to undermine their adversaries' legitimacy and to physically and psychologically isolate their adversaries from the relevant populations and their external supporters. Simultaneously, they also seek to bolster their own legitimacy and their capacity to exercise authority over that same population (USSOCOM and USMC, 2007:7-8).

U.S. Army doctrine now equally weighs operations such as irregular warfare and stability operations that focus on the population with those related to offensive and defensive operations. This parity reflects a significant paradigm change: it recognizes that twenty-first century conflict comprises more than regular combat between armed opponents. Even though current doctrine still charges land forces to defeat enemies with offensive and defensive operations, U.S. Army forces will have to simultaneously shape the broader situation through non-lethal actions to restore security and normalcy for the local population. "Soldiers operate among populations, not adjacent to them or above them" (U.S. Army, 2008:vii). Army forces will often confront the enemy among non-combatants, with little to distinguish one from the other, until fighting erupts. Winning battles will still remain important but it alone is not sufficient. Winning the support of the indigenous population is just as important for success. Informing and influencing the populace is crucial to successful mission accomplishment. Finally, within the context of the current global security environment, the current U.S. doctrine professes that irregular warfare and stability operations are often "as important as, or more important than," regular combat operations (U.S. Army, 2008:vii). This certainly was not always the case.

The equal emphasis on irregular warfare and stability operations that is currently manifest within the U.S. Government and the U.S. military stemmed from policy and strategy changes between 2005 and 2007. One of

these documents merits some amplification. On November 28<sup>th</sup>, 2005, Department of Defence Directive (DODD) 3000.05, *Military Support for Stability, Security, Transition, and Reconstruction (SSTR) Operations* mandated stability operations as a core U.S. military mission that the Department of Defence would prepare to conduct and support. It prescribed that stability operations would be given priority comparable to combat operations and be explicitly integrated across all activities to include doctrine, organizations, training, education, exercises, materiel, leadership, personnel, facilities, and planning. The directive also mandated the incorporation of stability operations knowledge skills, such as foreign language capabilities, regional area expertise, and experience with foreign governments and international organizations, into professional military education at all levels. The document essentially dictated that the U.S. Department of Defence and the U.S. Army emphasize stability operations and counterinsurgency doctrine, education, and training, at levels commensurate with conventional combat operations (U.S. DOD, 2005:1-4).

Therefore, U.S. military culture placed an almost exclusive emphasis on doctrine, training, and education for regular wars. The American military cultural aversion to counterinsurgency and irregular warfare before 2004 is illuminated in the next section. As late as 2003, the stability operations and counterinsurgency-phobic U.S. Secretary of Defence, Donald Rumsfeld, was about to close down the U.S. Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute (PKSOI) at Carlisle Barracks because he did not see the utility of this institute. However, the expanding insurgency in Iraq during late 2003 provided the impetus to compel the U.S. military to take irregular warfare more seriously. DODD 3000.05 was the official catalyst for an increase in intellectual energy and focus on those operations that the U.S. Army previously labelled, with an intention to diminish them it then seemed, low intensity conflict (LIC). The proximate intellectual genesis of the DODD 3000.05 document ostensibly was two conferences in 2003 and 2004.

In the middle of December 2003, the Operation Iraqi Freedom Lesson Learned Conference at Fort Leavenworth convened a Stability Operations Working Group. All the other working groups at the conference had as their foci the conventional operations during the initial invasion of Iraq, before events deteriorated into a burgeoning insurgency. Having just completed a manuscript on American military culture and stability operations, and having just recently returned from Iraq, I was an influential

participant in this group and our findings were essentially those that ultimately informed DODD 3000.05: to compel U.S. military cultural change to embrace and value stability operations/counterinsurgency as central and valued missions, to be reflected in a balance of regular and irregular doctrine, training, and education. The other conference was the fifteenth annual Army War College Strategy conference that convened between April 13<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup>, 2004, entitled *Winning the War by Winning the Peace*. As a speaker on a panel there, I underscored again the imperative of better emphasizing counterinsurgency in professional military education, beginning with pre-commissioning curricula through war-college-level curricula. The reasons why the U.S. Department of Defence found it necessary to mandate the changes in DODD 3000.05 are illuminated forthwith (Matthews, 2004:48-50).

## 2. An American military cultural preference for regular warfare

*“War is death and destruction. The American way of war is particularly violent, deadly and dreadful. We believe in using ‘things’ – artillery, bombs, massive firepower – in order to conserve our soldiers’ lives. The enemy, on the other hand, made up for his lack of ‘things’ by expending men instead of machines, and he suffered enormous casualties.”* (Weyand and Summers, 1976:3)

The above quote came from the last Military Assistance Command (MACV) in Vietnam, General Fred Weyand. The principal problem with a predilection for big conventional war was that the U.S. Army would retain the mindset, the organization, and the forces suited to a large-scale regular war that would likely not transpire, while neglecting to properly adapt itself to conduct simultaneous irregular operations of the kind that occur with increasing regularity. The American paradigm for war as it emerged after the world wars focused around a strong strategic and tactical offensive, including full domestic mobilization, and employing use of the full suite of military resources that America can leverage. A RAND study from the 1990s identified five very salient U.S. Army cultural characteristics as impediments to planning and innovation. These characteristics were: a preference for close-combat manoeuvre; the centrality of the division; a big-war predilection, a big-army mindset; and defence against all enemies, preferably foreign. In elaborating even further, this RAND study explained that the big-army mindset was a "relatively recent acquisition, since for much of its history the U.S. Army was both small and generally behind

European armies technologically and doctrinally” (Dewar Presentation, 1994). However, before it even became a large Army it exuded a large army mindset, borrowing technology and doctrine from Europe. It was this predilection that laid the foundation for the development of a big-army mentality during World War II and the Cold War. The U.S. Army became larger and technologically superior to most of its competitors during the Cold War. The Army's training and development base expanded and developed advanced training paradigms techniques and doctrine, such as Air Land Battle, that exploited new technologies at least as effectively as any other army in the world. The Persian Gulf War of 1991 simply validated the big-war mindset (Dewar Presentation, 1994). A culturally embedded big-army mindset, the report presciently concluded, “could represent very expensive impediments to the Army's post-Cold War adjustment” (Dewar Presentation, 1994).

Ultimately, this cogent RAND analysis of Army culture concluded that a continued cultural preference for big wars would possibly undermine the U.S. Army's ability to develop capabilities for: (1) countering insurgencies and terrorism as well as conducting peace operations; (2) suppressing domestic unrest and closing borders effectively; and (3) responding rapidly for small, self-sustaining force elements in crisis situations (Dewar Presentation, 1994). An earlier RAND report, published toward the end of the Vietnam War in 1970, analyzed the U.S. Army's concept of war and explained that the concept had not changed as a result of the U.S. experience in Vietnam: “war is regarded as a series of conventional battles between two armies in which one side will lose and, accepting this loss as decisive, will sue for peace, ... our Army remains enemy-oriented and casualty-oriented” (Jenkins, 1970:4). This earlier study also offered a pellucid description of the difficulty that U.S. Army faced by trying to force fit its paradigm for war to Vietnam: “the Army's doctrine, its tactics, its organization, its weapons - its entire repertoire of warfare was designed for conventional war in Europe. In Vietnam, the Army simply performed its repertoire even though it was frequently irrelevant to the situation” (Jenkins, 1970:v). American military culture regarded Vietnam as an aberration, or, “an exotic interlude between the wars that really count” (Jenkins, 1970:7). However, the U.S. Army's failure to learn and absorb the right lessons from Vietnam was more disquieting, and fateful, than its failure to succeed in the Vietnam War itself (Jenkins, 1970:6-7).

There is ample research work that demonstrates the U.S. Army's preference for the big conventional war paradigm. In 1977, eminent American military historian, Russell Weigley, surveyed the pages of *Military Review*, the U.S. Army's professional journal. For the entire year 1976 worth of issues, he found almost no critical appraisal of irregular warfare (low intensity conflict, at the time). In contrast, in 1976 there appeared a preponderance of articles that examined large-scale conventional wars and World War II. Likewise, in 1981 and 1982, Weigley also discovered that professional military thought, as reflected in *Military Review* and other professional military journals, pointed to the same conclusion, a focus on World War II-style conflicts with very little critical analysis of Indochina and very little hint at the possibility of small irregular wars in the future (Weigley, 1984a:115). Furthermore, a 1989 survey that examined the 1400 articles published by *Military Review* between 1975 and 1989 discovered only 43 articles dedicated to irregular warfare (Brady, 1990:110).

In the late 1970s, the Commandant of the U.S. Army War College arranged for Colonel Harry G. Summers to be assigned there. The Commandant assigned him to write a book on Vietnam and to apply and to incorporate the findings of a previously documented report, a BDM Corporation study which had found that the U.S. Army never learned how to prosecute counterinsurgency and that it learned from Vietnam, only, the notion to avoid such interventions. Instead of applying the BDM report, however, Summers employed for his theoretical framework Karl von Clausewitz's *On War*. Consequently, the argument which Summers put forth in his book, *On Strategy: a Critical Analysis of the Vietnam War*, proffered conclusions that were absolutely converse to the conclusions of the BDM study. Summers concluded that the Army failed in Vietnam because it had not sufficiently focused on conventional warfare. In other words, the U.S. Army's problems in Vietnam stemmed from its deviation from the big-war approach and its temporary and very incomplete experiment with counterinsurgency. Not surprisingly, Summers' book was readily embraced by the Army culture while the BDM report drifted into obscurity. *On Strategy* was for a very long time on the Command and General Staff College, the Army War College, and the official Army professional reading lists. As an example of which study held more ostensible salience for the U.S. Army culture at the time, a 1990 survey of that U.S. Army Command and General Staff College class revealed that only six of 392 students in the class had read the BDM study (Downie, 1998:73-74; Brady, 1990:250-291).



To further confound an extant, and military-culture-filtered, misinterpretation of Vietnam, just as the end of the Cold War was making a conventional war in Europe more unlikely, the U.S. military and its coalition partners fought the Persian Gulf War. The Gulf War was perceived as a validation of the American paradigm of war, in contrast to Vietnam. The literature on the Gulf War is replete with the notion that Desert Storm was fundamentally different from Vietnam and that it represented a complete validation of the process of applying lessons learned. According to one expert on rhetoric, Vietnam became the central metaphor of American foreign policy. General Colin Powell's words to then outgoing President George H. W. Bush offered testimony to this as well: "Mr. President you have sent us in harm's way when you had to, but never lightly, never hesitantly, never with our hands tied, never without giving us what we needed to do the job" (Powell, 1995:567-568). Reviewing a conversation that he had with General Norman Schwarzkopf before the Persian Gulf War, Powell wrote that he had told Schwarzkopf that the lesson from the invasion of Panama was to "go in big and end it quickly" (Powell, 1995:487). We could not put the United States through another Vietnam, so it seemed at the time. For those who viewed the American way of war as an innate and unalterable manifestation of American strategic culture and national will, Operation Desert Storm served as the current day apotheosis (Dauber, 1998:7, 23; Atkinson, 1993:122-123).

The victory in the Gulf War only served to reinforce an American predilection for big conventional war, ironically, at the very moment when this paradigm was becoming an anachronism. Mohammed Farah Aideed, however, quickly demonstrated that a predilection for the big war paradigm can be an obstacle to success in irregular warfare – a lesson that the American military consistently refused to learn. As a result of Somalia, the 'no-more-Vietnams' mantra rapidly evolved into the 'no-more-Somalias' mantra and almost as soon as the doctrinal cognoscenti at Leavenworth conceived the new moniker of operations other than war (OOTW), this concept of OOTW essentially, and quickly, came to be perceived as things that the U.S. military would rather avoid. The Persian Gulf War, on the other hand, was a stupendous feat, "a thing we would rather do: war by the American definition" (Bolger, 1995:69). The second half of the twentieth century, therefore, pointed to another paradox: the U.S. military had trained and organized for the type of war that it would least likely fight. Arguably, this was necessary during the Cold War to balance and deter the

Soviets. However, the end of the Cold War and the lessons of Somalia should have catalyzed a shift from a regular war focus to an irregular war focus (Record, 1988:81).

## **2.1 An American military cultural aversion to irregular warfare**

As a corollary to the American military's big war preference, this almost exclusive preference had helped marginalize counterinsurgency operations and irregular warfare. According to one expert on counterinsurgency warfare, irregular war lies in the category of indirect strategy and thus differs greatly from the view of war and strategy that had dominated U.S. military thinking and experience during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The direct application of military force dominated U.S. military thinking during and after World War II; and it manifested itself in the services' inability to develop strategy and doctrine for the principal type of irregular warfare that the United States had been involved in prosecuting more consistently, counterinsurgency. The United States military has not been exceedingly forthcoming in the context of developing its doctrine and training for the operations other than the regular war arena, particularly since the end of the Vietnam era. Even though conflicts short of conventional war have become more widespread, the U.S. Army, since the end of the Vietnam War, until the first decade of the twenty-first century, has had difficulty or has resisted developing a solid doctrinal foundation for these missions. It has been argued that the U.S. Army never seriously attempted to genuinely learn how to do counterinsurgency in Vietnam and one work distilled this conspicuous absence of adaptation with a memorable comment attributed, anonymously, to an American general from the Vietnam era: "I will be damned if I will permit the United States Army, its institutions, its doctrine, and its traditions, to be destroyed just to win this lousy war" (Jenkins, 1970:3; Shultz, 1991:119-120 and 127; Beckett and Pimlott, 1985:7).

Unfortunately, as a result of the reorganization of the U.S. Army after Vietnam, its lesson learning was replaced by a realignment of responsibilities and functions and no lesson learning function carried over into the newly established U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC). It merits noting that although TRADOC had then encompassed "all the essential ingredients for centralized lesson learning within it, it did not inherit any mission" to process the combat lessons

from Vietnam (Vetock, 1988:119). Also, a doctrinal shift back toward big conventional operations in Europe against the Soviets diminished any residual influence that the Vietnam era's experience-processing system might have exerted. Thus, the U.S. Army, either by default, design, or both, did not institutionalize the lessons from its most recent combat experience in Vietnam. Instead, the Army looked to research and analysis, exercises and field tests, and the historical experiences of World War II to prepare it for what it saw as the next war - a high intensity mechanized war in Europe. Propitiously, the Arab-Israeli War of 1973 served as surrogate laboratory of recent combat experience in the U.S. Army's preferred kind of war. TRADOC studied the lessons of this war very closely and incorporated those lessons into the U.S. Army's doctrine (Vetock, 1988:119-120).

Essentially, the lesson-learning system and lessons of Vietnam had not been simply forgotten: "The Army cast them aside with the revitalized NATO focus, buried them in the organizational reforms, and considered them unnecessary once the war ended" (Vetock, 1988:120). According to one assessment, "the end of American combat in Vietnam by itself would have probably doomed the wartime lesson-learning system, but the Army's post-war organizational and doctrinal changes guaranteed its demise" (Vetock, 1988:120). The war became a concluded event and a matter of history. After January 1973, "whoever sought lessons from the Vietnam War had to look backwards, historically, with the wisdom and burden of hindsight" (Vetock, 1988:120). The Army so diluted the Vietnam experience from its current memory that a 1975 Command and General Staff College version of *Infantry in Battle* included 62 case studies from the three most recent U.S. wars: greater than 50 percent were about World War II, almost 25 percent were on Korea, and less than 10 percent focused on Vietnam. What's more, as the only non-American experience analyzed in this compendium, the 1973 Yom Kippur War received coverage equal to that of the Vietnam War (Vetock, 1988:120-121).

The U.S. Army's first out-sourced examination of the Vietnam War did, however, criticize its doctrine and conduct of counterinsurgency in Vietnam. More importantly, the study reported that the Army had ignored the lessons of Vietnam, had failed to study low-intensity conflict, and needed to correct its inability to conduct counterinsurgency. Published by the BDM Corporation in June 1980 for the Army War College, this report

concluded that the U.S. Army still did not know how to conduct low-intensity conflict because the strategic lesson the U.S. learned from Vietnam was that like interventions were to be avoided. The report also maintained that the U.S. military's traditional separation between the military and political spheres significantly hindered the effective employment of military force in accomplishing objectives established by the political leadership. It reproved of an American paradigm of war aimed at the destruction of enemy forces while ignoring other complex and relevant political factors. The BDM report was essentially an indictment of the U.S. Army's conventional and inappropriate approach to Vietnam. However, this study would ultimately be shunted aside in favour of an assessment more congruous with the U.S. Army's preferred paradigm (Downie, 1998:71-73; BDM Corporation, 1980:EX-1, EX-3, EX-6, EX-8-EX-10).

In 1983, Kupperman and Associates, Inc. completed an analysis for a conceptual framework for the U.S. Army and low intensity conflict (LIC). It also tried to determine whether the Army's organization and doctrine were appropriate for emerging irregular (LIC) operations. The Kupperman Study identified a dilemma confronting the U.S. Army: extended high intensity conventional conflict in Europe dominated the Army's thinking, resource allocation, and doctrine, but it is the conflict least likely to occur. "The low-intensity conflict environment is not one for which the Army is currently prepared" (Kupperman and Associates, 1983:vi). The executive summary of the report asserted that the U.S. Army needed new organization, doctrine, tactics, and equipment "to meet successfully the foreseen challenges at this low end of the violence spectrum" (Kupperman and Associates, 1983:vi). The study found that the U.S. Army was not prepared to conduct LIC [irregular warfare] and the Army would need to develop doctrine and a force structure that would allow it to win in this environment. The Kupperman Study concluded that the Army was least prepared to fight the most likely form conflict (LIC) and best prepared for the least likely form of conflict, conventional war in Europe. Another report from 1985, the Joint Low Intensity Conflict final report arrived at almost identical findings, that the American military continually applied conventional solutions to unconventional challenges. This last report asserted that the tendency to think and apply the same prescriptions for deterring and fighting conventional wars to the various forms of unconventional wars was the greatest impediment to the development of

policy and doctrine for LIC (irregular warfare) (Kupperman and Associates, 1983:iv, vi-vii; Downie, 1998:75-77).

The seminal counterweight to Summers' *On Strategy* was Andy Krepinevich's *The Army and Vietnam*. In essence, it argued that the U.S. Army failed in Vietnam because it fought the war too conventionally, according to its preferred paradigm for war, and not according to the principles and tenets of counterinsurgency. Not surprisingly, the main stream culture of the U.S. military was not enamoured of this book and its conclusions. A minority of Special Forces officers and other like-minded advocates of irregular warfare (LIC) embraced the findings of Krepinevich's book while the dominant and driving majority of U.S. military culture embraced Summers' findings. *The Army and Vietnam* posited that "the Army's conduct of the war was a failure, primarily because it never realized that insurgency warfare required basic changes in Army methods to meet the exigencies of the new conflict environment" (Krepinevich, 1986:259). In attempting to overlay operational methods that were successful in previous wars, the Army focused on the attrition of enemy forces instead of denying the enemy access to the population. By focusing on perceived civilian failures and contriving criteria like the Weinberger Doctrine, instead of taking a harder look at its own failures, the U.S. Army perpetuated the fiction that its way of war remained valid across the spectrum of war. The real lessons of Vietnam were that overwhelming force does not always work; military operations cannot be divorced from politics; using military force in pursuit of less than vital national interests is feasible; and gaining and maintaining the support of the indigenous population is central to success in irregular war (Krepinevich, 1986:268-275; Mariano, 1995:2).

To be certain, U.S. Army's response to such findings on its failures in Vietnam was a military cultural one: it was to not institutionalize lessons learned there and to not create a better doctrinal approach to counterinsurgency and irregular warfare. Instead, it tried to eschew cogitation of and participation in irregular wars; to, concomitantly, resist seriously developing sound doctrine for irregular warfare; and to focus almost exclusively on the regular, orthodox, and "big war" in Europe after the suboptimal conclusion of the Vietnam War. Its institutional and cultural solution to the Vietnam imbroglio, therefore, was to embrace the notion that "we don't do Vietnams." This is all too evident in its responses

to the previously mentioned series of post-Vietnam studies that tried to answer the question: what went wrong and how can we do these wars better? The U.S. Army Chief of Staff General Creighton Abrams, the first post-Vietnam Chief, directed the Astarita group to conduct a strategic assessment to determine if a conventional strategy was appropriate to the post-Vietnam security environment. The Astarita Report shifted the U.S. Army's institutional attention away from the frustrations of Vietnam and focused the Army on readiness and deterrence issues in Europe. "The Army focused on what it could do well - conventional warfare - as opposed to something the Vietnam War proved that the Army could not do well - counterinsurgency" (Downie, 1998:70).

## **2.2 Somalia and a military cultural propensity for maximum force**

The current preference of the U.S. military is captured in the Powell Corollary to the Weinberger Doctrine: "the fast, overwhelming and decisive application of maximum force in the minimum time. Such an approach may produce effective, short-term results. It is irrelevant, probably even counter-productive, when matched against the very difficult internal problems that form the underlying problems in target countries" (Snow and Drew, 1994:325-326).

When examining the American military culture's preference for maximum force and the decision to send troops to Somalia, one thing stood out. The tenets of the Weinberger-Powell Doctrine underpinned and prescribed how many troops and how much force would be applied to achieve the political aim. One tenet of the Weinberger-Powell Doctrine stipulated that when America decided to commit military forces, that it should only use force in an overwhelming decisive manner and with the intent of winning. The Powell Corollary of "decisive force" was the notion of applying decisive force to over match adversaries and to thereby terminate conflicts swiftly. Somalia was one of the first post-Cold War American deployments under the aegis of a UN Security Council Chapter VII imprimatur that saw significant American military participation in what was not a regular, traditional, combat operation. Combining the U.S. big conventional war paradigm of war with a non-traditional humanitarian effort led to the conception of an "armed humanitarian operation," ostensibly a notion as paradoxical as applying the Weinberger Doctrine with stability operations or irregular warfare. However, the U.S. military was destined to lead the

operation and it went in armed for bear, with overwhelming force and a predetermined exit strategy before the first forces were on the way. Coupling the Weinberger criteria to a failed state's complex humanitarian emergency was analogous to employing a sledgehammer when a screwdriver was actually required (Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1992:10; Bolger, 1995:279-281; Weinberger, 1984).

Robert Oakley, a crucial U.S. diplomatic player during UN operations in Somalia, confirmed this propensity pertaining to the use of military force: "the initial operation was an adaptation of the Weinberger-Powell Doctrine for peacekeeping: dominant force; clear, limited mission; exit strategy; and strong public support" (Oakley Lecture, 1999). Oakley also echoed this conviction in a book he co-authored on the subject: "The will and ability to use overwhelming force to back a peacekeeping operation (...) as the Weinberger-Powell Doctrine recommends (...) offers the greatest possibility of successfully completing a peacekeeping mission and minimizing *casualties* on all sides" (Hirsch and Oakley, 1995:162). A senior U.S. staff member intimated, despite the extant American military doctrinal principles for such operations that prescribed otherwise, that the U.S. military was intuitively uncomfortable about participating in missions in which it could not rely on overwhelming force to achieve success: "You've got to maintain some of that old war fighting approach where victory was when you were standing there with your foot on your enemy's chest" (Ellerson, 1993:13).

In 1994, after the U.S. withdrawal from Somalia, and reproving then U.S. Defence Secretary William Perry's demands for a more forceful and punitive NATO response to Bosnian Serb transgressions, the then UN Protection Force Commander, British General Michael Rose offered the argument that "bombing is a last resort because then you cross the Mogadishu Line" (*The Guardian*, 1994:27). General Rose was referring to the October 1993 fighting battle that occurred in Somalia after an expanded Chapter VII mandate induced the U.S.-dominated UN command to essentially prosecute counter-guerrilla war against Aideed's irregulars. General Rose's comment also reflected the then extant disagreement between the British and the Americans over the doctrine for such operations: the Americans were again inclined to apply maximum force while the British were averse to the prospects of such a dangerous

deviation from their traditional approach, which inclined to apply minimum force in the conduct of peace operations and counterinsurgencies. Furthermore, the imprudent and excessive use of force by U.S. forces clearly placed those forces in the middle of an ongoing civil war. Mr. Oakley seemed to concur with this interpretation: “the U.S. and the UN made Aideed the enemy by UN Security Council Resolution 837; after a no-warning helicopter gun ship attack on a peaceful meeting of some 200 senior members of Aideed’s clan on 12 July 1993, the American forces became their enemy” (Oakley Lecture, 1999).

Two experts on the U.S. operation in Somalia considered the July 12<sup>th</sup> attack helicopter raid to be one of the most controversial attacks by the U.S. Quick Reaction Force. “The effect of this raid on the Somalis was electrifying” (Daniel and Hayes, 1999:103). This excessive display of force made Aideed sympathizers out of Somalis who had not previously supported him. Subsequently, Aideed “began to assume mythical proportions to many in the country” (Daniel and Hayes, 1999:103). After examining this raid and the subsequent escalation of force, with concomitant Somali casualties and damage, the notion of exactly how not gain the support of the local population seems to be exceedingly obvious. In other words, this level of force, used in an operation that was not considered to be a regular combat operation, was antithetical to the enduring irregular war imperative to “win hearts and minds.” Just as Arc Light and napalm strikes, had, inadvertently, served rather effective recruiting aids for the Viet Cong during the Vietnam War, so to, it seemed, had the employment of American AH-1F attack helicopter missiles and AC-130 40 millimetre chain guns, fired in the densely populated slums of Mogadishu, made enemies of theretofore neutrals in Somalia (Daniel and Hayes, 1999:102-103).

Mark Bowden’s best-selling narrative on operations in Somalia, *Black Hawk Down*, offered several vignettes that helped illuminate the impact of a maximum-force approach during operations in Somalia. Bowden spent some time in Somalia talking to Somalis who had been in Mogadishu that summer:

He had deep wounds that were still healing from an American helicopter attack three months earlier, on July 12 – months before the Rangers had come Farah and the others in his clan had welcomed the UN intervention the previous December. It promised to bring stability and hope. But the mission had



gradually deteriorated into hatred and bloodshed. Ever since July 12, the Habr Gidr had been at war with America (Bowden, 1999:71).

Women walking the streets would have their colourful robes blown off. Some had infants torn from their arms by the powerful updraft [rotor wash]. On one raid, a mother screamed frantically in flex cuffs for nearly a half hour before a translator arrived to listen and to explain that her infant had been blown down the road by landing helicopters (Bowden, 1999:75).

LTG Montgomery, the U.S. forces commander under UNOSOM II, in essence conceded that the increasingly forceful responses to the Somali National Alliance (SNA) after the 5 June 1993 ambush of the Pakistanis were consistent with American military culture during the period: "It was a normal reaction to the Pakistani ambush – do something – kick some ass" (U.S. Army Peacekeeping Institute, 1994:16). Kicking some ass, however inappropriate to the nature of the operation, is just what the Quick Reaction Force started doing in the summer of 1993. Of the July raid, reporter Marguerite Michaels observed: "Blaming Aideed, the U.S. has led UN forces in an aggressive bid to flush him out, culminating in a daylight attack on a meeting of Aideed's top commanders on Monday. At the end of a 20-minute barrage of missiles and cannon fire from U.S. helicopter gun ships, dozens of bodies lay scattered around the demolished villa" (Michaels, 1993:48). LTG Montgomery also unambiguously reported that after the June 5<sup>th</sup>, 1993, SNA ambush, and subsequent to other attacks against UNOSOM II forces on July 5<sup>th</sup>, 1993, the U.S./UN command "basically began a period of counter operations to protect the force and to deny Aideed's militia the opportunity to continue 'guerrilla operations' against the UN" (U.S. Army Peacekeeping Institute, 1994:16). Faintly reminiscent of U.S. military predilections during the Vietnam War, the *Montgomery Report* explained that the counter-guerrilla operations were initially aimed at the weapons cantonment sites, followed by "search and clear" operations to drive the enemy out of their enclave in South Mogadishu, near the UN forces headquarters.

Major General William Garrison, who as the commander of Task Force Ranger special operators was in the thick of the fray, had this to say when asked about the October 1993 raid by the Senate Armed Services Committee: "Speed, surprise, and overwhelming firepower are key to our method of operation." "What's more", he added, "Task Force Ranger was never pinned down. We decided to stay with the helicopter pilots that were pinned inside their aircraft. The Rangers could have fought their way out at

any time, if they had to decided to do that” (U.S. Senate Armed Services Committee, 1994:4). Another analysis observed that the excessive force applied by the attack helicopters and special operations forces were conceived solely by the U.S. civilian and military leadership, which was the driving force behind UNOSOM II (Berdal, 1993:73-74). Another quote attributed to Major General Garrison some time before the October 1993 battle proved prescient afterwards, “if we go into the vicinity of the Bakara Market, there is no question we’ll win the gunfight. But we might lose the war” (Atkinson, 1994a:A1).

This overemphasis on force at the tactical level, to the detriment of strategic aims, seemed to hearken back to the U.S. approach to counterinsurgency in Vietnam, where it won many battles but lost the war. In fact, in an interview, Robert Oakley stated candidly: “it was just like Tet” (Oakley Interview, 1999). His reference alluded to the Tet Offensive in 1968 when the Viet Cong launched concerted attacks against the cities of South Vietnam but was decimated in the ensuing battles. However, the scope of the Viet Cong attacks against South Vietnam’s cities so shocked America that Tet emerged as a strategic victory for the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong because it undermined the U.S. domestic support for the war. Likewise, although Task Force Ranger accomplished its raid, captured its targeted individuals, and killed hundreds of Somalis in the process, it was a Pyrrhic tactical victory because the shock of American dead, as explained below, unhinged the Somalia policy (Oakley Interview, 1999).

As events in Mogadishu demonstrated, humanitarian operations and counterinsurgency operations cannot succeed when confronted with entrenched and widespread opposition. Moreover, the forcible elimination of one of the principal factions is not a practical or effective method of fulfilling the purpose of stability-related operations. Without the broad cooperation and consent of the majority of the local population and the leadership of the principal ruling entities, success in such a complex environment is simply not a tenable or realistic prospect. The risks involved and the combat forces required for an approach that abandons a broadly legitimate framework, based on legitimacy derived from reasonably prudent application of minimum and discriminate force, render impractical most operations that might be mounted in such a context. Maintaining dialogue and cooperation with the locals and their de facto leadership is essential for any prospect of success. Succinctly stated, maintaining the

operational-level of support and consent of the population is a prerequisite for the successful conduct of operations at the nexus of irregular warfare and stability operations (Dobbie, 1994:125).

### **2.3 Somalia and a military cultural reliance on technology**

This section examines the U.S. military cultural predilection for technology during the operations in Somalia. One article once suggested that the American “national aversion to bloodletting” increases expectations that the costs of war can be borne by technology (Gentry, 1998:184-86). High-tech gizmos, such as robots, sensors, and unmanned aircraft are well suited for high-intensity conventional war but are of less relevance for counterinsurgency and irregular war wherein the support of the population is more important than the number of unmanned platforms. Perhaps this was another lesson not learned in Vietnam by Robert McNamara and his whiz kids, who were also enamoured of technological solutions. It is exceedingly difficult to harness a preponderance of technology to defeat pre-industrial and semi-feudal irregulars. The U.S. forces under UNOSOM II had some of the most lethal and high-tech equipment available to light infantry fighters. One of the oldest systems in their inventory was the AH-1 Cobra attack helicopter. Though a Vietnam vintage machine, this helicopter was very lethal, it was armed with anti-tank missiles, a 20 millimetre Gatling gun, and 2.75 inch rockets. The U.S. Air Force’s AC 130 Spectre was sufficiently lethal to vaporize an entire city block in Mogadishu. What’s more, the OH-58D was another example of advanced technology - the mast-mounted ball on top of the rotor system included thermal sights, a TV camera, and a laser range finder, which could be employed to designate for AC-130 Spectre or artillery fires. This helicopter could detect and identify single humans at ranges up to ten kilometres, at night. Add the 160th Special Operations Aviation Regiment’s helicopters – MH-60s, MH-6s, and AH-6s, all of which amounted to some serious technology and firepower (Gentry, 1998:184-86; U.S. Army Peacekeeping Institute, 1994:7).

One lesson-learned report amplified the U.S. reliance on technology in Somalia: “during periods of darkness, laser-equipped night vision scopes were used by forward observers and forward air controllers as their primary means of marking targets” (U.S Army Center for Army Lessons Learned, 1994: I-6-6). It concluded that the Forward Observers Ranging and

Marking Scope was a great asset for identifying and marking targets. In addition, the report noted, the OH-58D's lazing capability was an invaluable asset because it enabled "the ground commander the flexibility to employ a wide variety of munitions with surgical precision" (U.S Army Center for Army Lessons Learned, 1994: I-6-6). In a discussion about minimizing danger to friendly troops and limiting "collateral damage" to civilians, the report emphasized the use of the following high-tech weapons: laser-guided munitions or "direct-fire weapons such as the AC-130 105mm, 40mm, 20mm cannons and the AH-1F fired TOW" (U.S Army Center for Army Lessons Learned, 1994:I-6-2). However, as a quintessential example of technological asymmetry, the Centre for Army Lessons Learned stated that the Somalis even used kites and slingshots as air defence weapons: "on one occasion a rock from a slingshot went through the cockpit of a scout aircraft that was travelling at 90 knots" (U.S Army Center for Army Lessons Learned, 1994:I-5-6). The same report explained that units conducting operations against a "low technology force" must not rule out unorthodox methods of air defence (U.S Army Center for Army Lessons Learned, 1994:I-6-6).

There is a problem, however, with a reliance on an overwhelming advantage in technology: a cunning adversary will always seek to find the Achilles heel of the technologically superior force. According to both Rick Atkinson and Mark Bowden, Aideed and some of his commanders had ascertained what was to be a key U.S. vulnerability, "the Americans' greatest technological advantage – the helicopter – had to be neutralized with barrage fire using rocket propelled grenades" (Atkinson, 1994a:A1). According to Bowden's book, "to Aideed's fighters, the Rangers' weakness was apparent. "They were not willing to die' " (Bowden, 1999: 110). What's more, the helicopter pilots of the 160th Special Operations Aviation Regiment whose moniker was "Night Stalkers" had forfeited one of their principal technological advantages, night operations. Task Force Ranger's Delta planners realized that speed was also essential for success. Consequently, each mission was built around a standard set of helicopters, Rangers, and Delta operators performing the same functions that they had for every raid. Despite the fact that the task force varied the times of the missions and conducted bogus "signature flights," or, false insertions, to keep Aideed's forces off balance, by October 1993 the Task Force had established a pattern. The commander of Task Force Ranger himself, Major General William Garrison, captured it very simply: "you can have all

the grand theories about warfare that you want, but ultimately there are only four options: up the middle, up the left, up the right or don't go" (Atkinson, 1994a: A1; Bowden, 1999:109-111).

According to Atkinson's account of it in this one article, Aideed's irregulars had been formulating a plan of their own to counter the combat power and technology exhibited by Task Force Ranger: undreds of rocket-propelled grenades (RPG) had been smuggled into Mogadishu. One Somali commander, Giumale, who oversaw the October 3<sup>rd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> Battle of Mogadishu claimed that he had "tried to adapt the lessons learned from years of clan warfare and from extensive reading on guerrilla insurgencies, particularly in Latin America" (Atkinson, 1994a: A1). He knew that the American Special Operations Forces were considered elite but he thought they had underestimated the SNA militia, which had the tactical and psychological advantage of fighting in their own backyards. One of Giumale's subalterns, a Colonel Aden, observed "if you use one tactic twice, you should not use it a third time," and the Americans had already essentially employed the same raid construct six times (Atkinson, 1994a, A1). Operations aimed toward snatching Aideed, which culminated in the October battle, also attested to the difficulty presented, even with high-tech equipment, in trying to find a single human target in an urban slum.

## Conclusion

*"A conventional military force, no matter how bent, twisted, malformed or otherwise 'reorganized' is still one hell of a poor instrument with which to engage insurgents"* (Jenkins, 1970:6).

The American dilemma of trying to be prepared simultaneously to counter insurgents and wage large-scale conventional war is as follows: "for one kind of task, rapid and agile movement in reaching the scene and in campaigning after arrival was at a premium; the other kind of war demanded heavier formations with a capacity for sustained fighting under severe casualties" (Weigley, 1984b:589). The U.S. military did not begin to resolve this dilemma conspicuously well until late 2003 because an emphasis on European war in doctrine and planning that was re-doubled after the Vietnam War tended to create an army without the appropriate agility for unconventional wars, from Operation Eagle Claw to Operation Restore Hope. As a consequence of the Civil War and of an adulation of

first the French, then the Prussian model of war, the U.S. Army became focused on conventional war and massive firepower. Moreover, William T. Sherman, Emory Upton, and their disciples, as advocates of the conventional Prussian model, conflated that model with their total-war-of-annihilation approach derived from the U.S. Civil War and permanently inculcated it in the profession through its institutions and published journals. As a result, anything outside of the core paradigm, such as counterinsurgency and irregular warfare, came to be viewed as aberrant and ephemeral (Weigley, 1984b:589).

The history of American military's suboptimal performance in irregular wars [low-intensity conflict] during the 1980s also testified to a litany of military and political failures: the aborted hostage rescue in Iran, the bombing of the Marines in Beirut, and the invasion of Grenada. As one author cogently stated it, the American military had essentially defined the irregular warfare threat "out of existence and tried to forget what it should have learned from the defeat in Vietnam;" as a result, "the Army dropped its focus on counterinsurgency," based on the notion that there should be "no more Vietnams" (Downie, 1998:75). Instead of resisting change to counterinsurgency doctrine, the more influential groups in the U.S. Army opposed participation in irregular warfare entirely and sought to marginalize the supporters and doctrine for irregular war (LIC). This powerful and predominant group looked to Army big war norms and domestic popular support to avoid involvement in irregular warfare. Consequently, the Weinberger Doctrine codified the criteria that, when followed, essentially proscribed the use of the US military in anything other than its preferred paradigm, conventional mid-intensity to high-intensity conflict in which the U.S. military could exert technological prowess and overwhelming combat power to annihilate the enemy (Thompson, 1989:x; Downie, 1998:167-169).

Although the U.S. military had during the Cold War focused its force structure, training, and doctrine on fighting the big battle for Central Europe, the Army had still conducted a diverse array of missions: constabulary forces in Japan and Germany, a UN "police action" in Korea, a contingency operation in the Dominican Republic, the Sinai peacekeeping commitment, Vietnam, Grenada, and so forth. Note, that none of these aforementioned operations of the then recent past or for the then probable future, included the big regular conventional war "toward

which the Army has devoted so much of its energies and equipment designs" (Builder, 1989:186-187). Saddam Hussein then, and thus, provided the U.S. with a war that was perfectly congruous with the U.S. Army's favourite paradigm. The Persian Gulf War gave the U.S. Army what it had longed for since 1945: "it was a war of clear aims, well-defined means, and circumscribed duration, fought in happy concert with many allies" (Bolger, 1991:34). However, soon after the conclusion of the Persian Gulf War, this military scholar and professional soldier rather presciently observed, "strategically, operationally, and tactically, this one was a museum piece - exciting, militarily impressive, and in the long run as sterile and unimportant as Omdurman" (Bolger, 1991:34) (Bolger here is referring to the Battle of Omdurman in the Sudan in 1898 as an analogy for the American-led victory against Iraq in 1991. The Battle of Omdurman witnessed a British Army handily and brutally destroyed their Dervish adversaries because the Dervishes had opted, as imprudently as Saddam Hussein had, to fight a big, conventional, war against the biggest and most capable conventional army of the particular era).

In essence, however, World War II and the Persian Gulf War were actually the aberrations in the American Army's experience. "The American military's artificially narrow definition of war has never matched the real world or its own heritage of small, ambiguous wars" (Bolger, 1995:69). The theretofore preferred American model for war was typically one that was a declared war against a conventionally organized enemy. The U.S. Army had preferred to prepare for wars where its adversaries came to fight division against division, with tanks and jets, the kind of foes that fought fairly, kind of a mirror image. However, the U.S. Army had experienced about 100 hours worth of what it defined as war during the then nearly 50 years since World War II, in contrast to irregular warfare and counterinsurgency (Bolger, 1995:69-70). The influence of the U.S. Army's cultural interpretation of the lessons of Vietnam, coupled with its success in the Persian Gulf War, cannot be overstated. These reaffirmed a propensity for the big-war model in an exceedingly significant way. On the spectre of the Vietnam experience, one expert on American civil-military relations once posited that, "the American armed forces' understanding of the domestic political context of small wars has been shaped, and in fact distorted, by the experience of Vietnam" (Cohen, 1984:167-68). U.S. military officers were shocked by their military's apparent inability to annihilate an enemy

who apparently had less mobility and less combat power (Cohen, 1984:167-68).

The U.S. military's success in the Persian Gulf War, moreover, was viewed as a welcome vindication that it had learned the correct lessons from Vietnam. "The Gulf War, although waged against a Third World country, was a classic conventional war fought along the lines of strategies and tactics developed in World War II, Korea, and the Arab-Israeli wars of the previous four decades, and America's military is very good at conventional combat" (Head and Tilford, 1996:5). Many also thought that the Gulf War had finally expunged the ghosts of Vietnam. As the ground war took shape, in fact, President George Bush claimed, "By God, we've kicked the Vietnam Syndrome once and for all" (Head and Tilford, 1996:11). Professor Dauber, a rhetoric expert at UNC Chapel Hill amplified the significance of the Weinberger Doctrine and the success of the U.S. military in the Gulf War: "Desert Storm is represented by a variety of authors in a variety of venues as being successful precisely because the U.S. military learned ... and applied ... the appropriate lessons of Vietnam" (Dauber, 1998:7-8, 23). Despite the fact that the Army essentially conducted peace operations for a decade after the end of the Cold War, the first Persian Gulf War had so reinforced the culturally preferred, technologically enabled, decisive conventional war paradigm within the U.S. military, that by September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001, the U.S. military still predominantly viewed its core and essential roles to be grounded in conventional war. Even as late as March of 2002, the National Training Centre (NTC), the U.S. Army's premier desert collective training opportunity, still focused exclusively on conventional battles with linear boundaries and phase lines. Since Operation Iraqi Freedom, however, the Army has significantly altered its training regimen at NTC – that regimen now, and rightly so, comprises an adaptive, very irregular, and asymmetric programme.

### **Implications: learning wrong lessons form wrong wars**

*"Learning from experience is a faculty almost never practiced"* (Tuchman, 1984:383).  
*"Armies are conservative organizations; they adapt themselves slowly to new environments, and especially to new mental surroundings. Today a new epoch of war is dawning and we are surrounded by a veritable fog of new ideas"* (Fuller, 1993:258).



Although these quotes are from two distinct historical eras, the inferences one can easily derive from them remain exceedingly salient. Large armies are often slow to adapt to different kinds of war than the ones with which they are comfortable because they may perceive them as aberrations. Worse still, history has shown that the U.S. military, for most of the twentieth century, did not learn, or simply refused to absorb its past best practices in counterinsurgency and irregular warfare in its institutional culture. It did not seem to incorporate its own experiences dating back to the Indian wars, or the experiences of other national militaries into its training, doctrine, or leader development. So, then, why ponder how this well documented military cultural aversion to irregular war manifested itself during operations in Somalia almost 15 years ago? The answer has serious implications and is twofold. First, this military cultural proclivity has caused the U.S. military, and other militaries, to absorb the wrong lessons from past experiences, but even more gravely still, it has witnessed the American military learn the wrong lessons from the wrong wars, because those wars may have been more congruent with its preferred paradigm for war. Second, after six years of essentially waging an irregular war of global scope, the U.S. military has adapted at great costs in sacrifice and treasure to the exigencies of counterinsurgency. It is absorbing best practices in doctrine, training, and organization. But, incredulously, there are pundits already at work who aim to reverse these hard won changes because they prefer that the U.S. military revert to a big regular warfare focus (Cassidy, 2008:99-100; Gentile, 2008:online).

A small but adamant number of authors argue that we most focus on the big regular war model anew for fear of a peer competitor and because years of prosecuting irregular war have atrophied the big regular war capabilities of the U.S. military. For example, predictably, an armour officer, has argued that the Israelis' experiences fighting against Hezbollah during the Second Lebanon War "should warn Americans against having an Army so focused on irregular war and counterinsurgency warfare that it can no longer fight large battles against a conventional enemy" (Gentile, 2008:online). His argument is founded on two incredulously incorrect premises. The first one is the notion that the Second Lebanon War of 2006 was a regular conventional war. The second is that the Israeli Defence Force (IDF) acquitted itself poorly in this 34-day conflict because it had allowed its conventional war fighting skills to perish during the past 20 or so years while it honed its counterinsurgency skills. The U.S. military's "hyper-

emphasis” on irregular war thus “puts the American Army in a perilous condition,” because “its ability to fight wars consisting of head-on battles using tanks and mechanized infantry is in danger of atrophy” (Gentile, 2008: online). Another better researched and more comprehensive study produced under the auspices of the U.S. Army Combined Arms Centre’s Combat Studies Institute draws similar conclusions, warning that “while the US Army must be proficient in conducting major combat operations around the world, it is possible that years of irregular operations have chipped away at this capability, not unlike the situation encountered by the IDF.” Unsurprisingly, this author was also an armoured cavalryman during the Cold War who had worked for many years with the opposing forces cell that helped perpetuate the preferred paradigm of regular war within the American military right up to, and after the invasion of Iraq (Matthews, 2007:64-65).

The late and sagacious Barbara Tuchman was percipient in noting that the “irony of history is inexorable” (Tuchman, 1984:376). The spectre of Omdurman still haunts militaries’ interpretations of the lessons and history of recent wars. In 1898, the Mahdi and his dervishes taught the British Army that it was sporting fun to annihilate some lesser equipped and poorly trained opponent who was willing to fight according to a paradigm in which the British Army excelled. Two years later the Boers taught the British otherwise when the Boers refuse to fight by traditional European rules. The U.S. military drew a similar conclusion from its splendid victory against the Iraq Army in the 1991 Persian Gulf War where another lesser equipped and poorly trained adversary was willing to fight it according to the American model of war (Bolger, 1991:28-32). Two years later, the consequences of fighting against irregular militias on the mean streets of Mogadishu should have taught the U.S. military some lessons about irregular warfare but instead Somalia simply revalidated the wrong lesson that the U.S. military learned from Vietnam, which was to avoid counterinsurgency and irregular warfare altogether. The history of the U.S. military, however, has proven that the “hope of avoiding counterinsurgency has all too often been confused with an actual ability to do so” (Ucko, 2008:304). The reasons for the poor performance of the IDF during the Second Lebanon War are manifold but they are surely not because it was a regular war and because the IDF tried to fight it like an irregular war or counterinsurgency. Hezbollah used whatever means it could, both orthodox and unorthodox weapons, but what it did was master

a new evolution of irregular war, combining rocket attacks, terrain that favoured lightly armed and dispersed fighters, and the methods of the insurgent to undermine the Israeli's superiority in technology, tank formations, and air power (much of it U.S.) (Storr, 2007:70-71; Exum, 2006:1, 3, 10).

One can surmise from the analysis provided in the previous sections that irregular warfare is very difficult for great powers that have traditionally emphasized the conventional war model. For most of the previous two centuries, the American military philosophically and doctrinally embraced the conventional paradigm and eschewed the unconventional one, notwithstanding the fact that the U.S. Army spent the preponderance of its existence performing stability operations and what it now describes as irregular warfare in the emerging doctrine. The U.S. military is in the process of adapting to irregular warfare and it is in fact cultivating a mindset and doctrine that does not focus exclusively on the big war paradigm. The most current U.S. Army capstone doctrinal manual, *FM 3-0, Operations*, just released in February 2008, for example, explicitly confers an importance to stability operations that equals the importance previously and exclusively afforded only to regular combat operations. The American military has been compelled by the challenges of two ongoing irregular wars to become an institution that can learn, innovate, and adapt in contact. However, the disadvantages that the American military accrued to itself by embarking in 2001 on an unanticipated long irregular war characterized by multiple counterinsurgencies, still encumbered by a deeply embedded regular war military culture, are essentially temporal: military cultural change requires five to ten years; it generally requires a minimum of eight to 12 years to prevail in counterinsurgency; and the U.S. domestic political cycle exhibits a fickleness every four or eight years. Time is everything when a democracy wages protracted irregular warfare. To paraphrase a quote attributed to an anonymous Taliban guerrilla in Afghanistan, the U.S and the West may have the all the nice wrist watches, but, the insurgents have all the time.

Other national militaries can also learn from the American military's experience in Somalia, as well as from the American-led coalitions' experiences in prosecuting the protracted counterinsurgencies in Iraq and Afghanistan during the last five to six years. There are best practices and worst practices to study in order to derive applicable lessons from the U.S.

wars against irregular forces in these theatres. For Afghanistan, counterinsurgency in difficult terrain against tribal mountain fighters requires special operations forces and specialized general purpose forces with agility and knowledge of the people and terrain. Thus, irregular war there seems to require the opposite type of military culture, force structure, and doctrine that the American military went to war with in Afghanistan and Iraq at the beginning of this long and irregular war. Finally, there seems to be a contradiction that inheres in irregular wars that see big power conventional forces fighting irregular adversaries: it is a paradox of hubris and humility. Great powers have often underestimated the will, the skill, and the tenacity of their adversaries when prosecuting irregular wars, at least until learning humility in contact revealed otherwise. If the American military can absorb and preserve the lessons and the best practices of its ongoing irregular wars it may sustain the capacity to better prosecute the next wars that pit the sole superpower and its allies against irregulars who embrace the methods of the guerrilla and who operate in some nether region in the future.

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## NATO's Deterrence Policy – Time for Change?

*By Vaidotas Urbelis and Kestutis Paulauskas \**

The Cold War is commonly known as the prime time of nuclear deterrence. It used to be a high-profile and lucrative subject for the political scientists. Nuclear deterrence symbolised the ultimate dream of a strategist: it was about a *tête-à-tête* battle between two military superpowers for the domination of the world, with the survival of humanity itself at stake. Emergence of the nuclear weapon has added a new dimension to international politics and exponentially increased the cost of any possible new war among the great powers. The limits of nuclear deterrence were tested only once, when N. Khrushchev and the Kennedy brothers engaged in the “Chicken” game over the Cuban missiles, bringing the world to the brink of extinction as close as it ever was. This led to the mutual realisation of nuclear parity and the MAD doctrine, which in turn enabled the high-time of arms control with the signing of NPT (1968), ABM (1972) and SALT I (1972) treaties. During the 1980s, the Pershing missile crisis and Reagan’s Star Wars triggered a short-lived relapse into a new arms race, which ended with the signing of START I (1991) and the collapse of the Soviet Union.

With the end of the Cold War, nuclear deterrence has entered the twilight zone of strategic uncertainty. Some scientists even say it is five minutes to midnight (Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, 2007). Indeed, the strategic landscape has been changing dramatically over the past two decades. While the nuclear stockpiles of the two Cold War blocs – NATO and what was the Warsaw pact – have been reduced considerably, but at the same time new nuclear-armed states have emerged, proliferators have proliferated, and there is a number of nuclear wannabes lining up at the door of the elite nuclear club.

Meanwhile, the direction of NATO’s nuclear policy and posture gives a strange impression that it is a lazy afternoon, not midnight, in global politics. Over the past 15 years, NATO’s nuclear deterrent capability has

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been declining both in terms of the quantity of nuclear warheads, and in terms of the scope and variety of delivery weapons systems. Even the remaining warheads and weapons systems have not been upgraded or replaced. For example, in 1971, there were 11 different nuclear weapon systems deployed in Europe. By 1999, only one – DCA (dual-capable aircraft) bombs – was remaining (NATO's nuclear forces, 2008). The emphasis was not so much on keeping nuclear deterrence credible but proving to internal and external audiences that nuclear weapon has become all but irrelevant in the strategic thinking of the Western powers and NATO. By contrast, other parts of the world show completely different dynamics. Russia, which has rebounded impressively from the recession of the nineties, has several new nuclear weapon systems programmes in the pipeline and increasingly relies on the nuclear element of its defence posture, as it was explicitly declared in Russia's military doctrine of 2000. Pakistan and India made nuclear threats an integral part of their grand strategy, while some other countries are actively seeking access to nuclear technologies.

All of this points clearly at the need to reassess the role of nuclear deterrent within the overall defence posture of the Alliance. In this article, we will first examine the limitations of the current NATO's nuclear posture in the light of dynamic changes in the security environment. We will also consider the value of a tailored nuclear deterrence in the light of the classical theory of deterrence and the possibility for NATO to apply this approach on an ad hoc basis. Finally, we will discuss how the Baltic states fit in the picture of current NATO's nuclear posture, if at all.

This article does not pretend to be a definitive, exhaustive or authoritative source on nuclear deterrence, but it does attempt to shed some light on the key trends emerging in the nuclear realm of the current international politics, as seen from the perspective of a smallish, non-nuclear ally.

### **1. The limits of the current NATO's nuclear posture**

NATO's nuclear posture has been undergoing only quantitative rather than qualitative changes since the end of the Cold War. The Alliance's Strategic Concept of 1991 stipulated that "US nuclear forces in Europe remains vital to the security of Europe" and nuclear weapons "remain essential to preserve peace". At the same time, given the changes in the security

environment, the Allies also decided to „significantly reduce their sub-strategic nuclear forces“. These principles were reiterated in the Strategic Concept of 1999.

As of 2008, the core principles of NATO's nuclear deterrence remain unchanged. One very probable explanation of such steadfast continuity is that NATO's deterrence posture still works – no nation has ever dared to challenge it, at least directly. An alternative explanation can also be put forward: nuclear weapons lost their role in strategic thinking of NATO countries – their use or even threat to use them seems illogical given NATO's conventional superiority over any would-be aggressor. Politicians tend to avoid the nuclear issue altogether, as it is utterly unpopular to contemplate nuclear in the domestic politics of some Western nations, in particular the countries of the continental Europe. As a result, the debate on nuclear issues is mostly limited to the academic community.<sup>1</sup> Internal discussions within NATO on the matter are conducted in complete secrecy, which makes NATO's nuclear deterrent secret. One can speculate that the rogue regimes are no doubt aware of the US, UK or France's nuclear capabilities, but they hardly know that NATO as a whole has its own nuclear policy and nuclear forces (in the form of DCA). There is a danger that this policy of secrecy may prevent the Allies from sending a credible message to those who have to be deterred.

Paradoxically, the three NATO nuclear powers seem to be more transparent and public about their nuclear postures. For example, the UK had a robust public debate before making the decision to maintain its TRIDENT system (BBC News, 2006). French leadership also does not shy away from publicly reiterating its reliance on nuclear capabilities (International Herald Tribune, 2008). This openness, however, is mostly limited to the discussion on reduction of stockpiles or modernisation of existing nuclear capabilities of the individual Allies, but not on the use of the nuclear deterrent in the broader international context. These debates demonstrate high degree of reluctance in the nuclear nations to consider employment of nuclear arsenal as an effective foreign policy tool. Furthermore, this relative transparency at the state level is not transmitted to the overall NATO's strategy on how to employ nuclear power in support of its political objectives.

The rogue regimes are no doubt aware of the Western societies' contempt of everything nuclear and exploit this successfully to their advantage. Mr. Khan has pioneered a successful world-wide business scheme for clandestine trade in nuclear technologies. Iran's President Ahmadinejad staked the status and prestige of his country as well as his own political career on the nuclear programme. Most impressively, Kim Jong-Il has already reaped tangible benefits of "physically displaying" its nuclear deterrent (BBC News, 2003) – N. Korea was slated to receive 50000 tons of heavy fuel oil as a down payment for shutting down nuclear reactor at Yongbyon, and a further 950000 tons of oil, as well as a package of political rewards if Kim follows through with his promises to end all nuclear weapons-related activities.

A great cultural divide seems to be emerging between the West and the rest when it comes to strategic thinking on nuclear weapons. For non-Western *de facto* or latent nuclear countries, nuclear bomb is a symbol of glory and international recognition. For the West, the picture is blurred: on one hand, it is understood as a necessary and efficient political-military device of deterrence, the very last resort, which will hopefully never be used. On the other hand, its power of annihilation makes it an embarrassing, immoral and shameful weapon, especially in the context of self-perceived moral righteousness and civilizational superiority of Western liberal democracies.

This cultural divide in itself is one of the key underlying reasons for some of the current strands of global tension. To manage these tensions, first, a better understanding of the other side of the divide is necessary, and, second, the nuclear deterrence has to be analysed in the context of appropriate culture. There are quite a few unanswered questions in this regard. For example, why some nations seek to acquire nuclear weapons, while others – do not, or even try to get rid of them? Furthermore, what is the ultimate purpose of nuclear deterrence? What is more important or more urgent: deterrence of acquisition or deterrence of employment?

NATO's Strategic Concept of 1999 stipulates that "the nuclear weapons render the risks of aggression against the Alliance incalculable and unacceptable." NATO Allies seem to accept this assumption as a matter of fact. However, in the current environment, it is increasingly becoming a matter of theology: do the Allies still believe that their nuclear weapons render aggression against NATO unacceptable? The latent and *de facto*

adversaries have improved dramatically their calculation skills thereby lowering the acceptability threshold. Moreover, NATO itself seems to be increasingly intolerant towards its own nuclear capabilities.

NATO is at an important juncture: current trends in the strategic environment points at the need to reappraise the relevance of NATO's nuclear posture and rearticulate NATO's deterrence objectives. NATO claims that it maintains only the minimum number of nuclear weapons necessary to support its strategy of preserving peace and preventing war (NATO's nuclear forces, 2008). Furthermore, with the end of the Cold War, NATO terminated the practice of maintaining standing peacetime nuclear contingency plans and associated targets for its sub-strategic nuclear forces. As a result, NATO's nuclear forces no longer target any country.

Such "one size fits all" policy has obvious advantages, excluding the advantages of a tailored approach. Tailored approach relies upon development of more empirical and specialized approach to strategic confrontations, tempered by knowledge of an adversary's particular "beliefs, will, values, and likely cost-benefit calculations under specific conditions," and produce carefully designed declaratory policies and specific responses to an adversary's actions (Shaw, J.E. 2003). Such a tailored approach stands in sharp contrast to the NATO's current application of "one size fits all" approach.

How can mere existence of NATO's nuclear weapons convey specific message to the specific actor in the specific context? Colin Gray notices that deterrence for many decision makers is irresistibly attractive because it "encourages the idea that one concept fits all cases, especially when long-range nuclear forces come to be referred as the deterrent" (Gray 1998:53). Of course, "one size fits all" approach gives a great degree of flexibility but also allows candidate nuclear powers to ignore threats by believing or pretending that signals sent by NATO Allies are not directed against them. The fact that the intended deterree has to choose to be deterred is often overlooked.

During the Cold War, NATO maintained standing peacetime nuclear contingency plans. This approach encompassed a mixture of active, even coercive measures (such as during the Cuban crisis, or the Pershing missile

crisis) and passive approach, relying upon the existence of large nuclear arsenal itself. After the Cold War, the first element has been lost, leaving NATO's nuclear posture only with the fact of possession of nuclear weapons. This policy has one clear advantage – it allows the policy makers to forget and ignore the existence of their own nuclear weapons, at least until there is an “imminent threat”. However, current trends show that the possession of nuclear forces, even reinforced by a combination of declaratory policy and appropriate economical and political measures, is not sufficient to prevent *de facto* states from expanding their arsenals or wannabe nuclear states from acquiring nuclear weapons. The number of nuclear states has been increasing steadily notwithstanding the NPT (Nuclear non-proliferation treaty) regime. Pakistan, India, Israel, North Korea proved and now Iran is proving the limits of non-proliferation efforts. Some of these countries (Iran or North Korea) seem to be ready to threaten individual members of the Alliance, despite NATO's nuclear deterrent.

Nuclear weapons possess huge deterrent potential but it can be fully realised only if policy is clearly articulated, conveyed and the opponent believes in credibility of the message. However, the Alliance seems to abstain (and with good reason) from ever threatening any country with military means. Political, economic and other forms of persuasion are less effective, when they are not accompanied by the big stick behind the back. Deterrence theorists contend that the more a country or an alliance is conceived as strong, united, warlike, threatening or even revengeful, the better for deterrence. In NATO, it has become a common sense to consider nuclear weapon as first and foremost a political (and increasingly secretive, or “forgotten”) device rather than a military capability. It is even considered bad manner to talk nuclear within the Alliance's defence planning community. Consequently, NATO is sending no signal at all.

In the end of the day, it is about the willingness of the Alliance to actually commit its formidable military power in specific situations. The fact of the existence of nuclear forces is not sufficient to prevent many conflicts or actions against NATO's interests. This is largely the result of perceptions about the willingness of the Alliance to convey its readiness to use conventional, and, as a last resort, nuclear force. Therefore, if a threat is perceived, let alone imminent, it will probably require more direct efforts

on the part of the Alliance to communicate its will and intention to act than has been the case in the past.

## 2. Tailoring deterrence to the threat

The very idea of deterrence is built upon an uncritical assumption of human rationality: opponents engaged in a strategic game are deemed to be able to calculate or at least estimate relative costs and benefits of their actions. The concept of deterrence assumes that states and non-state actors are human-like semi-rational players that calculate costs, risks and benefits, i.e. their behaviour can be modified. Deterrence theorists believe that costs/benefits analysis is essential in decision making process. Within this broad rationalist camp of thinking, many theories and concepts try to define the substance of rational behaviour.

For example, Richard Ned Lebow and Janice Gross Stein argue that, though leaders calculate in accordance with rational deterrence theory's predictions, they often end up acting against them. Seemingly, the expected domestic political consequences of the use of force are a relevant intervening variable (Sperandei, 2006:265). In his review on the inadequacies of rational deterrence theory, Robert Jervis highlighted the practical importance of the individual level of analysis. Different actors have different views about what constitutes rational behaviour. Because each person is rational, but his or her rationality is grounded in specific values and means-ends beliefs, the resulting behaviour will naturally be idiosyncratic (Sperandei, 2006:265). Different actors have diverging system of values, diverse historical experiences and religious prejudices. At least in the context of international politics, rationality should be treated as a culturally, historically, religiously bounded phenomenon.

Daniel Morgan contends that the entities, which are now commonly referred to as the rogue states or regimes are imagined as sociopaths indifferent to threats and systemic sanctions (Morgan, 2005:287). Rogue regimes may look like crime syndicates but they usually behave more like business corporations after their fashion. Hence they are open to persuasion if presented with sufficient inducements. In this context, the image of "mad" leaders implies nothing but the limits of the ability of "rational" Western statesmen to understand them. Some of the motives for acquiring nuclear weapons by rogue regimes may seem irrational to a



Western observer, but usually there is a strict causal logic within the regime's own kind of rationality. E.g. for totalitarian leaders the loss of several main cities may seem an acceptable damage, but the loss of their own lives, most probably, is not.

Several critical areas could be distinguished that deserve a particular attention in dealing with particular nations:

1. Bureaucratic organizations may have blinders imposed upon them by their own institutionalized cognitive framework — that is, their deeply-rooted conception of how the world works and, more specifically, what the next war would look like, may result in unmotivated biases in interpreting new information (Rhodes, 1999). During crises, growing pressure complicates rational decision making. Consider North Korea – what is the likelihood that, in the event of a major crisis, the message of the Western nuclear powers or NATO would go through bureaucratic channels and reach North Korean leaders un-amended? And even if it did go through, would the North Korean leaders read it and perceive it the way the authors of the message wanted them to?

2. Leaders may psychologically resist hearing enormously painful news and advice that they must abandon cherished policies. If a nuclear programme is a source of national pride, as it is in Pakistan, India or Iran, deterrence or compellence to disarm becomes extremely difficult.

3. Domestic political agenda may require political leaders to invoke military measures or demonstrate militant and aggressive behaviour. As Russian-Japanese war in 1905 demonstrated, political leaders may feel that inaction may be even a more painful alternative than a lost war, especially if the future of the ruling regime is at stake.

4. Potential aggressors tend to focus on their own internal needs and tend to ignore external signals such as behaviour of the deterrent. Aggression is less a function of opportunity than it is of need (Lebow, 1981:274-277). Religious and historical memories can play essential role in this regard. Psychological pressures to ignore warning signs will be particularly strong during periods of internal or external crisis. Such leaders are more difficult to deter. In 1982, Argentine's leaders clearly demonstrated the limits of nuclear deterrence, when they decided to invade the Falkland Islands in

spite of the UK's nuclear deterrent. Moreover, in certain sense they did not miscalculate – the UK responded with a conventional force only.

In short, understanding is the first step to deterring successfully. An adequate deterrence strategy requires understanding the motives, goals and cultural peculiarities of different countries and organisations. NATO's adversaries are uncertain, their rationality is culturally bounded and often religiously twisted, intentions unclear, actual capabilities unknown and behaviour difficult to predict. Their internal logic and mechanisms must be fully understood to enable appropriate deterrence strategy. In the end of the day, policy of deterrence *vis-à-vis* concrete state or regime will always be tailored, at least to some extent. However, to achieve a more tailored approach to deterrence and compellence would require NATO Allies to overcome their own political, cultural, religious and military prejudices.

### 3. Practicing deterrence in the 21<sup>st</sup> century

Against the background of the above theoretical considerations and historical examples, it is possible to inquire into some concrete contemporary cases. NATO faces three distinct challenges that require different responses: first, recognised and *de facto* nuclear states that may have hostile intentions towards NATO or individual Allies; second, non-state actors, in particular, terrorist organisations, that may have or seek to acquire nuclear devices (e.g. “dirty bombs”); third, nuclear proliferation itself is a serious danger – the globalisation era enables dispersion of technology, resources and “know-how” to both state and non-state actors. Tailoring deterrence to concrete states is relatively easy, compared to deterrence of non-state actors, in particular terrorist organisations. Deterring certain activities, such as nuclear proliferation, is even more daunting, if not impossible, task.

#### 3.1 Deterring states

India and Pakistan is a classical, even conventional example of nuclear deterrence. To a large extent, nuclear arsenals of India and Pakistan are first and foremost a threat to each other. In this respect, current NATO's nuclear deterrence posture seems sufficient. However, a worst case scenario - a collapse of Musharaff's regime and a takeover by radical fundamentalists in Pakistan – could change the strategic equation

dramatically. Given that NATO is heavily engaged in an operation in Afghanistan, including the fight against insurgency that is supported by the Pakistani Islamists, a direct stand-off with a radicalised, nuclear-armed Pakistan would become a grim possibility.

North Korea tried very hard to prove it has a nuclear weapon amid the reluctance of the other nuclear powers to believe. Regime survival is the key in understanding North Korean motives for investing so hard in their nuclear programme. Deterrence message *vis-à-vis* North Korean leaders would have to be completely different from, for example, Pakistan or Iran. In North Korea, playing with religious sentiments or using economic sanctions cannot work. Specific targeting of decision makers (so called leadership targets) threatening ruling regime in combination with economic rewards could lead to promising results, and to some extent did so already.

In recent years, Iran has turned into a chrestomatic case of a wannabe nuclear power. Iran's nuclear strategy can be portrayed as an "ambiguity strategy" – everybody believes Iran has a nuclear weapon programme, while Iranian leadership argues they would have it, if they decided to have it. Iran's policy is remarkable for its contradictory mixture of secular rhetoric of being a nuclear power, and religious, Islamic rhetoric of self-restraint.

Islam jurists agree that Islam explicitly prohibits indiscriminate killing. As the use of WMD implies such killing on a large scale, their acquisition and use are banned by some Muslim jurists, including radical Islamists. Iran's spiritual leader Ali Hoseini-Khamenei has issued fatwas that the production, stockpiling, and use of nuclear weapons are forbidden under Islam and that the Islamic Republic of Iran shall never acquire these weapons (Mehr News Agency). This does not, however, preclude Iran's pragmatic leaders to pursue nuclear programmes. Though fully aware that their use is contrary to the spirit of Islam, these leaders insist that they need them for deterrence purposes. This contradiction between teaching of Islam and realpolitik could well be exploited by Western powers. Strong public diplomacy targeting ruling regime in combination with other conflict management mechanisms could be more effective in preventing use of military forces in this region. Targeting militarily ruling elite or applying economic sanctions would probably prove to be counterproductive.

Israel presents another nuclear challenge in the Middle East. Nuclear Israel could serve as a perfect excuse for most of the countries in the region to develop their own nuclear weapons. Paradoxically, everybody knows Israel has a nuclear weapon, except the Israelis who say they do not know if they have it or not. Furthermore, Israel's actions in Palestine or Lebanon provide justification to the neighbouring countries to develop all necessary means to counter Israeli power. War in Iraq has further encouraged ideas about the conspiracy of the West against Islam and consolidated public opinion in the region that nuclear or other weapons of mass destruction may be necessary to counter the forces of evil.

Transparency of Israeli nuclear capabilities may well be the key in pursuing policy of non-proliferation in this region. Israel's public recognition of its capabilities would probably cause widespread protests in most countries of the region. But this would be only a short term effect. In the longer term de-demonization of Israel would deprive ruling elites of the neighbouring of an important reason to seek nuclear capabilities. In addition, robust public support of the Alliance's members to Israel could "deter" Israeli leaders from using nuclear weapons in case of military conflict with its neighbours.

As discussed above, state actors present very diverse challenges to NATO. Alliance has different objectives *vis-à-vis* these countries, therefore, means to implement those objectives would also have to be different. The Alliance should be flexible enough and able to adopt a wide range of policies on a case-by-case basis. Soft measures could include public diplomacy efforts; work with specific decision makers or interest groups that are behind nuclear weapons programmes; freezing of bank accounts and other economic sanctions. Only if and when these efforts fail, hard measures should follow, in the form of a threat of decapitation strikes or similar pre-emptive (but not necessarily nuclear) actions.

### **3.2 Detering non-state actors**

Tailored approach in some cases can also be applied to deterring (or help acknowledge the limits of deterring) non-state actors. Of course, hardly anything can deter a committed terrorist, a jihadist, who is convinced that his act of terror is commanded by God Himself while he is a God's soldier. Moreover, from a perspective of cost-benefit relation, nothing seems to be

more attractive than the prospect of the top level of the Paradise (reserved exclusively to prophets and martyrs). In such a system of values, the possibility of being the subject of nuclear evaporation seems to be a particularly attractive option.

Though jihadists might be deemed irrational, they operate in the system of values particular to them. Inability to permeate alien value systems has often led to actions based on misjudgements thus greatly contributing to the failure of such a strategy. Unless it would be possible to offer more attractive alternatives to Paradise, annihilation remains the only available strategy to fight jihadism.

Deterrence, however, might work in cases of not-so-committed terrorists or those weighing the stakes. Cost/benefit analysis is completely applicable to their way of behaviour. Suicide bombers seem irrational at first glance but they have clearly articulated objectives that are understandable from their perspective and normative system. All terrorist actions are understood as appropriate measure to achieve tasks that were clearly formulated at the strategic level.

In this case, however, deterrence using military threats should be coupled with other means, such as “religious education” and public relations. In this sense, even terrorists can be deterred by “persuading” them (triggering fear) that their attacks would be contrary to God’s will and do not guarantee a place in the Paradise – quite the opposite. For example, Indonesia has recently undertaken a risky but to some extent successful programme of re-education, wherein persuasive powers of reformed jihadists are being used to “re-educate” terrorists (Economist, 2007).

### **3.3 Allowing proliferation?**

Nuclear proliferation is the most difficult challenge in terms of deterrence. One, quite simply, cannot fight nuclear proliferation with nuclear means. But, in dealing with the consequences of proliferation, NATO’s nuclear potential is probably under-used and even neglected. NATO could consider developing some creative approaches in what specific circumstances NATO may use “nuclear messages” to achieve desired effects.

On this tricky issue, “thinking out of the box” is necessary. One could ask, for example, what is worse – Iran’s and North Korea’s continued ambiguity or knowing for sure that they do have a nuclear weapon? Should NATO or the West in general prevent them from acquiring Nuclear Weapons by any means (including an all-out war as last resort) or learn to live with a nuclear Iran and North Korea? In the latter case, the West would have to consider allowing graduated proliferation into several other countries as well. This is not a new idea – already Kenneth Waltz (1981) argued that the spread of nuclear weapons would bring stability regardless of the characteristics of the regime and its leader. Waltz believed that possession of nuclear weapons would moderate behaviour and bring nuclear stability.

Another interesting venue of research that could shed some light on ways to deal with proliferation would be studying why a lot of countries that do possess necessary capacity to produce a nuclear weapon do not even consider such a possibility (e.g. Canada, Japan and larger European nations), and some nations have terminated their nuclear programmes (e.g. South Africa even disassembled its nuclear weapons)?

#### **4. And what about the Baltics?**

Should the Baltic states care about nuclear matters? How do they fit within NATO’s nuclear posture? On one hand, as NATO members, they are covered by the NATO’s nuclear umbrella (a fact that the Baltic politicians does not seem to remember too often) and they take part in NATO’s political consultations pertaining to the nuclear posture and policy. Moreover, the Baltic states may have more at stake in the credibility of NATO’s nuclear deterrence than most of the other NATO Allies. On the other hand, the Baltic states are probably least capable to contribute to NATO’s nuclear mission due to some objective and subjective reasons.

Firstly, there are two important caveats that limit the Baltic states’ participation in NATO’s nuclear policy. The Baltic states are covered by the “Three No’s” policy – a commitment NATO made to Russia back in 1997 to not base nuclear weapons on the territories of the former Warsaw Pact and the former German Democratic Republic. One cannot completely exclude the possibility that changes in the strategic environment could at some point trigger a review of NATO’s unilateral “Three No’s”

commitment. Another important limitation is the fact the Baltic states do not have legitimate air force (apart from personnel, some ground infrastructure, transport aircraft and some helicopters). Fighter aircraft is the main element of the DCA concept, which is a key element of NATO's nuclear posture and policy.

Secondly, there is a simple lack of nuclear expertise and even basic knowledge – there have not been any major academic publications on the subject in Lithuania (and most probably in Latvia and Estonia as well) on the subject of nuclear policy or nuclear deterrence. Even disregarding the fact of NATO membership, some factors suggest the need for more attention of the Baltic security analysts to the matter. The most obvious one is Kaliningrad, where the Russian Federation had allegedly deployed tactical nuclear weapons (Washington Times, 2001). Of course, this does not warrant rethinking of the “Three No's” posture, at least today, but thinking strategy and thinking nuclear has to be done to some extent in the Baltic states.

Thirdly, security guarantees from third nations always suffer from credibility problem. History provides many examples when extended deterrence fails (e.g. British and French security guarantees did not deter Germany from attacking Poland in 1939). Extended *nuclear* deterrence is even more difficult to implement. For the United States, the United Kingdom or France to prove to other nations that they are ready to risk nuclear holocaust for the sake of the Baltic states is extremely difficult. For example, in Stratfor's view, it is doubtful that Russia would believe the United States' willingness to risk a nuclear confrontation over the Baltics (Stratfor, 2001).

In the end of the day, nuclear deterrence alone cannot guarantee any Allies' security from any threat – it is, however, a crucial part of the overall Alliance's defence posture. At the very least, Baltic defence planners should be interested in upholding the credibility of NATO's nuclear umbrella, but also be aware of the inescapable limits of nuclear deterrence.

## Conclusions

NATO's nuclear deterrence suffers from a strong path dependency: nuclear policies, due to the political and military uniqueness of an atomic

bomb, are particularly resistant to change. The ultimate basis of nuclear deterrence is the possibility that employment would be a viable ultimate ratio. Despite the rationality inherent in deterrence theory and practice, it is impossible to know for sure how efficient it is, but the failure of deterrence would always be very clear and very costly. From this perspective, NATO's nuclear deterrence posture is a great success story because no country ever dared to enter into military confrontation with the Alliance. On the other hand, this success cannot be attributed solely to NATO's nuclear potential.

After the Cold War, NATO's objectives and, most importantly, means to support its policy, have changed. Military power is more closely linked to non-military instruments available to the Alliance and nuclear capabilities lost their importance in the eyes of decision makers. No political will exists to use nuclear potential for compellence purposes. Some would argue that non-nuclear NATO would be much better suited for countering new and emerging threats than a nuclear Alliance. In the case of non-state actors, there is also little room for nuclear deterrence, other than nuking terrorists out of their mountain caves. Of course, state-sponsors of terrorist organisation are susceptible to nuclear deterrence, although to a varying degree.

In the context of an ever dynamic security environment, NATO needs to revitalise nuclear debate and make it more transparent. Its current posture is becoming outdated and inadequate. Alliance's deterrence also suffers from a credibility problem – how far nuclear Allies would be prepared to go in defence, or indeed, in response on behalf of non-nuclear Allies? However, one has to keep in mind that, due to sensitivities of this topic in some members of the Alliance, this debate could also provoke counterproductive politicisation of the subject, thus undermining NATO's nuclear deterrent. No doubt, with or without a NATO-wide nuclear debate, the three NATO nuclear countries will retain their nuclear arsenals. The question remains how to prevent NATO's collective posture from degrading further?

To some extent, the process of searching for new approaches to nuclear deterrence is already under way. For example, in response to emerging threats to the U.S. national security, the Bush Administration has argued that the United States must alter its deterrence strategy “from 'one size fits all' deterrence to tailored deterrence for rogue powers, terrorist networks,



and near-peer competitors” (Congressional Research Service). In a similar vein, the French president Nikolas Sarkozy hailed his country’s nuclear arsenal “as vital to deter a range of new threats, including Iran” (International Herald Tribune, 2008).

For NATO as a whole to remain relevant in the nuclear world, the Alliance needs to apply a more tailored approach to deterrence and compellence. This, in turn, would require NATO Allies to overcome their own political, cultural, religious and military prejudices. Tailored approach implies search for creative measures to deal with unconventional challenges, such as state-sponsored nuclear terrorism or nuclear proliferation to (and often among) rogue regimes. To be efficient, Alliance has to pool all the various strands of nuclear deterrence – diplomatic, political, military, economy – into a coherent strategy. The eventual drafting of a new NATO’s strategic concept will provide a good opportunity for this.

While new threats of asymmetrical nature are proliferating, NATO has to deal with the problem of strategic imagination: what unlikely circumstances, what “unknown unknowns” would warrant nuclear weapon employment. The fear of even imagining such circumstances may lead the Euro-Atlantic community to a dramatic failure to prevent them from occurring.

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## **Defence and Force Planning in Historical Perspective: NATO as a Case Study**

*By Holger Pfeiffer\**

The purpose of this essay is to offer information and reflections on defence and force planning in historical perspective, using NATO as a case study. To this end, I shall start with some basic definitions of the terms used, and for a better understanding I intend to place the definitions in a broader context, also embracing operational planning and the relationship between operational and defence planning, including the issue of force generation. While the basic definitions will be valid for NATO as well as national defence planning, there are actually some significant differences between the two, and I shall briefly discuss these differences between NATO and national planning, before homing in on my proper subject, the development of NATO defence and force planning. I shall then consider in some detail the relationship between defence and force planning in a NATO context, briefly refer to the defence planning disciplines other than force planning, and explain why for the rest of my essay I shall focus primarily on force planning, as the most comprehensive of all defence planning disciplines. In order to provide the historical perspective, I shall go back to the late seventies and address chronologically developments through the eighties and nineties to the present time, trying not to get lost in detail but to identify the salient features of the developments over the last 25 to 30 years.

### **1. Definitions**

#### **1.1 Formal definitions and their implications**

I had originally planned to start this part of my essay by giving the formal NATO definitions of the terms, but when I asked my previous office, the Division for Defence Policy and Planning to provide me with these, I found out to my surprise that with one half exception, there are no agreed NATO definitions of these terms.

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The half exception concerns the term defence planning, for which AAP-42, the NATO Glossary of Standardisation Terms and Definitions contains the following definition: “The political and military process used by nations to provide the capabilities needed to meet their defence commitments. Note: NATO defence planning takes into account the political, economic, technological and military factors that influence the development of capabilities to implement the Alliance strategy.” (NATO, 2007:3). This definition was agreed by the Terminology Panel of the NATO Committee for Standardisation (NCSTP). But when it was forwarded to the Military Committee Terminology Conference for inclusion in AAP-6 (the NATO Glossary of Terms and Definitions), it was rejected. Several nations wanted to change it, in different ways, and SHAPE suggested that both the words “defence” and “planning” were well understood and that there was little to be gained by developing an agreed definition.

For force planning and operational planning, there are no NATO agreed definitions per se, only some explanations or elaborations of the terms in agreed documents which could serve as informal definitions. A major reason for this lack of agreed formal definitions is probably the fact that the way in which nations organise the work which they conduct under the heading of force or defence planning (or some other terms such as military planning) differs from nation to nation. Any attempt to find a definition which in a meaningful way covers all these differences is likely to be quite difficult, and it is indeed questionable whether the effort of reaching unanimous agreement among 26 nations on such a definition would be worthwhile. Nevertheless, we need a common understanding of what it is that we are, and will be, and for this purpose I suggest that we begin with some fairly simple, basic definitions, which later we may wish to develop further.

As the broadest, overarching term I would suggest defence-related planning, which embraces two broad planning areas, defence planning and operational planning. Defence planning is the planning activity that deals with establishing and maintaining armed forces over time, so that they are available when needed, and operational planning is about employing and deploying them. Both of these broad planning areas can be broken down into more specific planning disciplines: operational planning, for example, into contingency planning or crisis response planning, and defence

planning into force planning, armaments planning, logistics planning and a number of others which I shall return to a little later.

Before getting into these details, however, I should like to address briefly the relationship between these two broad areas, operational and defence planning, and more particularly the issue of which, if any, is in the lead, or which is driving which. Conceptually, they are in a chicken and egg relationship: defence planning must provide the forces which are needed to execute existing or expected operational plans. In that sense, looking at the relationship as a continuing and evolving process, operational planning has the lead and defence planning must base itself on and react to the requirements of operational planning. On the other hand, at any given time, realistic operational plans must be based on the forces and their capabilities that exist, or will exist, at the time of the operation, in other words, on what defence planning has provided. In that sense, defence planning is in the lead. In real life, this chicken and egg problem is as unproblematic as it is for chicken and eggs: they happily exist in an interrelationship in which the lead alternates continuously.

For NATO, however, one aspect of this interrelationship is considerably more problematic than for nations individually, which is the reason why I am addressing it here. That aspect concerns the actual provision of forces for operations. For nations and nationally led operations that is in principle quite simple: the same authority which decides on carrying out an operation also decides which of its forces it wants to use for the operation. For a NATO operation, however, an intermediate step is needed, the transfer of authority over specific forces from national command to NATO command, for the specific operation.

During the Cold War, this was foreseen in a fairly simple and straightforward way. We had, as operational plan, a General Defence Plan (GDP), which foresaw a role for, and assumed the availability of, almost all forces of the member nations (with some exceptions for forces to remain under national command). We had an Alert System, which, in case of an escalating crisis, foresaw the declaration of different alert measures and stages, some of which were to trigger off the transfer of authority. Within the force planning system, nations had committed their forces in different categories, such as “assigned” or “earmarked”, and the definition of these categories related to the possible transfer of authority. Assigned forces, for

example, were forces for which nations had committed themselves to transfer authority at the declaration of Reinforced Alert.

Although this system remained in principle in force for some time beyond the end of the Cold War, it became quickly apparent that, in practice, it would no longer be applicable in situations in which it was no longer expected that all nations would make available all of their forces, but only a small proportion of these forces would be needed. That led to the development of the force generation process as we now have it, and, within NATO, to a less direct relationship between defence planning and operational planning, or more specifically between the products of defence planning and the requirements of operations than previously, with potentially negative consequences for the credibility of both processes. Overcoming these negative consequences and ensuring an optimal relationship between defence and operational planning is one of the challenges the Alliance is still struggling with, as the perennial problems with meeting the CJSORs (Combined Joint Statement of Requirements) of current operations and the NATO Response Force (NRF) show.

## **1.2 Difference between national and NATO defence planning**

These remarks on force generation have already led me into the second part of my essay, the identification of some significant differences between NATO defence planning and national defence planning. The most important of these is, in fact, the need to include, or to bring about, the notion of a commitment by participating nations to the Alliance, or more precisely, to meeting the requirements of the Alliance by, first of all, developing and maintaining the necessary forces, and secondly, through some form of force generation, making them (or an appropriate part of them) available when needed. Bringing about this kind of commitment, and providing the procedural framework, the practical arrangements and substantial justification for it, lies at the heart of NATO defence planning, and indeed at the heart of the Alliance, because being committed, and able, to come to each other's aid through a common effort is after all what an Alliance, and certainly this Alliance, is all about.

That is the reason why NATO defence planning, or force planning, has often been referred to as the glue which holds the Alliance together. In order to be able to perform this function, NATO defence planning needs

to address one other aspect which does not, or at least not nearly as prominently, figure in national defence planning - burden sharing. Nations can only be expected to make, and to maintain, their commitment to the Alliance, and more particularly their commitment of forces, if they are convinced that it is a reasonable commitment, and they will only be convinced of that if they have the impression that the other Allies are equally committed and that each is carrying a fair share of the overall burden.

NATO defence planning tries to meet this requirement in two ways. The first is by identifying the overall requirement, breaking it down into reasonable shares for each Ally and steering nations towards meeting such a reasonable share of the overall requirement. The second is to provide visibility, to show how well nations meet their share of the overall requirement. It is worth highlighting these as two closely related, but distinct aspects of burden sharing. That is also why, when the principle of burden sharing is addressed in NATO documents, it is usually formulated as the need for each member country to carry, and to be seen to carry, a fair share of the overall burden.

While thus commitment and burden sharing play a much more prominent role in NATO than in national defence planning, the reverse is true for the management of defence resources. Of course, NATO defence planning must take into account financial and economic constraints, as also recognised in the note which is part of the AAP-42 definition I quoted earlier, but it does, and can only do, so in a fairly general sense, for example when trying to assess the ability of a nation to contribute as a basis for determining that nation's fair share of the burden. For national defence planning, on the other hand, determining the precise size of the defence budget, or more precisely, enabling government and parliament to determine the defence budget in a sensible way, and then determining how, on what to spend that budget, are the central tasks which drive everything else.

In comparing NATO and national defence planning, one could go into considerably greater detail, not least in view of the significant differences which exist, as already mentioned, amongst the different national planning systems. For the purpose of this essay, however, which is intended to use NATO as a case study, it may suffice to have drawn attention to these

three important differences, concerning commitment, burden sharing and defence spending, as background to a closer look at NATO defence planning and force planning.

### **1.3 Defence planning and force planning**

Let me recall the basic definitions I suggested earlier: defence-related planning consists of two broad areas, defence planning and operational planning, which both can be broken down into more specific planning disciplines. The defence planning disciplines, if one follows recent practice as for example reflected in the Comprehensive Political Guidance (CPG) agreed by Heads of State and Government at Riga, are force planning, armaments planning, C3-planning, logistics planning, air defence planning, civil emergency planning, nuclear planning and resource planning. I make the qualification “if one follows recent practice”, because the situation is not quite as clear and straightforward as this enumeration and also my very simple definitions might suggest. It is actually quite complex, both in historical perspective and in substance.

Historically, defence planning and force planning have, for a long time, been used as synonyms, and indeed to this day the NATO force planning procedure is set out in a document titled “Defence Planning Procedures”. Some of the disciplines, such as C3-planning and logistics planning have only fairly recently emerged as distinct disciplines, and the term armaments planning has, over the last twenty years or so, been used for quite disparate activities which had perhaps more to do with monitoring or managing armaments cooperation than with planning. Moreover, some of the planning disciplines, such as logistics, air defence and civil emergency, do not fit neatly into the distinction between defence planning and operational planning, because they include operational elements. Equally, resource planning, which in NATO terminology refers to planning for and the use of common funding (Military Budget and NATO Security Investment Programme – NSIP), embraces elements of defence planning and of conducting operations. A NATO Inter-Staff Group, established by the Secretary General, is currently working on a codification and streamlining of this often confusing terminology and, more substantially, of the underlying processes.



Even if one accepts the recent differentiation between defence planning as the broader and force planning as the more specific term, the fact remains that the two largely overlap and that force planning is by far the most comprehensive of the defence planning disciplines, which in essence also covers the subjects of many of the other disciplines such as armaments, C3, air defence and logistics, in which specialised bodies deal with their respective subjects in greater detail. For the rest of my essay, I shall therefore focus mainly on NATO force planning as *pars pro toto*.

I have already mentioned that there is no agreed definition of NATO force planning. By way of conclusion of this rather lengthy definitional part of my essay (which has however allowed us to look at a number of substantial issues as well), and as lead-in to the next part, the historical review, I offer you my personal definition of NATO force planning, as I also offered it to the NATO Defence Planning Symposium at Oberammergau at the beginning of 2007. According to that definition, NATO force planning is the process through which representatives of member countries, of the NATO Military Authorities and of the International Staff try to determine the force posture that should be at the disposal of the Alliance in order to enable it to carry out the tasks the Allies have agreed it should be able to carry out, and to influence national force plans in order to enable nations to contribute in a fair and reasonable way towards meeting the requirements of this force posture.

In presenting this definition to the Symposium, I drew their attention to three aspects which seemed to me to merit special attention. The first concerned the differences implied by this definition between NATO and national force planning, which I have already addressed. With the second, I emphasised that force planning is a truly joint and combined exercise. It is not something which the international staffs of the Alliance, military and civilian, do separately from, let alone in confrontation with, national staffs. Although much of the spadework, the drafting of documents, the initial formulation of proposals, is done by international staffs, all the key conditions are imposed, and all the key decisions taken collectively by national representatives. This should translate into a collective sense of ownership, which however is occasionally missing, or at least underdeveloped.

The third point which I highlighted is the deliberate use of the verb “try” in this definition. Its purpose is not only to signal that we may fail in what we try, for example with regard to influencing national force plans, which are the only ones that ultimately can deliver the required capabilities. It is also important to realise that force planning, and in particular its core element, the identification or definition of what is required, is not an exact science. We are in the business of making reasonable assumptions, assessments, estimates which, if we are good at it, may come close to being just about right. But we can never be sure about that. On the contrary, we can be pretty sure that we shall never be precisely right in anticipating what the Alliance may have to do, and in calculating what the Alliance may require in order to be able to do it. The precise terms of a number of our decisions, and the methods we apply in arriving at them (computer simulations, mathematical calculations) occasionally obscure that reality. It is worth recalling this, as a guard against unreasonable and unrealistic demands and expectations.

## **2. Historical evolution**

Having established what is meant when we talk about NATO defence planning and force planning, let me offer you some observations on the development of this process over time. Since it so happens that I joined the Division of Defence Planning and Policy in NATO’s International Staff on September 1st, 1979, or 28 years ago, I shall rely essentially on my personal recollections. This may have the disadvantage of not being encyclopaedically complete, but it should have the advantage of being authentic, and perhaps also livelier and easier to follow than an academic historical overview. And, unless otherwise mentioned, I shall focus on force planning, since that is what I was mainly responsible for.

### **2.1 Factors of change**

Even when presenting from a personal perspective, it is quite challenging to try to extract from the confusing multitude of day-to-day events the main threads which actually represent the evolution of defence and force planning. I thought therefore that, as a first step and as a structural device, it might be best if we reflected for a moment on what kind of changes we could expect and might be looking for, and what might be the factors which cause or drive the changes.

Beginning with the factors, the most obvious one concerns changes in the threat, or the risks and challenges our forces have to face. Over the last quarter of a century we have, of course, seen quite a number of changes in this respect. Another factor is the evolution of technology, which defence planning has to take into account. Yet others, which partly overlap with and embrace, but go beyond the previous two, are changes in the security environment, or even broader, in the general political environment which governs defence planning, such as economic developments and the attitudes towards, and relationships between, different international organisations. And, lastly, occasionally, change is brought about for its own sake, usually under an attractive name such as reform or transformation, to meet a political requirement, or desire, for action.

What kind of changes in defence planning might be caused by these factors? Basically, there are two types: changes in the subject, or objects of defence planning, i.e. in the size, structure, equipment etc. of the armed forces, and changes in the process, in the way in which the different planning disciplines, and in particular force planning are conducted. So these are the factors, and types of changes, which I shall try to trace as I present you with my personal reminiscences of the last 27 or 28 years.

## **2.2 Evolution of NATO defence planning during the 1970s and 1980s**

My point of departure is the situation at the end of the seventies and beginning of the eighties. Let me recall a few key points which characterised that situation, as it affected force planning. The Cold War was still going on, and indeed was escalating towards what we now know was its last peak, with the controversy and threats over the dual track decision of NATO, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, martial law in Poland, and the massive rearmaments programme of President Reagan. The latter drove the Soviet Union into an arms race which it could not win and which therefore was seen by some as putting the Soviet leaders before a dangerous “window of opportunity”, which might tempt them to use force as long as they might still consider themselves as conventionally stronger than the West.

NATO force planning, at that time, was conducted in accordance with a procedure agreed in 1971 which remained in force, unchanged, until 1996. It consisted, as indeed the present system still does, of three main elements

– Ministerial Guidance, Force Goals and a Defence Review. Ministerial Guidance and Force Goals covered six-year periods and were renewed biennially. The Defence review covered five-year periods and was conducted annually. This cycle has recently been changed, and many of the details have also changed, but I shall not go into these details, since they are the subject of a separate paper and in any event do not affect the broad outlines I am focusing on. For now, let me just say that, in Ministerial Guidance, we analyse the factors that determine force planning, the threats and challenges, the financial constraints, and give guidance for the development of new force goals. The force goals establish specific planning targets for each nation, which try to seek from each a reasonable contribution to the overall NATO force posture needed to meet the threat. In the defence reviews we then analyse national plans against the yardstick of the force goals and the overall requirements, taking into account other factors as well.

At about the same time (i.e. the late seventies), the distinction between defence and force planning also took on some practical significance, because, in the course of the seventies, the Alliance had started to devote greater attention to a number of special areas, such as logistics, previously considered as a purely national responsibility, air defence and C3, which led to the creation of new committees and processes. Of particular importance in this context was the agreement, in 1978, of the so-called Long-Term Defence Programme (LTDP), which focused on nine specific planning areas or issues (Readiness, Reinforcement, Reserve Mobilisation, Maritime Posture, Air Defence, C3, Electronic Warfare, Rationalisation and Consumer Logistics). In addition, in 1980, the traditional force planning procedure mentioned above, with its rather limited planning horizon of 6 years, was complemented by the introduction of a new long-term planning procedure, which envisaged the development of concepts and long-term planning guidelines (LTPGs) for a great number of special planning areas. A lot of work was devoted to this new procedure, especially at SHAPE, in identifying the planning areas which should be covered by concepts and LTPGs, but over time it transpired that this was an over-ambitious and too work-intensive process. After agreement of a few concepts and one widely noticed LTPG on Follow-on Forces Attack, it did not produce many tangible results and, with the end of the Cold War, quietly faded away.

One of the effects of the LTDP was the greater involvement of other committees and staff elements, in addition to those traditionally responsible for force planning, in the work of defence planning, and the resulting requirement to coordinate the work of these bodies. Responsibility for overseeing this work and other aspects of the implementation of the LTDP was given to the Executive Working Group (EWG). In the course of the 1980s, it produced a number of reports under the heading of Coordination of Defence Planning which described how the work of the different specialist communities, armaments experts, air defence experts, logisticians etc. contributed to meeting the overall aims of the Alliance as established in force planning and the LTDP and regularly updated in consecutive Ministerial Guidances. With the end of the Cold War, when political attention shifted to other issues, this particular work fell into abeyance and has only fairly recently re-emerged in the context of the Comprehensive Political Guidance (CPG) mandated by the Istanbul Summit of 2004 and its management mechanism.

Another issue which played a big role for defence planners in the eighties was burden sharing. To some extent, burden sharing, as a fundamental principle of any alliance, has, of course, always been an issue for NATO. In the seventies, the focus had been on the financial aspect of burden sharing and on the need for European countries to assume a bigger share of the costs of collective defence, including by financial support for the costs of the stationing of American forces in Europe. At the beginning of the decade, a special programme, the European Defence Improvement Programme (EDIP), had been established, funded exclusively by European countries and in particular Germany, which was used to finance commonly funded infrastructure programmes, in particular the construction of shelters for aircraft. Towards the end of the decade, a new resource guidance was agreed in Ministerial Guidance and endorsed by Heads of State and Government, which called upon nations to increase their defence spending by 3% in real terms annually.

During the eighties and against the background of the increasing East-West tension in the early eighties and the enormous military build-up by the United States under the Reagan administration, the pressure for financial burden sharing was maintained, but complemented by very ambitious efforts to come to grips with the output side of burden sharing. For some time, the European countries had argued that the exclusive focus on

defence spending figures was misleading, because it did not take properly into account that much of the U.S. defence expenditure was needed to support its role as a global superpower with world-wide roles and interests, and that within NATO actually the Europeans provided the large majority of men and tanks and a number of other capabilities. The United States accepted the argument that spending money for defence was, of course, not an aim in itself and that what really mattered were the capabilities provided through this spending. This has been an undisputed line of reasoning all through the thirty-odd years of more or less acute burden sharing debate which I have followed. Unfortunately, it is much more difficult to measure output in terms of capabilities than input in money value. This was and still is the dilemma of the burden sharing debate in NATO.

To address this aspect of burden sharing, in the eighties, the U.S. Congress had tasked the government to produce regular burden sharing reports measuring the efforts of the United States and its Allies in output terms. These were enormous volumes, listing every man and tank and rifle and the associated stocks of ammunition, etc., etc., and trying to indicate the different capability values of different weapons or equipment pieces, i.e. giving different values to Leopard I and Leopard II, to M-60 and Abrams tanks, etc. It goes without saying that the underlying judgements were far from uncontroversial. To complement these U.S. reports, the EWG also prepared a number of major burden sharing reports, which were not as ambitious and elaborate as the American reports but tried to put together what collectively the Allies considered as necessary and relevant information on each Ally's contribution.

If one wanted to sum up the defence planning developments of the eighties in a simple formula it would be: more of the same. Within generally stable force structures, conventional defence capabilities were significantly enhanced. The force planning procedure remained unchanged, but there was a greater emphasis on the coordination of the different planning disciplines and on burden sharing. The call for 3% real increases was not fully met, but there were increases for most countries not just in spending, but also in output, and the general momentum was reflected in a special initiative, the Conventional Defence Improvement Initiative (CDI), agreed in the latter half of the decade, when the tide however began to turn.

### **2.3 Evolution of NATO defence planning during the 1990s and beyond**

With the end of the Cold War, the call for defence improvements, burden sharing and the need to measure output did not go away altogether, but became less prominent. Other, more pressing issues needed to be addressed, such as the role of NATO without a declared threat or enemy. This was an issue affecting not only defence planning, but the questions which were raised in this context were certainly also of great importance for defence planning. And the answers which were given were, to a considerable extent, provided by defence planning and defence planners.

The first and most fundamental of these answers was the development of a new Strategic Concept, initiated in 1990 and agreed by Heads of State and Government at their Rome Summit in November 1991. In the hierarchy of documents and agreements that determine the direction and contents of NATO defence planning, the Strategic Concept came, at that time, just under the North Atlantic Treaty itself and above Ministerial Guidance. Since last year, we have the CPG in addition, below the Strategic Concept and above Ministerial Guidance.

The Strategic Concept 1991, while affecting all aspects of the Alliance's activities, was, in structure and content, in many ways a super Ministerial Guidance, approved by Heads of State and Government. It summed up and analysed the new strategic environment, redefined the Alliance's objectives and fundamental security functions and described its broad approach to security, encompassing political, economic and other elements besides the defence dimension and including a new emphasis on crisis management and the commitment to cooperation with all countries in Europe, including previous adversaries. In its part IV, it contained very detailed guidelines for defence. Amongst the key statements was the recognition that the single massive and global threat, which had been the main concern of the Alliance during the first 40 years of its existence, had given way to diverse and multi-directional risks which were difficult to predict and assess. I will not go into further details here, but the whole document is worth reading, because it really determined the direction of NATO defence planning (and not only defence planning) for the rest of the nineties and indeed until now. In 1999, at the Washington Summit, a new Strategic Concept was agreed, but that was really no more than an

update of the 1991 Concept which had marked the decisive watershed in the development of the Alliance.

A number of events during the following years both confirmed the direction given by the 1991 Concept and contributed to its implementation and further development. Amongst the most important were the wars and crises in the former Yugoslavia, the creation of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC) and Partnership for Peace (PfP), the development of and NATO support for a European Security and Defence Identity (ESDI) and the emerging European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) and the continuing and accelerating technological developments, especially in the field of C4I, which created both opportunities and challenges of an extent which led some experts to speak of a revolution in military affairs.

Translated into tasks for defence planners, this meant that, in the coming years and all through the nineties, we had to reconsider what kind of capabilities we needed and how many or how much of them. The GDP, though formally not cancelled for some time, had almost over night lost its meaning as the main yardstick of what and how much we needed. In the political, academic and media world some quick and simple conclusions were drawn, expressed in slogans such as reaping the “peace dividend” or “out of area or out of business”.

In NATO, we tackled these tasks with our traditional force planning tools and with a number of complementary activities such as the development of a new NATO Force Structure, a new Command Structure, new documents on operational planning and some organisational changes at NATO HQ, in the course of which the Division of Defence Planning and Policy became the Division for Defence Planning and Operations and later, in 2003, was split into a Division for Defence Policy and Planning and a separate Operations Division.

In terms of substance, these years brought a significant reduction in the size and readiness of our armed forces and the return of most forward deployed Allied forces, especially from Germany, to their home countries. In that sense, and in the sharp decline of defence expenditure in almost all of our countries, the “peace dividend” was indeed cashed in. Paradoxically, however, in reality the end of the Cold War had not led to more peace in



Europe, but to more violence, and NATO troops had, for the first time in the history of the Alliance, to go into action. This had a profound effect on defence planning.

Initially, there had been a wide-spread assumption that the kind of military crisis management tasks we might be and eventually were facing would be much less demanding than what our forces had prepared for in the past, and that therefore they could easily be managed by the remaining, reduced new force posture. The first part of this assumption was right, but the second part turned out to be wrong. Especially countries with large forces optimised for territorial defence, prepared to fight with a well developed and sophisticated support machinery behind them, found out that sending a relatively small portion of these forces to another country, where all those support arrangements were not in place, required capabilities which they did not have, or at least could not deploy to where they would be needed.

Describing in detail how we coped with these challenges would take another paper. Suffice it to say that most of our forces had not only to reduce in size, but also to change in structure and capabilities, in a way which merited to be called transformation. The emphasis on the new capabilities needed, deployability, sustainability, survivability, information superiority and others, was not only fully reflected in our regular force planning process, but also led to a number of new initiatives, most notably the Defence Capabilities Initiative (DCI) of the Washington Summit and, a little later, the Prague Capabilities Commitment (PCC) of the Prague Summit in 2002. It also led to a multitude of claims, observations and accusations that NATO defence planning needed to change from a threat-based to a capability-based approach and had not adequately done so.

I would recommend to consider these remarks and in particular the implied criticism, with a healthy dose of scepticism. First of all, it is far from clear what is meant by capability-based planning. Secondly and more importantly, it is misleading to present the two terms as alternatives. It is true that our planning system during the Cold War took the threat as the main yardstick against which the requirement and, consequently, the planning targets had to be measured. In that sense, there is nothing wrong with saying that we had a threat-based system, and it is obviously true that such an approach was no longer feasible. But where the criticism goes wrong is in assuming that a threat-based system cannot, at the same time,

be capability-based. Of course, our system had always aimed at providing the capabilities needed to meet the threat.

Sometimes the capabilities-based versus threat-based argument is explained by claiming that, under the latter, our planning targets were focusing on numbers of units or weapons like tanks and guns and aircraft, instead of the required capabilities in terms of firepower or surveillance or transportation capability. This is largely wrong, too, although it has been and still is a continuing challenge for force planners not to be unduly prescriptive in formulating planning targets. But the argument overlooks the fact that, when numbers of units or specific weapon systems are sought, these are and have always been sought as representing capabilities. When force goals or force tables seek divisions or battalions, they do not seek a specific number of human beings available to appear on parades, but a complex set of capabilities, involving firepower, mobility, survivability, sustainability and many other things. The same goes for frigates, fighter squadrons, etc.. None of this is meant to deny the need to be as precise as possible in defining the capabilities needed, and there is still work to be done in this respect, but this work needs to be done under any system and has nothing to do with the false alternative of threat-based versus capability-based.

The fact remains, however, that the disappearance of the threat did, of course, have a profound effect on our planning system and did pose quite a challenge. Because it had removed our key yardstick, not for defining capabilities per se, but for deciding precisely which and, in particular, how much or how many of the capabilities we needed. As I already mentioned, the old GDP could no longer be used for this purpose. So, on what basis could we ask nations to provide what kind and size of forces?

In the beginning of the nineties, while avoiding speaking of a threat and using terms like risks or challenges instead, we did not radically drop the old yardstick. The forces and capabilities of the Soviet Union and then Russia remained an important orientation mark. Over time, however, the importance of this factor declined, and others, such as the demands of actual operations in the former Yugoslavia and conceivable operations in other crisis areas assumed greater weight. But although we had and have a number of relevant factors to be considered, the fact remains that, in the new security environment, answering the question of “how much is

enough” is much more complicated than it was in the Cold War. In the final analysis, regardless of the planning system, the answer cannot be logically deduced from an objective necessity, but involves an element of choice based on what is considered desirable or opportune. On this basis, the threat has been replaced as main yardstick by what we now refer to as our level of ambition, which has been gradually developed from the mid-nineties on through consecutive Ministerial Guidances, the last of which was agreed in June 2006. This level of ambition defines the number and nature of operations which the Alliance has agreed it should be able to conduct if necessary. If I could sum up the eighties with “more of the same”, a similarly brief formula for the nineties would have to be “fundamental change, in substance and approach”.

The new millennium brought us, with the attacks of September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001, and with the first ever evocation of Article 5 of the Washington Treaty, another dramatic turning point. Although an initial analysis of the implications for defence planning of the fight against terrorism concluded that these were limited, in the sense that the military capabilities needed for that fight (in which the military have a role, but not the primary role) were essentially available, September 11<sup>th</sup> and the evocation of Article 5 nevertheless profoundly changed the environment in which defence planning takes place. In the political guidance for the new military concept for the fight against terrorism, which was prepared by the Executive Working Group, the senior working body for defence planning under the Council, a number of principles were established for that fight. Amongst them, in a low-key manner and almost *en passant*, the age-old “out-of-area” controversy was settled by the simple statement that our forces needed to be able to operate where necessary, as decided by the Council. Fairly soon, this abstract agreement was followed by the concrete decision to take over the ISAF in Afghanistan. Since then, and to this date, this operation has become the most important operation of the Alliance which affects almost all aspects of our activities – political, military and, of course, also defence planning.

Our ability to make a success of this operation, or at least to avoid failure (often stated categorically as “failure is not an option”), is widely used as the main yardstick against which the utility and effectiveness of what we are doing is measured. This is understandable but problematic, for example, when it leads to simplistic lines of reasoning such as: we do not

manage to fill the CJSOR; this shows that nations do not have enough of the right capabilities; this shows that our force planning system is not effective; therefore we need to change the system, or we may as well stop it altogether. Such reasoning (which we have encountered; I am not inventing it) disregards two key points. First, that it is not the NATO force planning system, but the national systems which produce the forces and capabilities. NATO can only try to influence this process, as implied in the definition of NATO force planning I gave you earlier. Secondly, and even more important, that there is a fundamental difference between what nations have and what they are prepared to contribute. Our defence reviews show that nations collectively have the forces to meet our level of ambition and that includes the ability to field the forces needed for Afghanistan, even taking into account the demands of other operations like Iraq. But, of course, sending forces to Afghanistan is a heavy burden, in political and psychological as well as financial and military terms, and therefore the temptation is great to let others carry as much as possible of that burden.

This last consideration also suggests that, while the simplistic criticism of force planning just mentioned is unfair, there is nevertheless a grain of truth in it. And that leads me back to what I said at the beginning of my remarks. Establishing the case and a framework for the commitment of national forces to the Alliance is an important aspect of NATO force planning, which was very well covered during the Cold War, but is no longer adequately dealt with under present conditions. We need to work on that, we have started to do so by the fairly recent agreement on new definitions for force categories, but we are not there yet. And making real progress in this respect will, in my view, also require a new commitment to the principle of burden sharing, and new methods of measuring and demonstrating such commitment.

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## Energy Security: Applying a Portfolio Approach

By *Kevin D. Stringer* \*

With oil prices skyrocketing to new levels, and the demand for energy increasing at a pace commensurate with the rapidity of globalization, energy access and supply take on a critical dimension for the national security of all states. The topic of energy access is also closely linked to climate change issues through the release of carbon dioxide (CO<sub>2</sub>) gas into the atmosphere and the aspirations of developing countries to achieve economic growth through increased consumption levels. Given its weighty consequences for the future, the subject of energy security now finds itself as a common theme on the curricula, research menus, and agendas of most military institutions of higher learning, international security think-tanks, and ministries of defence.

Teaching or discussing this topic with military officers or diplomats requires a simple methodology to conceptualize energy security at the state level as well as to provide a basic understanding of the key concepts and definitions. With such an approach, non-energy experts can then derive general ideas or conclusions for new directions in energy policy.

With such a goal in mind, this article explores the topic of energy security education by: defining energy security; highlighting the trends and challenges that will vex countries in the next few decades; and proposing a portfolio approach from the banking and finance world for conceptualizing this issue at the state level. Within the portfolio approach, the principles of both source and supplier diversification are explained, and then applied to case examples taken from Asia and the Baltics to illustrate how this simple model can aid in the discussion and development of policy options and ideas for national decision-makers. The conclusion shows that while the portfolio model is useful for a general overview to energy security, the approach does have limitations for addressing the theme comprehensively.

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## 1. Energy security defined

The modern idea of “energy security” emerged in the nineteenth century as warfare became mechanized and began to require substantial fuel inputs, first as coal for warships and trains (Bucholz, 1994:53-70). The decision of the British Admiralty prior to the First World War to switch from coal-fired to oil-fired vessels marked the start of the now traditional link between petroleum and security (Yergin, 1991). Since then the concept of “energy security” has taken on wider dimensions. No longer does it mainly encompass just the flow of oil, as central as that has been for more than six decades. It now extends to the entire infrastructure of energy supply that supports the global economy (Yergin, 2005).

With globalization, the issue of energy is relevant to the security boundaries of a state. A security boundary is the extent and contours of a nation’s interests. Wherever a country’s interests lead, there too must follow capabilities to protect those interests. And as a nation’s economic interests expand into the global market, it must consider the problem of safeguarding its global and regional interests (Wenmu, 2006:22). Logically, as the world economy globalizes, the national engines of commerce are fuelled by increasingly global sources of energy. A chief national interest therefore becomes access and security for a nation’s energy supply from often cross-border locations and suppliers.

Today, energy security can be broadly defined as an umbrella term that covers many concerns linking energy, economic growth, and political power. The energy security perspective varies depending upon one’s position in the value chain. Consumers and energy-intensive industries desire reasonably-priced energy on demand and worry about disruptions. Major oil producing countries consider security of revenue and of demand integral parts of any energy security discussion. Oil and gas companies consider access to new reserves, ability to develop new infrastructure, and stable investment regimes to be critical to ensuring energy security. Developing countries are concerned about the ability to pay for resources to drive their economies and fear balance-of-payment shocks. Power companies are concerned with the integrity of the entire network. Policymakers focus on the risks of supply disruption and the security of infrastructure due to terrorism, war, or natural disaster. They also consider their security margins – the amount of excess capacity, strategic reserves,

and infrastructure redundancy available (New Energy Security Paradigm, 2006:9).

For this article on the portfolio approach to energy security, the state and its security policymakers are the focal point. Energy security does not stand by itself but is lodged in the larger relations among nations and how they interact with one another (Yergin, 2006:69-82). This perspective of energy security focuses on politically and economically motivated supply interruptions to a state. For states, energy security contains three essential goals: the availability of energy needed for stable economic and social development; freedom from interruption of the energy supply; and the affordability of energy prices. As such, thinking about possible instruments for achieving energy security does not have to begin by merely assessing a nation's military options.

In fact, considerations of energy and security have more to do with broader geopolitical factors and the combined national elements of policy affecting the control of energy development and transportation around the world. Distinguishing between these two ideas is more than an academic exercise. Energy security, as defined above, goes more to the heart of realizing a nation's well-being, even as it takes into consideration the separate issues involving energy and security (Daojiong, 2006:3). Achieving this well-being depends both on a nation's own energy policies, and on the role of other international actors in a state's search for energy security. Energy security is not simply the combination of energy and security. This distinction is particularly relevant when international factors come into play (Daojiong, 2006:2). Therefore when viewing a nation's energy sources through the prism of a portfolio, policymakers must consider all the national elements of power – military, diplomatic, informational, and economic – in addressing this interplay with international actors, not all of them being states.

## **2. Current and future energy challenges**

Before defining a portfolio approach to energy security, some important energy trends and challenges for the future need to be highlighted. Global energy needs are likely to continue to grow steadily for at least the next two and a half decades. More than two-thirds of the growth in world energy use will come from the developing countries, where economic and population

growth rates are highest (Birol, 2006:190; International Energy Agency, 2005). The impact of growth in China and India on the global demand for energy has been tremendous, but the rest of Asia has also shown rapid growth in energy consumption. In the 1970s, North America consumed twice as much oil as Asia. In 2005, for the first time ever, Asia's oil consumption exceeded North America's (Yergin, 2005).

Although alternative energy sources are widely touted, in reality, fossil fuels will likely continue to dominate energy supplies, meeting more than 80 percent of the projected increase in primary energy demand. Oil remains the single largest fuel, with two-thirds of the increase in oil use coming from the transport sector. Oil dominates transportation fuel simply because it is the most economical way currently known to derive liquid fuel; which, in turn, is the most economical means of running a multi-node, randomly-changing, multi-geography transportation system. Physics and economics conspire to make this so.

Natural gas demand is likely to grow faster than oil demand, driven mainly by power generation. Gas is projected to overtake coal as the world's second-largest primary energy source before 2015 (Birol, 2006:190; International Energy Agency, 2005); but increasingly coal may be turned into gas, as prices and environmental concerns support use of the transformation technology which is already available.

Over time, consuming countries are likely to grow increasingly reliant on oil and gas imports from a small group of suppliers – notably Russia and the big Middle East producers – but including Brazil, Australia, and Canada. Those suppliers are increasingly likely to have concerns of national pride, cultural identity, and pace of development which push aside the commercial basis of the old concessionary system. National oil companies now control over 80% of the oil and gas resources in the world (Treverton, 2007:9; Esteruelas, 2007:4-5). As a result, supply arrangements are not simply a matter of price and contracts; but a matter of politics, culture, and international balances of trade. Expanding trade is welcomed, as it binds suppliers and customers in mutually beneficial relationships. But, at the same time, the risk of a major supply disruption – whether from terrorism, piracy, accidents, severe weather, political tensions, or war – will undoubtedly increase (Birol, 2006:193).



Likewise, increasing integration and long-term supply agreements improve efficiency, reduce uncertainty for investments in infrastructure, and encourage cooperation. Yet, as the energy value chain has become more integrated, the vulnerability of any one component, and the effects of its failure, have been magnified. A recent case in point was in August and September of 2005 when Hurricanes Katrina and Rita delivered the world's first integrated energy shock, simultaneously disrupting flows of oil, natural gas, and electric power (Yergin, 2005). This first integrated energy crisis of the 21<sup>st</sup> century contributed to changing the way that energy security is viewed. The integrated energy industry – in which a break at any point in the supply chain can reverberate throughout the system – has far reaching implications (The New Energy Security Paradigm, 2006:4).

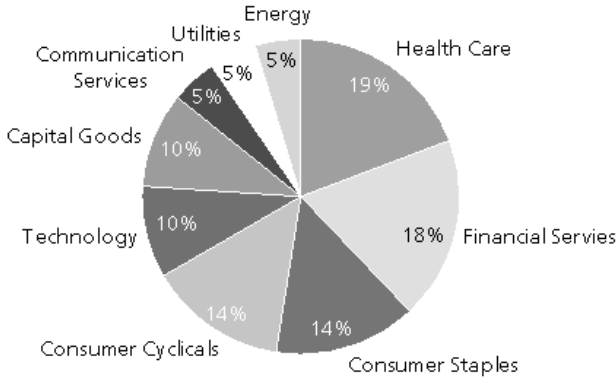
In another instance, for the commodity of natural gas, the underinvestment in production facilities and transmission pipelines in Russia and Central Asia threatens to create a supply crunch in the next few years. This situation is compounded by the lack of competition in the Russian gas sector which is an impediment to the efficient and timely development of Russian and Central Asian gas resources (Birol, 2006:193; International Energy Agency, 2005). Russian political imperatives have prevented the solution of this problem by the technical and economic means which would have been expected in a purely commercial system. Given the above challenges, the reduction of risk and an expansion of supply choice become paramount goals for energy policymakers.

### **3. Portfolio approach for energy security**

One of the challenges when discussing the topic of energy security is finding a framework that allows policymakers and others to conceptualize the status of a nation's current energy arrangements, then analyze the risks and take appropriate measures to correct deficiencies. There are a number of frameworks that can be applied to energy security, with most revolving around various risk assessment and diversification models. This article proposes a simple portfolio approach taken from the banking and finance world as a basic framework for conceptualizing the issue of energy security at the state level.

In its financial context, a portfolio is simply a group of investments held by an investor. This term can apply to other themes like skills, art,

components, and energy sources. Portfolios are commonly used in banking to describe a collection of investments held by private or institutional investors (see Figure 1).



**Figure 1: Sample stock portfolio**

One of the most important and influential economic theories dealing with finance and investment is modern portfolio theory (MPT) which was developed by Harry Markowitz and published under the title “Portfolio Selection” in *The Journal of Finance* in 1952. MPT says that it is not enough to look at the expected risk and return of one particular stock. By investing in more than one stock, an investor can reap the benefits of diversification, which is both observed and sensible (Markowitz, 1952:77-91).

MPT emphasizes the principle of diversification. Under the concept of diversification, the idea is to create a portfolio that includes multiple investments in order to reduce risk. For example, an investment that consists of only the stock issued by a single company is a portfolio with high risk. If that company’s stock suffers a serious downturn, the portfolio will sustain the full brunt of the decline. By splitting investments among the stocks of ten different companies, potential risk to the portfolio is reduced, because the likelihood of simultaneous downturns is low. This portfolio approach to risk management states that rather than focus on the specific risk characteristics of each position or obligation in the portfolio, an asset or liability manager using a portfolio approach will analyze and aggregate risks by type and try to achieve an overall balance of risk and

return (Gastineau, 1992:175). Thus, the most critical issue for managing a portfolio is achieving the best return while minimizing the risk of the overall portfolio.

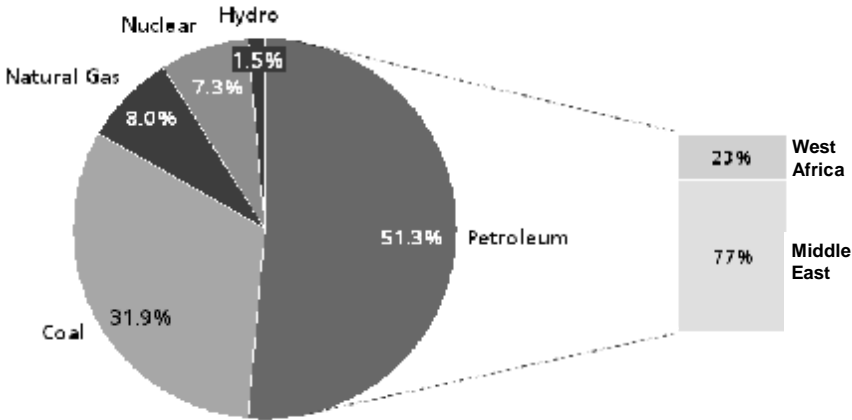
So how does this apply to energy security? By depicting a country's energy sources and suppliers in a portfolio, this conceptual approach provides a view to the current source and supplier dimensions of diversification, and enables decisions to be made concerning adjustment of the energy mix to achieve the optimal sourcing of energy while reducing risks in the failure of any one source or supplier. At a deeper level, a portfolio view also allows a further general assessment of the potential threats to a nation's energy sources or access to them, at the strategic and operational levels. In the end, diversity of sources, suppliers, and even energy transportation routes become the linchpins for national security. Naturally, like any model, the portfolio approach has its limitations in both the investment and energy security worlds. These constraints will be highlighted in the conclusion.

#### **4. The principle of diversification**

Since Churchill's day, the key to energy security has been diversification (Yergin, 2005). Churchill declared, "Safety and certainty in oil lie in variety and variety alone." With that, he was articulating the fundamental principle of energy security: diversification of supply. Churchill's maxim of ninety years ago continues to hold true – diversification of supply is one of the main guarantors of security and, indeed, is the starting point for energy security. In similarity to having a broad portfolio of stocks and bonds with different levels of risk and return, widening the sources of energy supply lessens the impact of any particular disruption and provides opportunity for compensating supplies (Yergin, 2005). Diversification can be approached in two dimensions – source and supplier.

Source diversification refers to the mix of different energy sources that potentially comprise a state's energy needs. These sources are well known and can be generally grouped as petroleum, natural gas, coal, nuclear, hydroelectric, wind, sun, and biofuels. A good case example is Taiwan. Taiwan is not blessed with abundant natural resources. Aside from the electrical power produced by its three nuclear power plants and a small contribution from hydropower, virtually all of its energy is supplied from imported oil, coal, and natural gas (The Energy Situation in Taiwan,

Republic of China, 2007) (see Figure 2). This mix has specific implications for the management of its future energy portfolio as well as its energy national security focus. These implications will be addressed in the first case study.



*Figure 2: Taiwan's energy supply structure*

Supplier diversification pertains to the mix of state providers of the commodities of petroleum, natural gas, and coal, and looks at which countries are the sources of the respective energy supply. Oil is particularly important, and the vast majority of the literature on energy security focuses on oil imports and on possible interruptions of petroleum supply (Bohi and Toman, 1996; Salameh, 2003:135-144; Muller, 2003:3-10). The current major suppliers of petroleum are Saudi Arabia, Russia, Norway, Iran, Venezuela, United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Nigeria, Mexico, Algeria, Iraq and Libya. Since a majority of these countries suffer political instability or have a high potential for it, this places the importers at risk. A wise country seeks then to diversify its supplier mix among several so that the failure of any one does not cut off an adequate supply of petroleum.

The People's Republic of China's (PRC) quest for African energy sources is a classic example of supplier diversification. China's oil consumption, already the second largest in the world after the United States, is forecast by some to grow to 590 million metric tons in 2020 (up from 220 million tons in 2000), nearly three-quarters of which will be imported by that time

(Takahashi, 2004). In less than 10 years, China has secured oil production and exploration deals in a swathe of countries reaching across Africa from the Red Sea to the Gulf of Guinea. In its desire to diversify away from Middle East petroleum, China now relies on Africa for between one-quarter and one-third of its oil imports, with the trend rising (Money Flows to Oil, 2006:11). This amount is forecast to reach 40 percent of its total supply within the next decade. (Rogers, 2007:74). The PRC has achieved this diversification feat with a diplomatic offensive on the Dark Continent using the promise of soft loans, infrastructure development, and even military assistance (Mahtani, 2007:4).

For natural gas, a list of main producers would include: Russia, United States (U.S.), Canada, United Kingdom, Netherlands, Iran, Norway, Algeria, Indonesia, and Saudi Arabia. Again, potential political unrest is present or latent in a number of these states, and a savvy importer attempts to spread his risk among the overall group. However, natural gas imports have generally been limited to close regional neighbours because of the difficulty of transporting natural gas over long distances.

Natural gas is lighter than air, and has far less energy content than petroleum at atmospheric pressure. Compressing natural gas to transport it in containers requires that the compressed gas be shipped in thick-walled pressure vessels. The weight, expense, and handling of the containers reduces the economics of using natural gas; particularly for large-volume, continuous industrial processes. Therefore, to economically transport natural gas, it is easiest to send it via a pipeline. Yet, building pipelines long distances across oceans or mountains becomes expensive very quickly, and introduces a variety of physical challenges. As a result, natural gas has been mostly restricted to pipeline transport in specific regions; and has not been globally deliverable in the way that both coal and petroleum have been.

A technology which is changing these limitations is liquefaction. Supercooling natural gas to -240 degrees Fahrenheit turns it into a liquid (LNG) which can be transported in specialized tanker ships. A regasification terminal at a deepwater port turns the LNG back into its gaseous form, and feeds it into a pipeline like any other natural gas. Thus, markets greatly distant from a gas-producing region can still use natural gas as an energy source as long as they have a suitable port. Countries which do not have a suitable port may still benefit by purchasing regasified LNG

through neighbouring countries which do have a suitable port (but then relations with that neighbour become even more important).

LNG is emerging as a new global energy business. The major regional markets – Asia, Europe, and North America – will likely be linked through an increasingly flexible LNG industry. The world's proved natural gas reserves are as large as reserves of petroleum, but they have not been developed to the same degree because of the constraints on transportation; thus LNG offers significant supplies and an alternative set of suppliers.

Still, the use of LNG as an alternative energy supply requires that capital be committed to infrastructure projects for regasification, and pipelines for delivery to users. Until recently, LNG has been largely an Asian trade, based upon highly structured long-term contracts (Yergin, 2005). Those contracts provided the means to finance the LNG infrastructure and produced an environment of steady supply. Now, a spot market is developing, where LNG can be purchased on short notice; but this still requires the infrastructure to be in place in order to land the LNG. In practice, this requires that a facility be built and operated full time, but with sufficient excess capacity to handle emergency outages of other energy supplies. Of course, provision also needs to be made to pay the higher prices for LNG which would likely be faced if the market recognizes the sudden spike in demand caused by an outage in some other energy source. Still, the development of LNG has added significant flexibility to the arsenal of solutions policymakers now have for managing energy security. The LNG market, though, is a double-edged sword. The development of this new global LNG business has contrasting security dimensions. It contributes to further diversification of energy supply and energy sources. Yet, at the same time, it creates new global dependencies that are vulnerable to disruption (Yergin, 2005).

A further important point to energy resources is geological and environmental endowment, and geopolitical positioning. A country with oil reserves or abundant amounts of sun and wind has potentially a higher level of energy independence over those that do not. Correspondingly, energy security is also a factor of a state's geopolitical position and its neighbours. As an island nation, Taiwan for example needs unimpeded sea lanes as it gets most of its oil via the Strait of Malacca from the Middle East and West Africa. Conversely, for continental countries like the Baltics

and Eastern European countries, the relationships to their direct land neighbours, particularly Russia, are important since they receive their natural gas through pipelines extending from their Russian supplier directly or through adjacent countries. Good international relations with these counterparties are therefore critical for guaranteeing an uninterrupted national energy supply. Witness the case of Ukraine. Russia's decision to cut off gas supplies to Ukraine in early 2006 called into question its reputation as a reliable supplier, and raised doubts for other countries about its dependability and ultimate foreign policy and security intentions.

The conflict has continued to simmer in 2007. Ukraine is now seeking to bypass the Russian pipeline company Gazprom by purchasing gas directly from Turkmenistan, rather than allowing Gazprom to profit from resale of the gas to Ukraine. The dimensions of the relationship are instructive: Turkmenistan wants a higher price for its gas; Ukraine can ill afford to pay a higher price; Ukraine is dependent upon Gazprom to transport the gas from Turkmenistan; but Gazprom has to cross Ukrainian territory to sell gas to Europe.

## 5. Case example Taiwan

Figure 2 shows the energy portfolio of Taiwan. In assessing this current portfolio in a simplified manner, Taiwan depends on petroleum for almost half of its needs, with coal and other sources making up the remainder. While not unbalanced, this mix merits a closer look especially at the diversification among the suppliers of the main types of energy. For oil, its primary energy pillar, Taiwan is heavily dependent on the volatile Middle East for 77 % of its petroleum. In terms of reducing risks, an initial policy recommendation would be for Taiwan to increase its use of coal and simultaneously look for other sources of petroleum. These sources could include countries like Venezuela or Canada. Interestingly, coal was the main energy source before 1966 in Taiwan, but oil replaced it as the major energy source as of 1967. In 2006, Taiwan imported approximately 62 million metric tons of coal, mainly from Indonesia (38.5%), Australia (36%), and Mainland China (21%) (The Energy Situation in Taiwan, Republic of China, 2007).

In reviewing the Taiwanese energy goals for 2020, Taiwan aims on changing its energy supply structure in this fashion by increasing coal from

34% to 37% while decreasing petroleum from 49% to 32% (The Energy Situation in Taiwan, Republic of China, 2007). The result will be more balance between these two core types of energy. A further step might be to increase the use of natural gas, particularly by using more liquefied natural gas (LNG). Lastly, promoting and investing in renewable energy sources could contribute to greater self-sufficiency and reduced supplier risk. All of these measures would diversify the current energy portfolio and reduce the risks found in the current set-up.

In assessing the security implications and risks of the current portfolio at the strategic level, the maritime aspect comes to the fore coupled with Taiwan's international relations with the People's Republic of China (PRC). Taiwan depends heavily on free and unimpeded sea lines of communication for its energy access. Taiwan's oil must transit from West Africa and the Middle East through two choke points – the Strait of Hormuz, at the entrance to the Persian Gulf and the Strait of Malacca, linking the Indian and Pacific Oceans, through which passes about 80 percent of Japan's and South Korea's oil and about half of the PRC's. Coal coming from Australia and Indonesia travels a shorter distance and avoids these two passages, but still must come by ship. These lanes must be kept open either by the rather minor Taiwanese navy or more realistically through multilateral arrangements with larger maritime allies like the United States, the United Kingdom, and Japan. Otherwise its main supply lines are at risk.

Similarly, deteriorating diplomatic relations with the PRC could have heavy energy implications for the Taipei government. Maintaining a flow of energy to Taiwan through a PRC blockade would pose formidable challenges for Republic of China leadership (Grubb, 2007:88). Petroleum, coal, and LNG would be equally exposed to a PRC blockade. A related strategic concern in a China-Taiwan scenario would be the fact that a sizable portion of Taiwan's imported coal supply comes from mainland China (21 percent), the remainder primarily from Indonesia (38 percent) and Australia (36 percent). China could restrict shipments of coal unilaterally, without a blockade. This concern is partially offset by the overall strength of the global coal supplies; such large coal producers/exporters as Australia, Russia, Indonesia, and the United States could easily supply Taiwan's demand if supplies from the mainland were



cut. Thus, Taiwan must maintain strong diplomatic and economic ties to these suppliers to cover such eventualities.

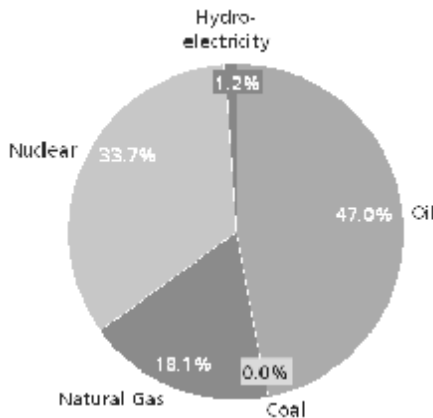
At the operational level, further concerns for Taiwan's energy access that can be derived from Figure 2 are in the areas of port and terminal security. Delving deeper, Taiwan has seven major ports: Kaohsiung, Keelung, Suao, Taipei, Taichung, Hualien, and Anping. Kaohsiung handles 67 percent of the total cargo volume, with Keelung second at 15 percent (Taiwan Government and Information Office, 2006). Kaohsiung is also the home of Taiwan's only shipyard capable of dry-docking large, deep-draft vessels, as well as its most productive oil refinery (Chinese Petroleum Corporation, Chinese Petroleum Corp., 2006:14-15). The proportionate concentration of facilities at Kaohsiung makes it an obvious target for terrorists or others desiring to disrupt Taiwan's energy supply. This threat implies mobilizing national assets to defend and protect such critical installations. Such steps require the cooperation of a number of government departments beyond the military. Naturally this portfolio analysis of Taiwan is a basic example to show how this model can simplify the energy security discussion and generate ideas concerning source and supplier diversification, and derive strategic or operational security implications. Changes to actual energy policy and the implementation of those changes would require much deeper analysis.

## **6. Case example Lithuania**

Shifting geographical zones, the energy situation in Eastern Europe merits consideration. Long-term forecasts by the International Energy Agency (IEA) suggest that natural gas will be the fastest growing component of world primary energy consumption, and globally, the IEA projects the highest increase of natural gas consumption for Eastern Europe and former Soviet Union countries. This implies that the region's dependence on gas deliveries from Russia – the prime source of energy – is likely to increase in the short and medium term, driven by rapid growth and relatively high energy dependency. These countries, in particular, are increasingly uncomfortable with their dependence on energy supplies from Russia. They see the early 2006 supply disruptions to Ukraine (which also affected European Union countries) as evidence that Russia is using its dominant position for political purposes. In looking specifically at the Baltic countries, energy consumption is projected to increase substantially,

in the range of 30-70 percent over the next five years, as opposed to 20-40 percent in the Central European countries (Tirpak, 2006). As such, taking the case example of Lithuania and applying the portfolio approach can provide useful insights that would contrast with those of the Taiwanese case.

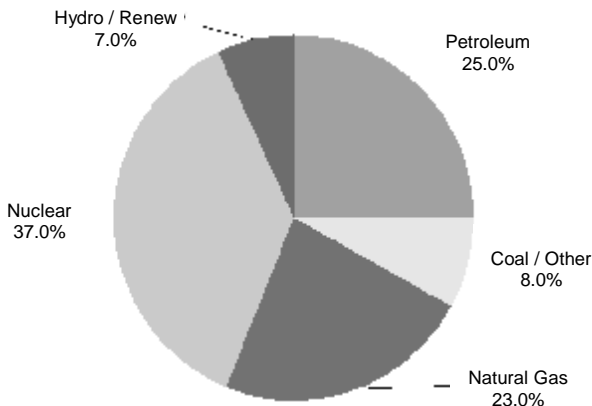
Lithuania, a country on the eastern shore of the Baltic Sea finds itself in a difficult situation with regards to energy security. The 2003 energy portfolio of Lithuania is depicted in Figure 3, and a similar view is provided for 2004 in Figure 4. From a superficial perspective, the portfolio looks balanced with a healthy portion of Lithuania's oil dependence offset by nuclear energy and natural gas. This picture though is deceptive and can only be the starting point of an analysis. Like with Taiwan, looking one level deeper at supplier diversification and at the state's unique energy infrastructure characteristics reveal a number of critical issues for the future.



*Figure 3: Lithuania's structure of energy consumption - 2003*

Until recently, approximately 90% of the country's oil supply came from Russia. Again, Lithuania is not alone among European Union (EU) states in this situation. Over the past few years, Russia has supplanted Norway to become the EU's single largest source of oil. Lithuania is unique though in that it is home to the only oil refinery in the Baltic States. For Lithuania, the majority of this Russian oil flowed via the Druzhba pipeline to this processing plant in Mazeikiu. Given this high risk situation, Lithuania opened the Baltic Sea Butinge terminal to receive oil deliveries by tankers

to reduce its dependence on the Druzhba pipeline (Bohlen, 2007). It was an important first step in diversification.



*Figure 4: Lithuania's structure of energy consumption - 2004*

In 2006, a reported leak on Russian territory caused the Russian pipeline monopoly Transneft to shutdown the Druzhba pipeline that supplied Lithuania with its oil. This blockage falls into a pattern of Russian behaviour beginning in 2002, when Transneft shut down a spur that shipped crude to the Latvian port of Ventspils. This was followed by Gazprom, Russia's natural-gas export monopoly, blocking gas supplies to the Ukraine in January 2006, and Transneft cutting oil to Belarus a year later over price and transit disputes. Forced into diversification, Lithuania now pays for tanker-delivered oil from countries like Venezuela, which has averted an energy crisis. This other source access is critical for its petroleum supply since in October 2007 Russia told the European Union (EU) it is unlikely to reopen the stretch of the Druzhba pipeline that had brought oil to Lithuania. The declaration was made by Russian Energy Minister Viktor Khristenko during a meeting in Brussels with EU Energy Commissioner Andris Piebalgs. "In response to Piebalgs' question, minister Khristenko said that reopening the pipeline was unlikely to be economically viable." Lithuania has said the closure was politically motivated by the sale of its Mazeikiu refinery to Poland's PKN Orlen rather than to a Russian bidder. The pipeline closure added to worries, notably among EU newcomers from central and Eastern Europe, that

Russia was using its energy resources as a foreign policy tool. Russia has denied such criticism (Reuters, October 16<sup>th</sup>, 2007).

Given the 37 percent nuclear energy portion of the energy portfolio, Lithuania could seemingly compensate for its petroleum problems with increased nuclear energy usage. Unfortunately, Lithuania faces an even larger energy crisis further down the road. The Ignalina nuclear power plant is scheduled to be decommissioned in 2009. This facility produced over 10.34 terawatt-hours (TWh) of electricity in 2005, more than 70 percent of Lithuania's total production that year (Baran, 2006:17). It expects to build a USD 5 billion nuclear reactor with Poland and the two other Baltic states by 2015, but nobody has a clear view yet on what would happen in the period after closure of the second unit in 2009 until the new reactor is built around 2015 at earliest. A logical step would be to fall back on the third energy pillar of natural gas which supplies approximately 23 percent of the Lithuanian energy portfolio. Regrettably here, Lithuania falls into the problem of overdependence on one supplier – again Russia, and reliance on pipelines from this neighbour. Russian gas, which accounts for 75 percent of Lithuania's heating fuel, poses a more difficult problem; when Lithuania closes its Chernobyl-style nuclear reactor at Ignalina in 2009, 75 percent of its electricity demand will be met by Russian gas, more than double the current 34 percent. As the Lithuanian Economic Minister, Vytautas Navickas, stated: "That is too much dependence on one gas supplier and on one state. It's like drugs. We have to have diversity" (Bohlen, 2007).

In summary, with its current portfolio, Lithuania faces considerable challenges to its energy security. These challenges are manifested in three principal ways. First, Lithuania is far too dependent on Russia for energy supplies. Second, when the Ignalina nuclear plant closes, Lithuania's dependence on external sources of energy (that is, Russian supplies) will increase. Third, Lithuania must seek multilateral solutions, not all of them easy to achieve, if it wishes to have an optimal energy portfolio. Potentially, the portfolio solution lies in a mixed approach of using renewable energy, diversifying sources and routes of supply of imported energy, and reducing demand.

To tackle the first two issues requires diversification alternatives away from oil and natural gas from Russia. From a source perspective, exploring alternate energy means might seem to be a logical step, but unfortunately

most types are rather unsuitable given Lithuania's location. Wind, solar, hydroelectric and geothermal power accounted for less than one percent of Lithuania's total energy supply in 2003. Renewable energy sources have little technical feasibility – let alone economic viability – in Lithuania. Since it is a relatively flat, low-lying country (only a few western areas rise above 200 metres), there is little potential for hydroelectric power. Nor is Lithuania a good candidate for wind power. According to the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the average wind speed in most areas of the country is around 15 kilometres per hour (kph). This is insufficient, as most wind turbines in operation today require speeds of 10-15 kph as a bare minimum for power generation. Lastly, Lithuania is an even less suitable candidate for solar and geothermal energy. The country's high latitude and climate conditions are particularly unfavourable for solar power generation. At the same time, Lithuania is part of a region that is geologically extremely stable, effectively eliminating the potential for employment of geothermal power (Baran, 2006:22). The only option remaining is biomass renewables, but this alternative has limitations given current technology and distribution challenges. It has grown though incrementally, between the snapshot years of 2003 and 2004. Given the aforementioned, Lithuania must remain with fossil fuels and nuclear power for the bulk of its energy needs.

In terms of oil and gas, Lithuania has, as an important transit point to the energy markets of the West and the Kaliningrad region of Russia, a state-of-the-art onshore terminal and offshore sea platform at the coastal village of Butinge, which has a capacity of 12 million tons of crude per year. Just twenty-five kilometres south of Butinge is Klaipeda, the country's only deep-water seaport (Baran, 2006:2). With this infrastructure, Lithuania can continue to import crude from other nations via tankers, and should work on the diplomatic front to increase the number of countries used as suppliers.

Similarly, LNG provides an excellent way to diversify its gas supplies away from Russia, and the port of Klaipeda provides a potential starting point for building an LNG terminal. In this direction, Prime Minister Gediminas Kirkilas has charged a task force with analysing the possibility of building a liquefied gas import terminal in Lithuania. According to a press release from the government's press service, Ignas Vegele, the head of the Mykolas Romeris University Department of EU Law, has been appointed

as chairman of the task force, which will have to present its proposals by January 15<sup>th</sup>, 2008. A liquefied gas terminal is important to a country seeking to ensure energy security (Baltic Business News, 2007:6). Interestingly, Latvia and Poland are also entertaining the prospect of constructing an LNG receiving terminal. This would allow these countries easy access to a much broader market since LNG is not limited to transmission by pipeline; like crude oil, it can be shipped via tanker (Baran, 2006:28). Given the costs of such energy projects, joining such a venture as a partner would be potentially more favourable for Lithuania's energy portfolio than going it alone.

Lastly, the simple measure of greater energy conservation and efficiency should not be overlooked. Conservation – energy efficiency – should be thought of as an energy source, and one with very large potential (Yergin, 2005). With a clear vision and multi-agency implementation plan, Lithuanian policymakers could reduce consumption substantially. Also, the principle of resilience or a "security margin" in the energy supply system can provide a buffer against shocks; and facilitates recovery after disruptions. Resilience can come from many factors, including sufficient spare production capacity, strategic reserves, backup supplies of equipment, adequate storage capacity along the supply chain, and the stockpiling of critical parts for electric power production and distribution, as well as carefully conceived plans for responding to disruptions that may affect large regions (Yergin, 2005). Creating storage facilities for crude or natural gas could offer a strategic reserve for this small Baltic country. Again, such a strategic reserve facility could be shared both in cost and usage by its Baltic or Polish neighbours.

Like Taiwan, in terms of the security implications of its current portfolio, Lithuania has both strategic and operational issues with its energy supply chain. Strategically, its main energy effort requires a strong weighting on the diplomatic and economic fronts to find multilateral solutions with its Baltic and European neighbours and to develop a stable of new oil and ultimately LNG suppliers. Simultaneously, it must exercise a nuanced diplomacy towards Russia given its dependencies and location. At the operational level the watchword is critical installation security. The port of Klaipeda, the refinery at Butinge, and the reactor at Ignalina are all single points of failure that must be guarded from asymmetric threats ranging from terrorist actions to cyber attacks. Like the example of Spain,

Lithuania's participation in the Middle East as a North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) member does make its energy infrastructure a potential target for Islamic terrorists.

Using the portfolio approach to energy security provides a simple way to educate on a state's energy portfolio by providing a snapshot in time of its composition and the implications of such a setup. In thinking about the two sample portfolios of Taiwan and Lithuania, some common issues come to the forefront. First, energy security is a real concern for governments and their populations. With the two small countries analyzed, a large failure in the international energy supply chain could have catastrophic economic consequences. For example, a U.S. strike on Iranian economic infrastructure would take some 4 million barrels per day off the global oil market at a time when oil prices already are over USD 100 a barrel. Given its tenuous supply lines, Taiwan would feel a heavy impact. Although it must be noted that such a campaign is more likely to drive a wedge between the American people and the American government than between the Iranians and their government because of the energy consumption of the U.S. public.

Second, solutions for diversification, particularly for smaller countries hinge upon multilateral arrangements with like-minded partners. Energy security will greatly depend on how countries manage their relations with one another, whether bilaterally or within multilateral frameworks, and it is critical to build cooperative relations, based on common interests, with nations that produce and export energy. In Lithuania's case, a large number of future options such as an LNG terminal, larger storage capacities, and a new reactor rely upon European and Baltic partners for full success.

Third, energy security requires a holistic view to national defence where the military, diplomats, economists, tax officials, police, and others must all be involved. Long-distance, cross-border pipelines are becoming an ever-larger fixture in the global energy trade. There are also many chokepoints along the transportation routes of seaborne oil and, in many cases, liquefied natural gas (LNG) that create particular vulnerabilities: the Strait of Hormuz, which lies at the entrance to the Persian Gulf; the Suez Canal, which connects the Red Sea and the Mediterranean; the Bab el Mandeb strait, which provides entrance to the Red Sea; the Bosphorus strait, which is a major export channel for Russian and Caspian oil; and the Strait of

Malacca, through which passes 80 percent of Japan's and South Korea's oil and about half of China's. Ships commandeered and scuttled in these strategic waterways could disrupt supply lines for extended periods. Securing pipelines and chokepoints will require interagency activity as well as the development of multilateral rapid-response capabilities.

Last, at the operational level, critical installation security is of paramount importance. In the United States alone, there are more than 150 refineries, 4000 offshore platforms, 160000 miles of oil pipelines, facilities to handle 15 million barrels of oil a day of imports and exports, 10400 power plants, 160000 miles of high-voltage electric power transmission lines and millions of miles of electric power distribution wires, 410 underground gas storage fields, and 1.4 million miles of natural gas pipelines. None of the world's complex, integrated supply chains were built with security, defined in this broad way, in mind (Yergin, 2005). Attacks could take the form of physical assaults on port facilities, refineries, petrochemical plants, compression stations, dams, transmission lines, and substations. In thinking of Taiwan's ports, and Lithuania's three energy "single points of failure" – reactor, port, and refinery – national decision-makers must seek an efficient and optimal security solution for these facilities given the implications of an outage.

In the end, the portfolio model is simply one way to study and educate on the topic of energy security. Success in this endeavour ultimately depends heavily on a good and nuanced understanding of portfolio diversification, which in itself is more of an art than a science. Like any framework or model, the portfolio approach has limitations when applied to the investment and energy security worlds. In both fields, portfolio theory does not account for "low probability, high impact" market shocks such as the sub-prime crisis in the banking sector or a major oilfield disaster or conflict in the energy sector. Portfolio theory displays a weakness in both areas by relying wholly on historical data, which as a snapshot, may not depict the true risk and return realities of the current market. Especially in the energy sector, this results in an information lag, which could potentially affect current policy decisions. When applied solely to energy security, portfolio theory is an inexact method as the approach does not properly account for the production side of the equation; it focuses mainly on the energy consumption of the receiving nation. This narrow view limits a deeper risk assessment of the source countries of energy, as well as all possible transit risks.



Nevertheless, despite these caveats, by depicting a country's energy sources and suppliers in a portfolio, this conceptual approach provides a general view to the current source and supplier dimensions of diversification, and enables decisions to be made concerning adjustment of the energy mix to achieve the optimal sourcing of energy. This in turn can reduce risks caused by the failure of any one source or supplier. The iron rule for maximum portfolio efficiency always being, "spread the risk and never put all assets in one basket."

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## **Challenges of Implementation of the Network Centric Warfare Tenets in Coalition Environment**

*By Arturas Litvaitis\**

Contemporary global security challenges dictate the necessity for timely and efficient response. Today the United States is perhaps the only nation able to independently conduct wide-scale military operations in any place around the world. However, gradually increasing number of hotspots makes the burden too heavy even for this superpower. Taking into account not only military capabilities but also probably an even more important need for a broad international support for the United States, it is evident that, today and most likely in the future, the United States would need to act in the coalitions with the traditional allies (AUSCANNZUKUS, NATO, EU) as well as other nations willing to join U.S.-led operations. Despite the fact that NATO takes over some responsibilities in the role of security provider beyond the Euro-Atlantic region (for instance, the International Security Assistance Forces in Afghanistan), the United States still remains a key player shaping military operations now and in the future.

Since the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, the United States have launched a number of initiatives of its armed forces transformation with the purpose to more effectively meet the modern security challenges. One of the key elements of the U.S. defence transformation is Network Centric Warfare (NCW) – a concept of military response to global evolutionary transition from the Industrial to the Information Age (Office of Force Transformation, 2005:3-6). First time officially introduced<sup>1</sup> in the Department's of Defence Report to Congress (Department of Defence, 2001:4-1), Network Centric Warfare is a concept of modern warfare bringing all elements of forces – shooters, sensors, decision makers etc. – to a unique by its nature integrated network, supposedly providing an increased battlespace awareness and, as a result, a competitive advantage over an adversary via faster and more precise decisions and actions.

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The tenets of NCW set the stage for further theoretical and practical developments not only in the United States, but also served the purpose of being a point of departure for other nations' research and development. Besides the individual nations, NATO started to develop its own concept, NATO Network Enabled Capability (NNEC), which also had started from the tenets of NCW (NC3A, 2005:3). Therefore the tenets have their impact for the entire North Atlantic community, today comprising 26 nations with their, however, uneven attitudes towards the network-centric concepts.

I would argue that implementation of the NCW tenets in a multinational environment would not take place in the near future, if at all, in their current formulation, because human's intention and will to work together, despite of being the driving factors, are not obvious in all cases. I cannot overcome the feeling that the proponents of NCW were not so much concerned about the potential challenges of concept's implementation in the multinational environment, so it seems that they were drafting the concept exclusively for the U.S. use. To be honest, multinationality is mentioned in some books and documents about NCW; however, it doesn't seem that the developments over the last decades in the area of alignment of different nations' military capabilities took into account very carefully the need for procedural, operational and technological interoperability. Finally, I think that probably the most important issue is often forgotten in the NCW concept – diversity of human beings in all possible dimensions, such as culture, language, and perceptions. The state-of-the-art hardware and weaponry will not bring any good if not animated by human intellect, will and creativity; therefore not steel, semiconductors or lasers are precluding the greater success of military operations – usually the biggest obstacle is somewhere inside of our brains.

Bearing in mind these remarks, I would like to suggest taking a look at some issues that the United States and its allies could face when implementing the Network Centric Warfare concept in the future coalitions. However, this article does not have ambitions to cover all possible issues of implementation of NCW in the coalition environment, nor to provide an in-depth analysis. Rather, the intent of this article is to possibly inspire further discussions and research.

Trying to answer the question of what could be the possible challenges of NCW implementation in the multinational coalition environment, in this

article I, firstly, will provide a general review of main ideas of the NCW concept as presented by its promoters, and then turn to the critical views on the concept. Later, I will analyze, in my opinion, key problematic areas of building coalition communications networks. In the first part of the last section I present my analysis of how a dynamic multinational environment may affect military teams' capability to build common knowledge, whereas in the second part of the last section I will focus on the possible influence of cultural diversity on general perception of Network Centric Warfare and its major notions such as sharing of information, self-synchronization and others.

## **1. Setting the stage**

According to the proponents of Network Centric Warfare, the need to shift the approach of conducting military operations is determined by radical changes in the society, where implementation of modern technologies transformed the ways of wealth creation and distribution of power as well as increased complexity, reduced distances and increased pace of everyone's life (Alberts, Garstka, Stein, 1999:15). The analysis of business processes shows that information itself is becoming a significant value and source of power nowadays, therefore the extensive exploitation of information is a prerequisite to be successful on the market (Ibid:29-51). Assuming that the same or similar laws are applicable to the military world, those trends were applied by military theorists and translated into the concept known as Network Centric Warfare. Setting the stage for further analysis, in this section I suggest, first, to overview the basic constructs of the Network Centric Warfare, and later, in order to have a more complete picture of the issue, I will present some critical views on this concept.

### **1.1 Network Centric Warfare concept**

Network Centric Warfare concept, in some sources called as an "emerging theory of war in the Information Age" (Office of Force Transformation, 2005:3) could be shortly presented by (and actually is based on) four tenets (Department of Defence, 2001:4-1):

1. A robustly networked force improves information sharing;
2. Information sharing enhances the quality of information and shared situational awareness;

3. Shared situational awareness enables collaboration and self-synchronization, and enhances sustainability and speed of command;
4. These, in turn, dramatically increase mission effectiveness.

It is easy to notice that each later tenet is resulting from the former; therefore, in fact, we have a chain of resulting principles, instead of a widely used in the military world conceptual approach of “building pillars”.

Let us take a closer look at the meaning of some key terms, used in the tenets' statements. Robustly networked force consists of ready-to-connect (“plug and play”) specialized elements, able to be suppliers of information to the network as well as use the information from other elements of a networked force. In NCW, a strong emphasis is put on the interaction between elements in “peer-to-peer” (horizontal) dimension rather than in traditionally hierarchical (vertical) one (Alberts et. al, 2001:295). Robustness of force networking is a function of ability to maintain network effectiveness despite different conditions and circumstances. Information is fusion of data when latter is put into a meaningful context. Respectively, the quality of information is determined by information completeness, faithful representation of reality (correctness), currency (timeliness), accuracy (level of precision) and consistency for use by other networked force entities (Ibid:82). In each particular instance, requirements for information quality may vary, but information should always be relevant. Shared awareness is the ability of different entities to develop similar awareness of the situation, where degree of similarity is dictated by the level of interactions (working for a common purpose) between those entities; however, in human systems, situational awareness is influenced by culture, language and perceptions (Ibid:26-27). Self-synchronization is the ability of elements of networked force to conduct and synchronize military activities from the bottom up. The prerequisites of self-synchronization are high degree of shared awareness, unity of effort, a clear commander's intent and a common set of rules (Alberts, Papp ed., 2001:486-487). The speed of command is the process of turning informational advantage into faster and more effective military decisions and precise actions, and is characterized by a high rate of change of the initial operational conditions towards locking in own success and locking out the adversary's freedom of actions.

For a better grasp of the environment where NCW takes place, this environment is decomposed into four domains of warfare (or domains of conflict) (Office of Force Transformation, 2004:23-24), sometimes also referred to as the Network Centric Operations (NCO) domains. The first three of those are: physical (sea, land, air and space environments of military operations, platforms, networks), information (where information is created and manipulated - "cyberspace" of military operations), cognitive (perceptions, beliefs, leadership, doctrines by individuals). The fourth one – social domain – was added later, when it was understood that individuals have distinct perceptions of certain phenomena or information and how these individual perceptions play out in case of interactions (e.g. collaborative decision making) within human enterprises, sometimes comprised of participants with quite significant social differences (nationality, language, culture, education, affiliation with certain organizations etc.). As defined by the Network Centric Operations Conceptual Framework, the key elements of the physical domain are the network and net-ready nodes; information domain – data and information; cognitive domain – sensemaking, including awareness, understanding, decisions; and social domain – individual people, practices, including interactions between people, social structures and cultures (Office of Force Transformation, 2004:25-54). I would like to stress that different authors do not always recognize the same main elements of each domain, as well as definitions of domains vary, therefore we have to admit that the Network Centric Warfare concept is not yet supported by unambiguous definitions, which usually causes various interpretations. It also should be understood that warfare takes place in all domains simultaneously and networking takes place within each domain and among them, therefore domains are not isolated from each other, but rather overlapping. Actions or effects in one domain accordingly influence others, thus, taking into account certain ambiguity concerning their elements, the clear boundaries of domains in most cases could not be drawn.

Networked force consists of a number of its elements operating in the domains of warfare, which are called battlespace entities. These are divided into sensors, actors and decision makers. Sensors are the elements providing initial information (data), further processing of which makes the basis for situation awareness. Sensors could be unmanned platforms and equipment as well as human "eyes on the ground". Actors, sometimes called effectors or shooters (Department of Defence, 2005:B-3), are

creating combat power and effects, derived from mission intent and shared situational awareness. Decision makers are people generating mission intent, allocating and re-allocating resources necessary to achieve the desired effects and successfully accomplish the mission. Decision makers are present on all levels of military organization (enterprise).

There are several major conceptual shifts distinguishing the Network Centric Warfare concept from the current way of doing military business. First, it suggests to get rid of current heavy, integrated and thus expensive warfighting platforms, usually comprised of all three elements of battlespace entities. Separation of sensors, actors and decision makers is supposed to contribute to more dispersed, agile and less heavy force, able to achieve greater effects and introduction of less costly specialized platforms and sensors with greater reach and precision. Second, the desired effects are supposed to be achieved by massing the effects rather than by massing the force. Robust dynamic connectivity of the battlespace entities, sharing the information between them will support overall shared situational awareness, which in turn facilitates informational advantage over adversary, more fast and accurate decisions, dynamic allocation of resources and more precise effects. Third, current hierarchical military organizations and corresponding information flows and command and control processes should evolve to more flattened organizations, increasing the information exchange between different levels and services, collaborative planning amongst geographically dispersed entities and capability to make decisions and synchronize actions on lowest possible tactical level. Thus, initiative of actions will come from bottom up rather than from top down as it is in the current military organizations. Summarizing this short overview of the NCW concept, I would like to stress that implementation of this concept will require significant changes in technology, much greater integration of information flow between battlespace entities and new forms of military organizations as well as new forms of command and control.

## **1.2 The criticism of the Network Centric Warfare concept**

The picture of NCW, as a comparatively new concept, could not be complete without an alternative look at it. To complete the picture, here I propose a synopsis of some alternative opinions on the concept and its implementation. At the beginning, I would like to suggest the views of



Ralph E. Giffin (Canada) and Darryn J. Reid (Australia) on NCW. First of all, these authors maintain that the NCW thesis is built on the not necessarily relevant to the military world business analogy in general, and on the discredited nowadays New Economy theory (Lohr, 2001) of fundamental business transformation, influenced by technological progress, in particular. Taking an example of “misinterpretation” of Metcalfe’s Law (Briscoe, Odlyzko, Tilly, 2006) (value or “effectiveness” of a network increases to the square of the number of users of the network) by the NCW proponents, their critics insist that advocates of NCW erroneously treat the number of transactions on the network as a source of power and advantage. Even more, practice shows that real networks have certain saturation threshold, when network congestion, due to the growing number of transactions, will force the value curve to flatten and decline (Giffin, Reid, 2003a:21). The NCW thesis is also accused as influenced by naive inductivism (Nola, Irzik, 2005:207-229); therefore the tenets of NCW are formulated on a methodological basis of non-scientific approach. As a result, the tenets are criticized that robust networking is not defining the quality of information sharing; information sharing and collaboration doesn’t necessary lead to right conclusions and decisions; and shared situational awareness is “neither a sufficient nor necessary condition for the behaviour described as self-synchronization” (Giffin, Reid, 2003b:18).

Professor Milan N. Vego from the U.S. Naval War College argues that there is no proof that Network Centric Warfare will be effective in fighting a strong and well prepared opponent. Recent conflicts, where the United States were involved and where, according to the concepts’ proponents, elements of the concept were successfully tested, took place against relatively technologically weak enemies such as the Taliban and the Iraqi forces. On the other hand, fighting counter-insurgency operations in Afghanistan and Iraq have proven how small is the potential that the networking of force can provide in finding and eliminating insurgents. According to Milan Vego, the recent U.S. experience shows that small and dispersed forces will not be able to control occupied territory and its population. It is mentioned that suggestions to conduct joint operations at lowest possible levels (self-synchronization) will result in increasingly complicated coordination between elements of different services and extended time to plan joint actions, because each service has its specific command and control process and logistic. He is also pointing out that, despite the emphasis on a human dimension by the proponents of

Network Centric Warfare, the concept itself, however, is mostly dealing with information dominance and technological factors (Vego, 2007).

Jeff Cares, the author of “Distributed Networked Operations: The foundations of Network Centric Warfare”, in his interview to *The Journal of Electronic Defence* (Cares, 2006:38-40) underlines that, under the cover of the NCW implementation, large amounts of funds have been already spent, but the aim to be achieved is not clear, and any visible return of investment could not be observed. He also argues that an idea to have a vast number of interlinked battlespace entities makes network arrangements very complicated, and current technologies are yet to be capable to cope with this issue. In his opinion, the NCW concept doesn't clearly articulate what are the mechanisms of networking advantage. Jeff Cares states that even when all the necessary information is present on the network (for instance, in a huge scale central database), there will be no tools to select information relevant to a particular battlespace entity in a particular situation, because it is not realistic to develop queries supporting retrieval of relevant information in a very dynamic and unpredictable military environment.

Col. Alan D. Campen, USAF (Ret.), in his article is sceptical about the practical proof of the NCW concept presented by its proponents: “Probing questions about NCW were raised as early as 1998 and are echoed today by other voices who contend that substantial technology-driven changes in force structure, organization and operational art should be founded on more substantive evidence than can be gained from selectively sampling the scenario-unique sands of the Iraq War. Fixation on battlefield experience in Iraq can mask issues that rival NCW in fuelling the engine of military transformation” (Campen, 2004). He is supported by Greg Grant, whose opinion is that experience in Iraq has proven that less technically advanced adversary can apply time-tested concealment methods and cheat state-of-the-art U.S. sensors. Grant also explains that, in situations when the enemy becomes out of reach of the U.S. sensors' view or when communication with the sensor is degraded, the enemy position becomes halted on the information system screen because there is no more updating feed from the sensor. In this quite frequent scenario, relevant situational awareness could not be produced (Grant, 2005). The potential danger of specialization of platforms (sensors and actors) could put actors into danger when communications are lost or degraded by the enemy, because

in this case actors become blind: “As fighting vehicles - planes, ships, tanks - are connected to the web, they tend to be dumbed down to save money. Why carry a sensor when the same information is available from other sources? But if network access is severed, the vehicles may lack the capacity to autonomously defend themselves.” (Thompson, 2003)

Aldo Borgu raises a number of conceivable issues related to the practical implementation of Network Centric Warfare. For instance, it would be a challenge to establish a single network across different services and nations. In his opinion, it most probably will be difficult to integrate “network of networks”. Extensive sharing of information has potential danger of information overload and decreased speed of command. On the other hand, access to the same, even high quality, information doesn’t automatically mean that different people will come to similar conclusions. In reverse of a Network Centric Warfare proposition of decentralisation of decision making, there is a great deal of probability that availability of low tactical level information for the highest levels of command may lead to even greater centralization (micro-management). He also points out that different nations have different view and different approach to the network related military concepts, which automatically implies problems with operational and procedural interoperability. Fast technical U.S. advance will even deepen capability gap between the United States and its allies, so Network Centric Operations in coalition may have no common technical basis (Borgu, 2003).

## 2. Networks

The “network” is an essential part of the Network Centric Warfare concept and, in a broad sense of its meaning, is regarded as a combination of wide spectrum of links between various geographically dispersed entities assembling them into a single enterprise (Alberts, Garstka, Stein, 1999:115-116). With respect to operations, we can distinguish two types of networks – those of technological nature (linking equipment, providing communication means and virtual collaborative environment for actors and decision-makers), and intangible networks between people within military enterprise (between individuals in a given organization and between different organizations). In this section, I propose analysis of potential challenges for multinational military enterprises to establish and exploit

communication networks from a technological standpoint and leave human dimension of the networks for the last section.

## **2.1 Availability and interoperability**

The robustly networked force is the first prerequisite, necessary for realization of the Network Centric Warfare tenets. Taking into account geographical dispersion, this force could only be created with the existence of appropriate interoperable communication systems (Alberts et al., 2001:107). The first and foremost issue with implementation of the Network Centric Warfare concepts in the multinational environment is the lack of networks, deployed by coalition members, especially from the nations having small armed forces, small defence budgets and, as a consequence, no or small scale national network-centric programmes. In addition, even “big nations” (such as the UK, Germany, Canada and others), when comparing their potential capabilities to deploy to the theatre of operations with the present U.S. capabilities, are far behind the latter (Luddy, 2005:14). The current state could be illustrated by a felicitous remark of Duncan Hunter, Chairman of the Armed Services Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives, when he compared the situation of sharing the financial burden within NATO to a picnic in which the U.S. “provides the T-bone steaks while some other countries bring the plastic forks and some just show up with a smile” (Trowbridge, 2006). This also perfectly applies to nations’ investments into reliable deployable military communications systems (Spierling, 2004:453).

To realize the main idea of the first Network Centric Warfare tenet, to establish networked forces and improve information sharing, the network services should be available theoretically wherever the operational situation demands; however, robust network connectivity down to the tactical level is still the issue to be addressed in the U.S. armed forces themselves (Tisserand, 2006:B-2). Usually, at the low tactical level, national communications systems can provide only voice communications, which is clearly insufficient for intelligence information distribution, targeting data and higher commander’s intent delivery. The most promising way to provide all necessary types of communications services (voice, data, videoconferencing etc.), is to use satellite communications, but again it is a scarce resource even for the United States, not to talk about the small nations, where national satellite communications are simply not available

and services, offered by the commercial providers, are expensive and not always reliable.

Another significant issue is that today, for multinational operations, the nations are deploying their communications systems which cannot be interconnected due to the use of different protocols, bandwidths and frequencies. Interoperability has been on the list of unresolved issues for a long time, even in those organizations which work hard on achieving interoperability among its members. NATO could serve as a typical example: “The performance of the European armed forces in NATO - or U.S.-led coalition operations, such as in Kosovo, Afghanistan and Iraq, demonstrated clearly the existence of a glaring transatlantic capability gap that has limited the interoperability of multinational forces and the efficiency of coalition war fighting” (Nolin, 2006).

Despite the growing trend to build their networks in accordance with commonly agreed military standards, the nations continue to realize their specific national approaches even in those cases when the agreed standards (for instance, NATO STANAG's) are taken as a basis. Quite a promising direction is the adoption of commercial standards in the military world (Commercial Off-the-Shelf, or COTS, solutions); however, within the industry we can notice a variety of proprietary features, on top of commercial standards, which make network solutions, delivered by different manufacturers, not interoperable, although those solutions are based on the same commercial standard. Lessons learned during multinational military communications and information systems interoperability exercises show that the United States and European nations are still quite away from the “plug and play” level of communications interoperability.

## **2.2 Management**

Having the national networks deployed and getting them interconnected is not the end of the story – usually real operating environment demands the ability to flexibly reconfigure the network, provide increased bandwidth between particular nodes on the network or connect new nodes to the network. Multiple nations, operating in a relatively small area, have diverse requirements for the use of electromagnetic spectrum, necessary for operation of their sensors and wireless communications. This is all about

the network management. Taking into account the growing bandwidth demand, it is most likely that opportunities, provided by rather rapidly evolving communications technologies, will be behind the user requirements. Therefore implementation of the net-centric concepts would require an efficient use of network resources, and this is the place, where network management will play its very important role.

Network management within national domains is quite a challenging issue (Donnelly, 2005). However, within the multinational environment, it requires even more effort. First of all, in the recent years, we cannot observe any significant improvement in defining multinational networks' architecture. For instance, NATO Consultation, Command and Control Board and its sub-committees are working on NATO Information Infrastructure (NII), which is supposed to address the Alliance's Network Enabled Capabilities architectural issues, but at present stage, it doesn't seem that architectural developments are turning towards the real net-centric approach. On the contrary, we are still discussing the issue how backbone network, which is supposed to be provided by NATO, will be interconnected with national "appendixes"; therefore hierarchical network architecture is still in place (CNSSC, 2008). Continuing with this approach would not contribute to the construction of flexible and dynamic networks, where a network participant can communicate with any other wherever it is located and whatever nation it belongs to. How can we imagine communication in a hierarchical network between an airborne platform from nation A and a ground-based unit from nation B, when that platform was re-tasked on the spot to accomplish the mission in the airspace over a ground unit, if co-ordination didn't take place between nations A and B in advance? These issues were already identified during real operations (Hayes, 2004).

Similarly to networking solutions themselves, nations usually have their nation-specific approaches to the network management, consisting of a variety of methods, tools and technical solutions, because there is no multinational consensus how to manage multinational federation of networks, or, in case of the network-centric approach, the single network made of national "pieces". This happens because we are still thinking in the hierarchical network architectural dimension.

Network, truly supporting net-centric approach, has no centre. In a single nation case, it is possible with current technologies to construct the network, made of self-managed nodes, but there is no commonly agreed technology in place today, supporting management of a multi-domain network, where constitutive elements are based on different technology. To illustrate the situation in an even more realistic way, it should be stressed that nations are usually deploying not a single national network, but a number of networks to support different services (Army, Navy, Air Force), different functional areas (intelligence, logistic, command and control), and different classification domains. Therefore co-ordinated network management doesn't look very much realistic. "One analysis of CENTCOM operations in Afghanistan and Iraq that year noted that American planners were dealing with more than 84 different coalition networks. ... Needless to say, interoperability between this wide variety of networks was extremely variable, and mostly non-existent. As such, information exchange between members of the coalition was often a sluggish affair" (Mitchell, 2006, p. 54).

Inconsistency in national network management solutions could be illustrated by the following example. Informational advantage primarily is facilitated by sharing real-time information among the members of the coalition (Alberts, Papp ed., 2001:258), which in turn can contribute to the achievement of the desired military effects. However, without the co-ordinated network management, it would be hard to achieve the "identical real-time", i.e. in the multinational environment, every national domain might have its own "current time", not necessarily matching with the current time in other nation's domain. These time differences could produce a vast impact on the quality of certain processes, such as tracking of an adversary's fast-moving platform by one nation, then sharing track information and expecting the engagement of that platform by another nation.

### **2.3 Protection**

The last, but definitely not least, issue concerning coalition networking is effective protection of networks. Without it, network's survivability cannot be assured. As a result, in a combat situation, the unprotected network will not live for long, with all resulting consequences. It is underlined in the U.S. Department of Defence Transformation Study Report that "NCW

offers the potential for dramatic advantages, but carries the risk of a major loss of capability if our networks are penetrated or significantly disrupted” (Transformation Study Group, 2001:29).

The main threats to the communication systems are coming from their vulnerabilities to physical attacks (communication nodes and wired communication lines), degradation of network performance (jamming, interference), and unauthorized access (eavesdropping). Computer networks are vulnerable to cyber-attacks such as insertion of malicious software, computer viruses, unauthorized access to the computer-based systems etc. Military communication systems are not an exception, thus are exposed to various attacks as much as civilian ones. It is obvious, that technologies nowadays are spreading very fast, therefore quickly becoming available to our present or potential adversaries too (Alberts, 1996).

Military network protection technologies, currently used in the United States and most of the European countries, are based on electronic counter-countermeasures (frequency hopping, spread-spectrum technologies), encryption of communication links, and computer network defence systems like firewalls, intrusion detection systems and anti-virus software. Today, quite an impressive arsenal is available to protect our networks; however, within the multinational environment there are numerous challenges to protect the entire coalition network when it is made of national segments. The first challenge which future coalitions will face is about the different level of technological advance in general, and in the network protection technologies in particular. This issue can be observed currently due to uneven defence expenditures, time-divided defence modernization programmes or diverging priorities. The consequence of this aspect is the inadequate protection of different national networks, which precludes coalition partners with better network protection from connecting their networks to the nations with less protected networks. The second challenge, even among most technical advanced nations, is incompatible national solutions of the network defence. Currently, almost every nation implements its proprietary solution, which is not in favour of passing the necessary information to another nation (Networking Working Group, 2008). When, in static networks, various gateway solutions could be applied, it still would be a challenge to pass the information from one platform, belonging to one nation, to another platform from another nation in a very dynamic environment that



a networked coalition is supposed to be. It is simply not possible to predict who is going to talk with whom and, even more, to design working solutions for all possible situations in a net-centric self-synchronizing environment.

The current situation and at least mid-term trends could be illustrated with the following example: NATO as the biggest modern military alliance has certified several encryption devices; however, those devices are used mostly in NATO networks or in those cases when national military networks should be interconnected with NATO ones, whereas many of the NATO nations, within their national domains, continue using their nationally approved and not always compatible encryption devices (Leschhorn, Buchin, 2004). In case of the same encryption devices that various nations supposedly can possess, it doesn't solve a problem, because crypto algorithms may differ, and crypto key management within the national networks is solely a national prerogative and responsibility.

Mutual trust and political disputes among coalition partners obviously is not a technological issue, however it may heavily impact building coalition networks as such. Political attitudes of one member towards another certainly is not precluding any given nation to execute the research, development and implementation of advance interoperable communications solutions, but definitely affects transfer of know-how and technology between coalition partners. As it was mentioned above, different nations have unequal level of defence expenditures. Without sharing knowledge, it is not realistic that nations even theoretically can reach similar level of technological advance, so coalition-wide networking may not happen due to uneven technological development. Another politically-driven issue is that frictions between various nations are reflected in their willingness to share the information. For instance, quite recently Turkey objected of NATO sharing information with the European Union, mainly because of Cyprus' membership. Despite that the official reason was that Cyprus is not a Partnership for Peace nation, it is obvious that it was not the essential reason to obstruct sharing intelligence information with the EU (Dempsey, 2007).

### 3. People

As it was previously discussed, successful realisation of the network-centric concepts should be enabled by highly interoperable technical infrastructure. However, in its essence, it is very much dependant on an effective interaction between the people. Diversity in international enterprises nowadays is a reality; therefore military coalitions are not the unique case. But I would argue that it is one of the most extreme cases in terms of the complexity of the environment itself (Cares, 2005:39-49), need for high-performance, unambiguous comprehension of dynamic situation, expedient decisions and appropriate precise actions.

NCO, by the name itself, imply a high degree of networking, but “the implementation of NCW is first of all about human behaviour as opposed to information technology” (Office of Force Transformation, 2005:3), which means that, in order to have an advantage over our adversary, we have to share the available information across domains of the military enterprise, make decisions and operate faster than our adversary. In other words, the efficacious teamwork is the most crucial and demanding objective we have to achieve.

Military operations in multinational coalitions are a far more complex issue than single-nation operations, due to the unavoidable different procedural, educational and perceptual backgrounds, which in many cases cause misunderstanding and frictions; therefore possible effects of national and, thus, cultural diversity on the implementation of the network-centric concepts in the coalition environment should be evaluated. In this section, I first suggest to analyze knowledge creation processes in deployed dynamic multinational military teams and identify potential issues affecting their performance. Later, I will turn to the effects and implications of cultural differences between nations, then shortly touch upon the intervening factors such as organizational culture and cognitive diversity.

#### 3.1 Knowledge in multinational teams

Multinational personnel form and most probably will continue to form a basis to sustain multinational headquarters and units. It is a prerequisite for Network Centric Operations that multinational formations should maintain a high degree of situational awareness (knowledge of situation) and the

ability to co-operate within the team and with other teams in the military enterprise. In order to fulfil this mission, personnel should be conversant with team's internal and enterprise-wide working procedures. In other words, every member of the team should have the same basic knowledge of how his multinational formation is functioning. Beside official policy and rules, as time goes, most of military organizations, regardless of their size, develop and maintain unofficial "code-of-conduct", comprising Grundyism of relations between team members, practice-proven courses of actions within certain situations and unique interpersonal affiliation.

When a new person joins the organization, it is obvious, that he or she needs certain time to adapt to a new environment in order to become a full-fledged team member. The more the new environment is different from that already experienced or expected, the more time is necessary for adaptation and reaching the state of ability to efficiently contribute to the teamwork. When, after a certain period of time, the same person leaves the team and organization, "his departure may reduce that organization's collective knowledge more than if its internal training manuals were lost" (U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, 2005:10).

Now, let's take an example of a given team dynamics in the multinational military Peace Support Operation (PSO). Troop-contributing nations normally send their personnel for various time-frames, depending on many factors, such as climatic environment, intensity of the operation, and nature of the position that certain person is supposed to fill. I would argue that most nations stick to the half-year average of the rotation cycle. It doesn't, however, mean that if nation is contributing the personnel to different positions in the same mission, all personnel will be changed within the same rotation cycle. If we have a team to which several nations are contributing military personnel with their national duty periods (rotations), it results in a very dynamic by its composition organizational element because of the overlapping national, usually not aligned, rotation cycles. I would like to stress that this is a common practice rather than the exception in the current operations in Iraq and Afghanistan.

For exploiting the promises of Network Centric Warfare, every individual within the team and the team as an organizational cell itself should develop, maintain and share situation awareness, or knowledge, which is meaningful in daily military business – analysis of situation and possible actions'

alternatives, decision-making, command and control, targeting and engaging the targets. In order to better understand how organizational knowledge is developed and maintained, let us take SECI (socialization, externalization, combination, and internalization) spiral model (Nonaka, Toyama, 2003:2-10). The organizational knowledge-creation theory distinguishes two types of knowledge – explicit and tacit. Explicit knowledge comprises the known things that we can express in a written form and share with others; it is based on knowledge of rules and definitions. Tacit knowledge is about the personal experience, know-how, skills and intuition – those “things we don’t know that we know”. According to the theorists, “... tacit knowledge is produced by our practical consciousness and explicit knowledge is produced by our discursive consciousness” (Ibid:4). To make a long story short, I just would like to briefly present the process of creation of knowledge, which involves four phases where knowledge is converted from one type to another.

Socialization phase involves creating new tacit knowledge and sharing it with other individuals within the team through daily social interactions. During the externalization phase, tacit knowledge of every member in the team is articulated within the group and, in the process of synthesis, is converted to explicit knowledge. Explicit knowledge, created within the given team throughout the combination phase, is combined with the explicit knowledge, created by other teams in own organization and other organizations. Then this knowledge is combined across the organization and becomes organization’s explicit knowledge. It automatically implies interactions between the teams in organization and between organizations. Organizational explicit knowledge in the internalization phase, via daily exercising, is converted by individuals to tacit knowledge, which then is applied in routine work. The last thing which should be mentioned here is that four phases of knowledge conversion amplify the level of knowledge itself; therefore graphical representation of tacit/explicit knowledge conversion process is not a circle but an expanding spiral (Nonaka, Toyama, 2003:5).

Putting team dynamics and knowledge building continuum together, I would argue that, in case of dynamic multinational military teams and organizations, it might be very probable that frequent change of team members would have a negative effect on the overall team performance in general, and on development of situational awareness in particular. Here by

situational awareness I mean not only relatively instantaneous awareness, widely discussed by advocates of the network-centric concepts, but the overall military enterprise situation awareness through the entire period of military operation. Creation of adequate level of knowledge (or awareness) within the team requires certain time; even longer time is required to share the awareness between the teams and develop organizational awareness. I would suggest that current multinational personnel rotation practice does not give the sufficient time for this. One could argue that military personnel is coming to mission areas already trained and prepared to work in tense military operation environment within multinational enterprise; however, I would like to mention that, first, even the most realistic training could not encompass all uncertainties of real life; and second, tactics, techniques and procedures for conducting Network Centric Operations are yet to be developed, therefore nobody knows whether the NCW doctrine will be present in all troop-contributing nations and, if so, would it be an interoperable doctrine. Situation becomes even more complicated when geographically dispersed virtual teams are coming to the scene (Alberts, 2002:135) – absence of face-to-face human interactions may have an uncomplimentary effect on knowledge conversion between tacit and explicit.

### **3.2 Cultural diversity**

Previous part discussed the impact of constantly changing composition of teams on the capability to develop situational awareness within the team and across the organization to which that team belongs. However, as probably noticed, multi-nationality was taken into account only to demonstrate its influence to the teams' dynamics. Gradually adding the colours to the picture, here I would like to introduce one more dimension – cultural diversity among the members of multinational teams. One of the most famous researchers and theorists in this field, Geert Hofstede, argues that “... people carry „mental programs“ that are developed in the family in early childhood and reinforced in schools and organizations, and that these mental programs contain a component of national culture. They are most clearly in the different values that predominate among people from different countries” (Hofstede, 2001: xix).

According to Hofstede, “collective programming of the mind” (Ibid:9) is what makes groups of people different and could be called as a culture.

Hofstede has suggested to present nations' cultural differences in five dimensions: power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism versus collectivism, masculinity versus femininity, and long-term versus short-term orientation (Ibid:29). NATO and EU nations, in three dimensions identified by Hofstede (individualism vs. collectivism, masculinity vs. femininity, and long term vs. short term orientation), from my point of view, either look very close to each other<sup>2</sup> or cultural diversity's effect on information sharing, collaboration, and self-synchronization is not evident. For instance, in case of individualism/collectivism dimension, most of the western (North America, Europe) nations belong to the group with high Individualism Index (IDV) (with the exception of Greece and Portugal), therefore I don't expect (and, in fact, I have not experienced) significant cultural differences in this dimension. Taking this into account, from here I suggest taking a look at how national differences in power distance and uncertainty avoidance dimensions may affect implementation of the network-centric concepts in practice. Referring to the tenets of Network Centric Warfare, I would like to analyze how cultural diversity may affect information sharing, collaboration, and self-synchronization (readiness to decide and act without superior's intervention) as well as readiness to integrate into so-called "edge organizations" (agile organizations with flattened hierarchical structures) (Alberts, Hayes, 2003:215-221).

**Power Distance** is a dimension, measuring interpersonal power or influence between superior and subordinate in terms of subordinate's perception (Hofstede, 2001:83). Characteristics of cultures with high Power Distance Index (PDI) (France, Turkey, and Belgium) are: centralized decision structures and more concentration of authority; tall organizational pyramids; reliance on formal rules; subordinates expecting orders; efficiency is achieved by authoritative leadership; and exchange of information is constrained by hierarchy. Characteristics of cultures with low PDI (Scandinavian countries, the UK, Germany, the United States) are: decentralized decision structures and less concentration of authority; flat organizational pyramids; reliance on personal experience and subordinates; subordinates are expecting to be consulted; efficiency is achieved by consultative leadership; openness to exchange of information vertically and horizontally<sup>3</sup>. I would argue that representatives of the first group (high PDI) would have more difficulties to realize the NCW tenets in their national organization and will be less capable to integrate themselves into networked enterprises, less willing to share the information

horizontally as well as to take self-synchronization initiatives without superior orders. Conversely, the representatives from the second group (low PDI) are more psychologically prepared to implement sharing of information, collaborate with peers and take the initiative, when the situation demands.

**Uncertainty Avoidance** is „the extent to which the members of culture feel threatened by uncertain or unknown situations“ (Ibid:161). Nations with the high Uncertainty Avoidance Index (UAI) (Greece, Portugal, Spain, France) are: affected by fear of failure; prefer to take tasks with sure outcomes, no risks and following instructions; are enthusiastic towards technological solutions; innovators feel constrained by rules; top managers are involved in operations; power of superiors depends on control of uncertainties; conceptions of management are highly formalized; are task oriented. Countries with low UAI (Denmark, Sweden, the UK, the United States, Canada) are: tended to hope for success; prefer to have tasks with uncertain outcomes, calculated risks, and requiring problem solving; are sceptic about technological solutions; innovators feel independent of rules; top managers are involved in strategy; power of superiors depends on position and relationships; ambiguity in structures and procedures is tolerated; are relationship oriented. Taking the mentioned characteristics into account, I suggest that representatives of the nations with higher UAI will more carefully analyse incoming information before taking decisions (probably more time for decisions will be necessary), will react rather than act, and rely on communication networks and information systems. Personal initiative in these nations is more suppressed by the rules, and there is probability of micro-management instances. This brings me to the conclusion that, in “high-UAI nations”, self-synchronization shouldn't be most preferable way of conducting military operations; however, what concerns the technological side of the network- centric concepts, these nations should be keen to implement it. National group with low UAI are more eligible to perform Network Centric Operations in a self-synchronized way, but will not heavily rely on technologies.

Ethnic or national dependence is not the only factor influencing cultural diversity. Other factors, such as organizational culture, make a big influence on individuals' values and perceptions. In case of multinational military teams, the good news is that all members belong to the same military cultural group. The bad news is that military organizations in

different nations maintain their own organizational culture, which after additional research surprisingly may appear even more influential than national culture (Hagen, 2006:90). Even more, each service (army, navy, air force) maintains its unique organizational culture. Therefore, here is a big potential that this type of cultural pattern may as well have an impact on readiness to share information, co-operate with other services and act without given instruction in concert with other units or teams.

While Hofstede is mostly oriented towards cultural differences and their influence on values, other authors identify behavioural and cognitive facets (Klein, Pangonis, Klein, 2000). While behavioural differences among different nations are easily recognizable, differences in cognitive field in most cases lack research mainly because of the risk of being accused of promoting national and racial inequality. However, I argue that differences in cognition, despite their intangibility, impact building of shared situational awareness, because the same phenomenon may be perceived by different cultures differently. Therefore, situational awareness as such and actual understanding of the situation may be perceived differently by representatives of different nations. To avoid any misunderstanding, I don't say that some cultures are smarter than others – I simply say that the way of thinking differs, and different conclusions and decisions can be drawn from the same information.

## **Conclusion**

The purpose of this article was to define some factors, influencing implementation of the Network Centric Warfare concept in the multinational coalition environment and to identify possible NCW implementation challenges.

First of all, discussing the present status of the Network Centric Warfare concept, we have to admit that the concept is still lacking theoretical argumentation and confirmation by valid empirical results derived from experimentation and real life experience. The current NCW theoretical basis as it is presented by its proponents in the form of not widely accepted New Economy Theory and reliance on questionable interpretation of Metcalfe's Law has a discouraging effect not only amongst the potential allies, but also within the significant part of the U.S. military community.



The postulates of the NCW tenets had raised certain doubts whether their logical chain can be accepted as an axiom, because it is not obvious and not yet practically proven that networking itself will lead to qualitative sharing of information, which in turn would result in right military decisions and common understanding among coalition partners. Mentioned doubts, along with uneven technological advance, probably were the main reasons why other nations just not “jumped to the U.S. train“. They rather induced the allies to take different national approaches to the network-centric military concepts. In case of further, purely national, development, the divergence of approaches would lead to the potential reduction of doctrinal, procedural and technological interoperability, which in turn decreases probability that Network Centric Operations in the coalition environment have a chance to happen in the future. NATO Network-Enabled Capability as a multinational initiative has the potential to provide the framework for the coordination and alignments of national developments, but its official three-year old history has not demonstrated great shifts in this direction yet.

Secondly, the already mentioned different speed of technological advance among potential coalition partners and existing, if not growing, military capability gap between the United States and its European allies reduce the possibility to construct a ubiquitous, seamless and interoperable coalition network infrastructure. The demand to build deployed coalition networks may, first of all, face the mere absence of capability among less economically developed nations to bring the adequate equipment to satisfy their own military requirements; therefore, their ability to contribute to the coalition network grid is even more doubtful. This will eventually lead to division of the nations in the coalition to those substantially contributing and those again taking a “free ride“. The worst situation that could happen is that some of the nations with their troops will find themselves out of coalition network coverage. The consequences may vary from the absence of situational awareness to “friendly fire” incidents or collateral damage.

Although most of the coalition members will manage to deploy sufficient number of equipment, it is not the end of the story. The past and recent experiences as well as future trends demonstrate that still a lot has to be done in order to interconnect national networks and make them transparent for the uninterrupted information flow between the members of the coalition. The main reason for this issue is a variety of national

military requirements and industry driven proprietary solutions, caused by notorious reasons such as uneven technological advance, availability of defence funds and lack of interoperability standards. Different and not always interoperable national approaches to network architectures, network management solutions and network protection techniques and procedures will continue to be a serious obstacle to conducting coalition-wide Network Centric Operations.

It should be underlined, that one more issue causing troubles in the multinational physical networking domain is not actually technological at all. Various bilateral political tensions and disputes among potential coalition members lead to finding various good reasons to not interconnect their networks whatsoever and to the absence of will to share the information, which may be vital to the peer in coalition. Military usually have no instruments to overcome this issue on their level – it is solely in the hands of politicians, therefore the problem will continue to resurface.

Thirdly, the current trends of Network Centric Warfare development show that, in most of nations, the main effort was put to the technological side of implementation, while human dimension is not sufficiently taken into account. The industry more than enthusiastically welcomed the introduction of NCW by throwing a vast number of “network-centric” solutions to the market. However, this enthusiasm has overwhelmed our minds with technological direction and obscured the human being as the strongest and, unfortunately, weakest element of any warfare, including the network-centric one.

Multinational military operations imply relatively high tempo of deployed personnel rotation, which in turn, as discussed in this article, has a negative effect on multinational teams’ knowledge sharing and development. The flaws in knowledge development most probably will seriously affect the ability to build and share situational awareness in a timely manner, which in fact is the main prerequisite and key to success in Network Centric Operations. Insufficient time for building team cohesion will weaken the overall coalition’s ability to maintain shared situational awareness, take effective and opportune decisions and perform military actions in a synchronized way.

Cultural diversity among coalition partners influence performance of multinational military enterprises; however, currently it is one of the most neglected factors. Dimensions of cultural diversity, such as power distance and uncertainty avoidance, may have if not decisive, then at least significant influence on the ability of the representatives of various cultures to integrate into a flat-structured multinational military enterprise, accept the Network Centric Warfare concept itself, put reasonably trust in modern technologies, show the initiative and take decisions without instructions from above and maintain readiness to share the information. Underestimating the importance of cultural factors will be a serious mistake, severely influencing the successful implementation of NCW concepts in the coalition environment.

It is also important to stress that different nations maintain different military organizational cultures and that their behavioural facets and cognitive patterns are not the same. Therefore, their performance indicators when acting in network-centric coalitions will differ. As a last word, I would like to say that cultural and organizational diversity as well as other specific national attributes don't mean that some particular cultures or nations are better suitable for implementing the network-centric concepts. It means that further research and careful adjustment of concepts is vital in order to acknowledge one day that the tenets of NCW work well in the multinational environment.

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<sup>1</sup> For a wide audience the term "Network centric Warfare" was introduced for the first time in US Naval Institute Proceedings Magazine (January 1989) by Vice Admiral Arthur K. Cebrowski and John J. Garstka in their article „Network Centric Warfare: Its Origins and Future“. A copy of this article can be found at [http://www.oft.osd.mil/initiatives/ncw/docs/NCW\\_Origins\\_and\\_Future.doc](http://www.oft.osd.mil/initiatives/ncw/docs/NCW_Origins_and_Future.doc), p. 1, accessed on 07.02.2008.

<sup>2</sup> Most of the East European nations were not evaluated by Hofstede in the 2001 or earlier editions of his book.

<sup>3</sup> Here and further in this part, the selected characteristics are taken from Hofstede (2001).

## **An Historical and Political Overview of the Reserve and Guard Forces of the Nordic Countries at the Beginning of the Twenty-first Century**

*By Milton Paul Davis \**

From the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, with the end of the Cold War there have been dramatic changes in Central and North-Eastern Europe, which have affected the security situation in Scandinavia. These changes have brought greater reflection within Scandinavia on the defence force structures, which were developed to meet the security challenges of the Cold War. An armed forces reserve and home guard were key elements of Cold War Scandinavian defence force structures. Are the reserve and guard forces still relevant to the contemporary Nordic security situation? This paper will overview the present reserve and guard situation in the five countries of Scandinavia by first explaining the role of the reserve and guard in the two basic defence models available: “total or territorial defence” and “collective defence.” Second, the paper looks at the relationship with NATO and the EU and the implication of the relationship to Scandinavian reserve and guard systems.

The dramatic changes in the Nordic<sup>1</sup> security situation with the end of the Cold War have been most evident in Scandinavia’s near neighbours, the three Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Less than twenty years ago, these countries were not only behind the Iron Curtain, but also inside the Soviet Union, and were the location of Soviet operational and strategic forces, which had a menacing offensive posture towards Scandinavia. Today the Soviet military build-up in the three Baltic states is gone and the three countries are not only free and independent, but have maturing market economies. In 2004 all three countries joined the European Union (EU) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The changes in Europe with the end of the Cold War are not only evident in the three Baltic states, but in smaller ways are also noticeable in other parts of

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Europe, such as Scandinavia. Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden are the five Nordic countries that make up Scandinavia. Denmark, Finland and Sweden are physically close to Central Europe especially the Baltic states, and Finland and Norway touch Russia. Consequently, the geography of northern Europe means that the menacing activities of the Cold War and now the absence of these activities have had a direct impact on the countries of the Baltic Sea Region.

The culture and history of Scandinavia are intertwined. The languages of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden are very similar and Icelandic is directly related to these three. Finnish is completely unlike the other four languages, but is very similar to Estonian, and English is widely spoken in all five countries. The five countries have had a long history of working together and from 1392-1448 were under one crown, the Union of Kalmar, and also the majority of today's population have the same Lutheran religion (Derry, 2005:64-85). This Nordic cooperation has not always been completely friendly since Norway and Iceland at times have been part of the Danish empire, and Norway and Finland at times have been under Swedish influence. However, since the end of the Napoleonic Wars, actual "civil wars" within Scandinavia have completely ended (Bellquist, 1933).

*Table 1: The EU/NATO Baltic Sea Region of Northern Europe (Thompson, 2007).*

NATO	EU	Country	Size (sq kilometres)	Size (sq miles)	Population of country
Y	Y	Denmark	43069*	16629*	5.4 m.
Y	Y	Estonia	45227	18370	1.35 m.
N	Y	Finland	338144	130119	5.2 m.
Y	Y	Germany	357050	137691	82.5 m.
Y	N	Iceland	102952	39768	309699
Y	Y	Latvia	65786	25400	2.3 m.
Y	Y	Lithuania	64445	25174	3.4 m.
Y	N	Norway	324219	125182	4.6 m.
Y	Y	Poland	312683	120727	38.6 m.
N	Y	Sweden	449793	173654	9 m.

\* Does not include Greenland and the Faeroe Islands

From the final end of the Kalmar Union in 1523 until the present the desire of the citizens of the five Nordic countries to have "inter-Scandinavian cooperation," with decreasing political, but increasing



economic and cultural interests, has grown (Bellquist, 1933). Many Scandinavian organizations have developed. Concurrently the most important organizations are the Nordic Council of Ministers, for government cooperation, and the Nordic Council, for parliamentary cooperation, which alone helps fund over 20 other Nordic institutions. In addition, all Scandinavian countries belong to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), and the United Nations (UN) (Nordic Council web, 2008). Between WWI and WWII and immediately after WWII, under the umbrella of the League of Nations and later under the early UN, serious attempts were made to have cooperation in defence issues and even to form a defence union among the Nordic countries. With the creation of NATO these concepts seemed to diminish, but now with the European Battlegroups, the concept of a Nordic defence group has reappeared (see Sweden below).

### **1. Defence concepts – total and collective**

The key to future cooperation within Northern Europe is self-defence starting with a military that is credible to both friends and potential enemies. If the Nordic countries want help from other countries including NATO members, they must be able to hold off the enemy at least long enough for that help to arrive. To restrain the enemy with limited budgets requires both a small professional military and a force that can expand the small army rapidly upon mobilization. To make this concept successful, a well-organized reserve and guard system is essential (NATO Information, 1989:77). The reserve and guard system is an integral part of the “total or territorial defence” which is a Scandinavian Model sometimes called the Finnish-Swedish Way. The concept is to have the whole country involved in its defence, not just the military. The Swiss use a modified version of this concept (Clemmesen, 1999). In total defence, business, industry, local government, etc. are all involved in integral plans on how to defend the country. Local armed and non-violent actions are employed to help the security of the country. It is not just a military issue, but also a national issue (Werin, 1999). This defensive strategy of “denial” and “total defence” can be adapted to the regional conditions of the local geography and can be summarized as follows: “...A great power aims at a swift military victory that forces the defender to capitulate militarily and surrender politically. Small countries must deny the aggressor its objective through

extended, small-scale actions. They must mobilize, at short notice, reasonably well-equipped forces. Total defence also includes passive resistance by the civilian population” (Trapans, 1998).

In a well-developed total defence system, standby reserves allow both active and reserve units to have the ability to grow when necessary in a rapid and organized fashion. For example, platoons become companies and companies become battalions, etc. This can be done by a conscript system that trains most of the adult male population to be ready to serve when needed (Gabrielsson, 1999).

The conscript system of most countries, using the total defence concept, has the troops on active duty for approximately one year. At the end of that time a few of the conscripts volunteer to stay on active duty or to join the home guard. But the majority become members of the reserves with some becoming part of organized units and others just ready for call up upon mobilization. Most of the Scandinavian countries also have a system to provide these reserves some refresher training every few years (Wadensjo, 1999).

But another model does exist from the total concept, and this is the model of “collective defence” which has been the main concept of NATO. Collective defence is normally institutionalised, by a treaty and an organization, among participant countries that commit support in defence of a member country if it is attacked by another country outside the organization. NATO is history’s most famous collective defence organization. Its Article V asks, but not fully requires, members to assist another member under attack (Colorado, 2008).

Before the end of the Cold War, Sweden and Finland mainly employed territory defence, while the other Nordic countries, as members of NATO, employed a combination of territory and collective defence. Today, with the EU developing its own defence initiatives and NATO reaching out to all of Europe, collective defence is becoming more important and, as the Supreme Allied Commander, Europe (SHAPE) has recently stated: “NATO has transitioned from a defensive alliance to a security focused alliance” (Craddock, 2008).

The question remains, are the Scandinavian forces credible and how do the political leaders see their use. If a force is not credible, it will not deter the enemy. "The greater reliance on Reserve Forces in future defence arrangements is an attractive alternative for political leaders concerned about defence expenditures... The cost of Reserve Forces is a fraction of the cost of ... Active Forces. Reserve Forces constitute ... a credible deterrence (and) a stabilizing and less provocative element to an opposing international coalition" (Gerry, 1990).

What is the position of credible reserve forces in the Nordic countries? One key element in the non-active duty Scandinavian armed forces is the Home Guard.

## **2. Home Guard units**

Scandinavian home guard units are similar to the US National Guard or British Territorial Forces. They are completely filled with volunteers, are attached to the local community and are frequently aligned with the regular military in training, uniforms, chain of command, etc. At the same time, they have a paramilitary function to perform as auxiliary to the local police/fire/emergency responders and their primary mission in time of total war would be to conduct unconventional (partisan/guerrilla) warfare in conjunction with the regular military forces (Trautner, 1999).

The home guard, recruited in local areas, provides great advantages when compared to active duty or reserve forces that are not recruited locally. In the home guard troops are:

- a. Spread all over the country (almost the same as being constantly mobilized in areas);
- b. Knowledgeable of the local areas (both geographical and societal);
- c. Volunteers: commanders and soldiers are always willing, committed and motivated;
- d. Deeply rooted in the social fibre of the society (almost a national popular movement);
- e. Financially very reasonable to keep on stand-by; and
- f. Bringing many civilian acquired skills to the units (Ullestad, 2008).

"Most of the armies (militaries) of NATO are organized with a mix of active and reserve forces. The size, composition, and the degree of mix is

usually the result of a nation's perception of the ... threat, "out of area" commitments, and (important) budgetary constraints (Tripp, 1999:3)"

As the above quote shows, NATO's use of reserve forces allows countries to use models, such as the total defence model, for their reserve forces. The following sections will comparatively examine the guard and reserve structures in the Scandinavian states.

## 2.1 Denmark

During WWI, Denmark was able to maintain its neutrality but, because of five years of German occupation in WWII, Denmark lost faith in neutrality and became a founding member of NATO. Thus later, when joining the EU, this constitutional monarchy, became the only Nordic country to be a member of both the EU and NATO. Denmark redeveloped its military at the end of WWII (US State – Den, 2007).

The Danish defence establishment consists of the Ministry of Defence, the Defence Command with the Army, Navy, Air Force, the *Hjemmeværn* or Home Guard (HG), the Emergency Management Agency, the Intelligence Service's Support for International Operations, and the Administration of Navigation & Hydrography. "The Danish Home Guard is an organization where the soldiers – on a voluntary basis – take part in the defence of the country." They train in supporting the police and the Emergency Management Agency as well as performing military tasks in co-operation with, and in support of, the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force as part of the Danish Total Defence Concept (Denmark's Ministry of Defence, 2004:5; 2004:33).

Since the end of the Cold War, Denmark has basically eliminated the concept of mobilization, thus the need for a reserve mobilization force is non-existent, but Denmark still has conscription. "Some of the ... young men do four-month basic training. Afterward about 25% ask to become professionals. The rest (about 12000 soldiers) are noted in a reserve register for use only on Danish soil in case of disaster or ... high threat level" (Jacobsen, 2007).

The HG in Denmark is not a reserve of the active force for mobilization and deployment outside of Denmark, but mainly a force for use in defence

against terrorism, as well as natural, civil or military emergencies within Denmark. The Danish armed forces used to rely heavily on a large mobilization force of reserve officers and NCOs (non-commissioned officers). Now the need for reserve officers and NCOs has declined to about 1000 simply to assist with training (Olsen, 2007).

*Table 2: Approximate numbers of Danish military personnel as of December 2007 (Hackett, Siebken, & Winkler, 2008).*

Total active military*	Army*	Navy*	Air Force*	Civilians [some in HG & reserves]
15790	9,240	3110	3440	6234
Total Home Guard [HG]	HG Actively Involved	HG Rapid Reaction Force	Full Time HG	Mobilization: <i>Estimated</i> total including active, HG, & reserves.*
51500	23000	3000	616	73500

\*Includes conscripts

The HG is commanded by The Chief of the HG and has a joint service staff to assist him. The HG, divided into three branches (army, navy, and air force), was founded in 1945 by veterans of the resistance of WW II, and it was later institutionalized by Parliament in 1948 (Tripp, 1991:24-25). The Danish HG consists of unpaid volunteers who receive their meals and transportation to and from training at the expense of the government. The members of the HG wear the same uniforms as the regular forces and are enrolled in a retirement programme (Jacobsen, 2007).

The Army HG is organized into five regions that are subdivided into 18 districts, 356 companies and over 1000 sections spread all over the country. Each section comprises 6-12 men and/or women. The Army HG has four basic tasks or missions: surveillance, guarding and securing key points, combat operations, and special tasks (Larsen, 2007).

The Navy HG is divided into two districts and has 30 vessels in harbours spread around the coastlines. "Its missions include: surveillance of coastal waters and harbours, search and rescue, naval control of shipping, demolition and the blocking of harbours" (de Jong, 1992).

The Air HG actually started between the world wars as observers for low flying aircraft (Jacobsen, 2007). The Air Force HG has two districts and provides basically two kinds of services: ground observing which monitors low-altitude air space and air base defence which assists with surveillance tasks, etc. Many of the members of the Air Guard are civilian employees of the Danish Air Force bases (Larsen & Clemmesen, 2008).

With the active military no longer having a large reserve, the HG has created a force of about 3000 of its best-trained members to form a HG Reaction Force spread across all five regions of the country (Danish political parties, 2004). This Reaction Force is made up of about 2600 Army Guard troops, 140 Naval Guard troops, and approximately 260 Air Guard troops (Larsen, 2007).

The Danish armed forces make up an important segment of the democratic society of Denmark. The missions of the armed forces are defined clearly in the legislation of the Danish parliament, in treaties and in the weaponry employed by the military. Historically, the Danish military was a force designed for defensive war, not offensive actions. However, with the Defence Agreement of 2005, the military is presently transitioning to an expeditionary force (Olsen, 2007). Recently Danish forces have had experience in Afghanistan in offensive operations (Jacobsen, 2007).

The military doctrine of Denmark obviously has a background based on total or territorial defence, as previously discussed, but modern Denmark favours the NATO programmes of collective defence and is involved with peace keeping/humanitarian missions of the UN, NATO, and other coalitions (Larsen, 2007). Thus, the Danish doctrine is presently evolving in response to these new challenges in ways similar to, but not as drastic as, the US Military's transformation to a more modern system. According to a new memorandum of understanding (MOU) signed in 2007 between Denmark and Iceland, Denmark, as well as Norway, will be taking on special missions to help Iceland which has no military of its own and is a member of NATO (see Iceland below).

The Danish standing armed forces consist of full time soldiers (who initially serve four months of conscription), NCOs and officers divided into the three services: air force, army, and navy. Today's regular military is separated into two distinct parts: the professionals who can be sent

worldwide and the conscripts who can only be used within Denmark or in combat if it is for the territorial defence of Denmark. Denmark trains about 6900 conscripts each year (6000 army, 600 navy and 300 air force). The conscripts' only purpose in peacetime is training (Hansen-Nord, 2007).

Since the end of the Cold War the active military is now more involved in world peacekeeping missions. In addition, the ending of the Cold War and the consequent reduction in the size of active forces have allowed the HG to take on more of the territorial defence issues that were handled by the active military. In an indirect way the Danish HG is now part of NATO's collective defence programme because they would be the troops responsible for the defence of Denmark while preparing for reinforcements, if needed, to arrive (Winkler, 2008).

As a result the HG is showing signs of and a potential for more professionalism. The Hjemmevaern's nationalist esprit de corps and stubborn determination are the basis of a force that could be very professional, competent and effective in defensive combat (Larsen, 2007). As this quote from an active duty American lieutenant colonel shows, the HG can function in the international arena: "During my tour in Estonia, the Danish HG was actively engaged in supporting the training of the Estonian Defence League ("Kaitseliit"). In fact, a full-time liaison officer, Commander Jens Koefoed, with an office in the Defence League headquarters, acted as an advisor to the Commander of the Estonian Defence League. He was intimately involved in the creation of a Defence League school with its own facilities and support staff. His efforts were recognized by the President of Estonia" (Teel, 2008).

## 2.2 Finland

Finland was not occupied during WWII, but the war had had a profound impact on Finland with a loss of approximately 11 per cent of its pre-war territory, including some economically very important sections, and over 100000 citizens of Finland had been killed or permanently disabled during the war. Finland ended WWII in a unique position because at different times during the war it had fought along side of and also against both Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia.

The early post-war development of Finland grew during the Cold War out of these ashes of WWII. With the absence of an active military threat from

the USSR since the end of the Cold War in 1991, Finland has been able to pursue a security policy that focuses on military modernization, restructuring, and increasing cooperation with NATO and the EU (Mil. Periscope – Fin, 2007).

During 1989, Finland joined the Council of Europe, then in May 1994 Finland joined NATO's Partnership for Peace (PfP) programme, which opened the door to possible eventual full membership in NATO, and, as of 1995, Finland became a full member of the EU (Kolbe, 2005).

The Finnish Defence Forces (FDF) consist of the Chief of Defence, the Defence Command, the Army, the Navy and the Air Force ("Facts ...Finnish...", 2005). As for Finland's paramilitary forces they presently only consist of the Frontier Guard (FG), which includes the coast guard and some air capabilities. The FG, really a border guard, is under the auspices of the Ministry of Interior and in peacetime the FG has the strength of 3100, but could be increased to 22000 during full mobilization when part of the FG would become under operational control of the defence forces (Mil. Periscope - Fin). Finland used to have a home guard/militia called the Civil Guard (CG), but the Treaty of Paris disbanded that in 1947 (Solsten, 1990).

With the end of the Cold War and the breaking up of the USSR, Finland nullified the 1947 Treaty of Paris, and the CG could have been re-created, giving Finland back its militia or home guard. Some Finnish citizens preferred this re-creation because they believed that the CG was one key to halting the Soviets in the 1939 Winter War. At the same time, many in Finland did not want the return of the CG because the name CG resurrects memories of the 1918 Finnish Civil War.

In place of the CG, the FDF in 2007 started creating locally placed emergency units to meet the needs of the communities for militia type components. This pilot project is called "Maakuntajoukot" (Provincial Forces (PF)). These PF, a *de facto* home guard, but fully controlled by the FDF, are built by placing voluntary reservists into company units. The PF members, who are reservists, receive all of their personal gear, except weapons, from the FDF and this gear is stored at their home (Toveri, 2007). "The idea is that these units can be rapidly used in peacetime assisting civil authorities in tasks that do not require use of force, like



search and rescue efforts. These units will also have a military task in case of threat, when they can be armed quickly for local defensive operations, like protecting installations. The PF are strictly under the FDF chain of command. On top of regular refresher training arranged by the FDF, the units may arrange additional voluntary training. If it includes use of arms, the FDF will provide weapons and instructors. The project has just started . . . The goal is to have PF units in every province in the next decade” (Ibid).

During 2007, with a total of only five PF company size units in the first test year, an accidental serious crisis happened in Nokia, a town in the middle of Finland. Some of these new PF units, even though not fully trained, were “mobilized” and used to help. They proved to be very successful and during 2008 another 23 PF companies are being activated working towards the goal of over 6000 PF troops in “Defence Companies” spread across the country. By 2010, these PF units will be involved in collective defence via host nation support for incoming allied troops. According to the Finnish Army Representative to Defence Command Finland, Colonel Pekka Toveri: “The Finnish Army is very satisfied with the highly motivated voluntary locally recruited PF troops who bring a lot of civilian skills and local knowledge to this new concept” (Toveri, 2008).

The present reserve system in Finland requires officers to attend refresher training for 100 days, NCOs for 75 days, and enlisted personnel for 40 days. The foundation of the armed forces of Finland is based on conscription and all male citizens starting at the age of 18 are eligible for mobilization. This requirement ends for privates at age 50 and for NCOs/officers at age 60 (Ibid).

**Table 3: Approximate numbers of Finnish military personnel as of December 2007(Hackett, & Toveri, 2008)**

<b>Total active military*</b>	<b>Army*</b>	<b>Navy*</b>	<b>Air Force*</b>	<b>Civilians [some in reserves]</b>	<b>Mobilization: Estimated total including active and reserves.*</b>
33800	25200	5150	3450	7200	275000

\*Includes conscripts.

The Finnish armed forces, especially the Army, are structured into four regional commands or Operational Military Provinces. The Finnish army has led the world in the modern development of the brigade, rather than the division, as its highest unit. The Finnish army brigades are only at full strength when including the well-motivated and trained reserves (Toveri, 2007).

The active military has three assignments: territorial defence of Finland, support the civil administration in natural or man-made crisis situations, and involvement in international peacekeeping. The reserves only have two purposes: Finnish territorial defence and support the civil administration in domestic or international crisis situations. History has shown that no one should doubt the toughness and creativity of the Finns in the mission of territorial defence (Engle, 1992).

The dynamics affecting Finland's security are associated with the progress of Europe's security and defence policy, the expansion of the EU and NATO, and the progression of social and military occurrences in Russia (Jane's ... Central, 2007). Finland is involved in active bilateral cooperation with Russia and accomplishes widespread cooperation with NATO under the PfP programme. Although its official stance is neutral, Finland has had troops in Kosovo and Afghanistan supporting NATO. Finland also seriously participates in the crisis management operations of the EU including joining the EU Nordic Battlegroup (see Sweden below) (Honkamaa, 2007). "...Sweden's present government is ready to take part in international forces led by NATO known as the NATO Response Force (NRF). The Swedes hope that Finland would participate along with Sweden in NATO cooperation. The NRF decision ... would be a significant step ... in cooperation between Finland and Sweden. And one step at a time, Finland could be joining NATO" (Jakobson, 2007).

As of May 2008, the NRF decision has not been decided on by Sweden but was approved by Finland on a limited basis. Thus Finland can participate in the training for the NRF, but will not take part in the rotations except maybe to fill a gap if a rotation is short of some troops (Toveri, 2008).

Finland, similar to the other Scandinavian countries, is a very large player on the UN's international stage of conflict prevention and crisis

management (Finnish Security ..., 2004). Working through Nordic cooperation Finland provides over 700 personnel per year to international peacekeeping operations (Jane's Army-Fin, 2007). All of Scandinavia has been extremely helpful to the rebirth of the three Baltic states, but because of similarities in language and culture, Finland has been especially supportive to Estonia.

Considering the overall total population, Finland has quite broad commitments to European and international operations that are second only to the territorial defence of the homeland. On September 6<sup>th</sup>, 2007 in Washington, DC, the Finnish Minister of Defence described the undertakings of the military, including the reserves, in Finland as three concentric circles: one for UN missions, one for EU/NATO missions, and one for the defence mission of the homeland (Häkämies. 2007).

### 2.3 Iceland

During WWII, when Germany conquered Denmark in 1940, the United Kingdom occupied Iceland. In July 1941, approximately five months before the United States entered WWII, US soldiers replaced the British troops on Iceland because Iceland had no military to defend itself (Thompson, 2007:84). Iceland is one of the few countries of the world and the only member of NATO that still has no military. Since there is no Ministry of Defence, all defence issues are presently handled by the Defence Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Vilhjalmsdottir, 2007).

Iceland does have a coast guard and police, but they come under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Justice and Ecclesiastical Affairs. The Icelandic Coast Guard consists of approximately 125 personnel with three lightly armed small ships. The police are broken into two segments: a 300 unarmed section and a 36 person heavily armed section called the Viking Squad or the Special Weapons and Tactics Team. In addition, the police have used search and rescue teams as auxiliary reserve forces for civil protection operations and other general supervisory tasks (Birgisson, 2007).

There has been some discussion within Iceland about increasing the size and organization of the police special operations by forming a reserve or "national guard" of approximately 500 to 1000 personnel who would be

able to provide some measure of independent self-defence for Iceland and assist with providing host nation support for incoming NATO troops as part of collective defence (Mil. Periscope – Ice, 2007). Draft legislation to create such a force has been presented to Iceland's Cabinet in March 2007, but as of February 2008 no action has been taken (Iceland's ... Justice Web, 2007). In addition, in December 2007, Mr. Bjorn Bjarnason, the Minister of Justice and Ecclesiastical Affairs, has stated that he will introduce legislation in the beginning of 2008 to develop a police reserve of 240 personnel to provide security for official visits of foreign dignitaries, for international conferences, and for use in civil emergencies (Birgisson, 2007).

Except for the small coast guard and the special unit of the police, Iceland's security and defence have depended for the last 56 years on its membership in NATO and its special relationship with the United States. The defence agreement signed on May 5<sup>th</sup>, 1951, in Reykjavik was amended on September 27<sup>th</sup>, 2006, in Washington, DC (Vilhjalmsdottir, 2007), and so, after 65 years of having U.S. military forces stationed in Iceland, the United States has withdrawn its forces on September 30<sup>th</sup>, 2006. Even though the United States promises to continue to defend Iceland, the government of Iceland felt it had to develop two new special agreements with other NATO members: Denmark and Norway.

Iceland's agreements with Denmark and Norway were both signed on April 26<sup>th</sup>, 2007, at the NATO Foreign Ministers' Meeting in Oslo and are very similar to each other. The agreement between Norway and Iceland is a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) and the one between Iceland and Denmark is entitled a Declaration. "Both of these terms (Declaration and MoU) are used to signal intent, rather than establishing clear legal obligations" (Birgisson, 2007).

These agreements could provide additional extra security to Iceland and the North Atlantic while continuing the NATO special training exercises in the Iceland area. The first of these exercises, named Northern Viking 07, was conducted in August 2007, and included some involvement of the United States and other NATO members (Iceland News Briefs, 2007).

Even though Iceland has no military, this has not prevented Iceland from being an active member of NATO and UN peacekeeping missions. In

2001, Iceland formed the Icelandic Crisis Response Unit (ICRU) and has since been involved in many worldwide activities using police officers, medical personnel, engineers, etc. in places like Kosovo, Afghanistan, Iraq, and Macedonia. It has been rumoured that Iceland might even consider providing a very limited amount of support to the EU Nordic Battlegroup, and this is from a country that is not a member of the EU and has only a total population of under one third of a million (Jane's ... Western, 2007).

## 2.4 Norway

Since neutrality did not save Norwegian shipping in WWI or stop German occupation in WWII, at the end of WWII Norway became one of the founding members of both NATO and the UN. The first Secretary General of the UN was Trygve Lie, a Norwegian (US State – Nor, 2007).

The Norwegian army officially started in 1628, but its largest wartime component, the Home Guard, the "Heimevernet" (HV), did not start until 1946 when the military was redeveloped after WWII (Kjosnes). "The HV was formed ... in response to the failed mobilisation of Norwegian defence when Germany invaded the country in 1940" (Jane's ... Western, 2007). Presently Norwegian defence consists of the Ministry of Defence, the Chief of Defence (CHOD), the Army, Navy, Air Force, and the HV (Granholt, 2007).

In the Norwegian peacetime armed forces, there are approximately 14000 personnel including approximately 8000 conscripts that are on active duty for one year (Rasmussen, 2007). Upon mobilization military strength would increase from the reserves of the HV (Knutsen, 2006). "The Norwegian Home Guard's mission is as follows: Secure key personnel, installations and infrastructure; Force Protection of own or allied forces; (and) at District Level: plan and lead military operations (and) support of civil society functions" (Kjosnes, 2008). "It is a force that can be activated at very short notice and whose members maintain their uniforms (and) personal weapons ... at home. Although the Norwegian HV is spread over the three forces, the (vast) majority ... wear Army green" (de Jong, 1992:46).

The Norwegian HV members receive some pay for training and they wear the same uniforms as the regular active armed forces. Also, Norway is

presently looking at developing some pension benefits for the HV forces (Kjosnes, 2008).

Most of the HV is basically a light infantry force held in reserve and available for active duty on short notice. The HV has been recently restructured from 80000 static personnel in 18 districts to 50000 in 13 districts (Mil. Periscope – Nor, 2007). The new HV includes approximately 5000 highly trained rapid reaction forces, 20000 follow on forces with annual training and 25000 reinforcement forces with less than annual training (“Norwegian Def.”, 2006:19).

The Land HV maintains a ground defence of Norwegian territory. “Its organization mirrors that of the (13 districts of the) HV. These are divided into departments and “areas” which in peace, crisis or war are under the district commanders of the HV, who have the main responsibility for the territorial defence of Norway” (Jane’s ... Western, 2007).

*Table 4: Approximate numbers of Norwegian military personnel as of December 2007 (Granholt, Hackett & Kjosnes, 2008).*

Total active military*	Army*	Navy*	Air Force*	Civilians [some in HV & reserves]
13200	7500	3500	2200	5127
Total Home Guard [HV]*	HV Actively Involved*	HV Rapid Reaction Force	Full Time HV	Mobilization: <i>Estimated</i> total including active, HV, & reserves.*
50000	25000	5000	530	69500

\*Includes conscripts.

Each “area”, generally a platoon size unit, is the basic HV element. “Home Guard weapons depend on mission, but include rifles, machine guns, mortars and anti-tank guns” (Tripp, 1991:60).

The Naval HV specializes in coastal survey, control, and protection. Its tasks include force protection, protection against terrorism, search and rescue missions, and overall, support to the operations of the armed forces (Norwegian Armed Forces, 2007).

The Air HV is specialized to secure the Air Force bases. It contributes guards, surveillance, medical service and NBC (nuclear, biological and chemical) protection. Overall its tasks include force protection and protection against terrorism (Knutsen, 2006).

“The HV has a national mission and will, of course, contribute to the collective defence of NATO – in Norway (by providing excellent host nation support)” (Kjosnes, 2008). HV personnel also can transfer on a short term and/or long term basis into other branches of the defence establishment for actions outside of Norway. As some HV units have improved and are approaching the training level of active units, they will soon be allowed to have whole units transfer into other military branches for international operations and thus this will be another way that the HV can be part of the NATO collective defence programme. “Generally speaking the quality of the HV has improved radically over the last five years, this due to better materiel and improved training” (Ibid).

The Norwegian HV has a special relationship with the National Guard (NG) of the USA through the State of Minnesota (MN) whose early settlers included Scandinavians. For the last 35 years over 100 HV personnel have trained each year with the NG in Minnesota, and over 100 MN Army and Air NG personnel train each year with HV personnel in Norway (There has been no Naval NG in the USA since the end of WWI). This relationship was the basis of the State Partnerships that were formed after the Cold War between the NGs of several states and the HGs of some countries that had been behind the “Iron Curtain” e.g. Estonia/Maryland, Latvia/Michigan, Lithuania/Pennsylvania, and Poland/Illinois (Minnesota web, 2008). A full time MN NG Lieutenant Colonel states the faith NATO officers have in the HV: “I have observed Norwegian HG troops in exercises in both Norway and in the USA. I rank the Norwegian HG as very professional, well equipped and well trained. I would not be concerned if I had to depend on these HG troops to help defend our fighting positions” (Olson, 2008).

In addition to the HV, each branch of the military has its own small reserves to supplement its forces in the case of a national emergency, with the Air Force tripling in size when fully mobilized. Unlike the HV forces that have their own missions, the reserves of the three branches of the

armed forces are designed to fit into the tasks of the active forces upon mobilization. (Granholt, 2007)

The king is head of state of the Kingdom of Norway and in that role he is also the commander-in-chief of the armed forces. "The Minister of Defence heads the Royal Norwegian Ministry of Defence and carries the constitutional and political responsibility for the activities of the Armed Forces" ("Norwegian Def.", 2006:7). The Minister of Defence expresses the political basis for the Norwegian Armed Forces (NAF) through the published Strategic Concept that "... sets the security and defence policy framework for the doctrines and operational activities of our Armed Forces" (Norway's Ministry of Defence, 2005). The majority of the people of Norway favour participating in NATO and supporting the EU's positions in the UN. Recently Norway, along with Denmark, has increased its exercise activity in the North Atlantic filling the void left with the 2006 withdrawal of US forces from Iceland (see Iceland above).

The above implication is that Norway, with an active duty military of only about 15000, has the confidence to provide extra security to another country. Norway is only able to do this because of its very dependable and high quality reserve and HV system that allows the country to feel that its home territory is secure. Another sign that Norway feels secure is its willingness, even though not a member of the EU, to participate in the EU Battlegroup System by joining the Nordic Battlegroup (see Sweden below) ("Norwegian Def.", 2006:6).

## 2.5 Sweden

Sweden, the most populated of the Nordic countries, is interestingly also the largest country in land area of all the EU/NATO nations in the Baltic Sea Region (Thompson, 2007:23). During and after WWI Sweden remained neutral. In the 1930s, there were abortive efforts at Nordic defence cooperation, Sweden's policy was armed neutrality during WWII, and it currently still officially remains non-aligned (US State – Swe, 2007).

Since Sweden is a parliamentary democracy, the defence establishment comes under the political authority of the prime minister as the leader of Parliament. The prime minister appoints a defence minister who exercises administrative control over the armed forces, but operational control is by



the senior military officer who is responsible to the Swedish Cabinet that includes the defence minister as well as the prime minister. The senior military officer, the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces, has the assistance of an integrated defence staff and is responsible for the Joint Forces Command, land, naval, and air forces as well as the territorial defence forces (Petersson, 2007).

The organization of the Swedish Armed Forces is the cadre system. With the end of the Cold War, Sweden now has no active units as defined by OSCE's 1992 Vienna Document (i.e. all units are maintained at less than 15 per cent of allowed strength). Thus the use of reserves, conscripts and volunteers can really allow the cadre units to defend Sweden on very short notice (Svensson, 2007). For the purpose of total defence, Sweden has been divided into three military districts: north, central, and south. It is the responsibility of the three districts to conduct training, set up territorial defence and develop cooperative programmes with the civil agencies (Jane's ... Central, 2007). Also, Sweden has a coast guard of approximately 600 personnel, but these are under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Commerce except upon mobilization when they become subordinate to the Ministry of Defence (Mil. Periscope – Swe, 2007).

*Table 5: Approximate numbers of Swedish military personnel as of December 2007 (Hackett, Stolt & Ullestad, 2008).*

<b>Total active military*</b>	<b>Army*</b>	<b>Navy*</b>	<b>Air Force*</b>	<b>Civilians [some in HG &amp; reserves]</b>
23587	9787	7900	5900	7275
<b>Total Home Guard [HG]</b>	<b>HG Actively Involved</b>	<b>HG Rapid Reaction Force</b>	<b>Full Time HG</b>	<b>Mobilization: <i>Estimated</i> total including active, HG, &amp; reserves.*</b>
33600	28,000	5000	400	100000

\*Includes conscripts.

Even though there is much debate within Sweden to eliminate conscription and make the military 100 per cent professional, at present the conscript system still continues many years after the end of the Cold War. Starting in 2006, the majority of conscripts served 11 months (instead of the previous seven to 15 months). Following the 11 months of active service, the conscripts are required to be part of the reserves or HG (Hemvärnet) until

they reach the age of 47. The reserves have periodic refresher training of about three weeks every four years for enlisted personnel. NCOs and officers serve three weeks every two years (Swedish Armed Forces, 2006, p. 11). Conscripts can only be used within Sweden unless they volunteer for overseas duty. Approximately 30 per cent of the conscripts do volunteer to help with Sweden's vast European and worldwide assignments (Jane's-Central, 2007).

“Since the beginning of the 1990s, interstate tension has decreased ... in Sweden's neighbourhood ... The Baltic Sea region is, to a previously unforeseen extent, characterized by stability & close ... cooperation. The further European integration, especially the memberships of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland of the EU and NATO, has decisively strengthened also Sweden's security. These positive developments are deemed to continue” (Vienna Document 1999, 2006).

With the reduction in interstate tension in the Baltic Sea region not only comes a decrease in the size of the Swedish military but also a change in the functions of the different segments of the military. As in the other Scandinavian countries, one change is the increased dependence on the HG and the improved training provided to the HG (Stolt, 2007). Since the end of the Cold War, a particularly important reason for the increased use of the HG in Sweden has been to have a war deterrent that allows a financially larger “peace dividend”. But even with a greater HG, Sweden still has serious problems with financing the armed forces according to a recent article (Nygards, 2008).

The Swedish HG has a long history with roots in the local militia groups of olden times. The present HG was organized after a vote in the parliament (Riksdag) in May of 1940 as neutral Sweden wanted to make sure to have a method to protect local families and homes in case of a potential invasion with WWII escalating in the whole of the Baltic Sea Region. The modern Swedish HG is the largest part of the territorial defence of Sweden. The personnel of the HG are volunteers and are drawn from the local communities. Besides the HG's military missions, it is also designed to support the civil community in peacetime disasters (Swedish Home Guard, 2007).

The HG includes approximately 7600 individuals from voluntary organizations (like the Voluntary Flying Corps, the Red Cross, the Swedish Women's Voluntary Service Corps, the Swedish Working Dog Clubs, etc). In addition, because military traditions are associated with military music and marches, the HG has over 30 local military bands, consisting of approximately 1500 voluntary musicians (Ullestad, 2008). Those members of the voluntary defence organizations who are not members of the HG make up an additional approximate half million citizens of Sweden who, in times of total emergency, could and would be types of paramilitary forces (Mil. Periscope – Swe, 2007).

The HG's voluntary members are divided into about 60 battalions (formerly about 80 battalions) spread across HG Districts, one or more in each municipality and some HG Areas. The HG trains for combat tasks annually plus sustains a high degree of preparedness by keeping uniforms, weapons and even ammunition at the members' homes. In addition to Swedish Army training centres and schools, the HG has its own school in Norsborg, near Stockholm (Jane's ... Central, 2007).

Sweden is not a member of NATO, and is only a member of the PfP and the EU defence programmes. Consequently Sweden is not as much involved in collective defence planning as Denmark, Iceland and Norway. But the HG, as the main modern defender of Swedish territory, is very well prepared to provide host nation support thus doing its part in collective defence for Sweden and her allies (Ullestad, 2008).

Members of the Swedish HG when training receive a stipend that includes their expenses, and members do wear the same uniforms as the regular active armed forces. Even though many come to the HG immediately after conscript training, all members of the HG are volunteers (Svensson, 2007).

As the following statement shows, even though Sweden has been a non-aligned nation for many years, because of NORDIC cooperation, officers of NATO nations have had opportunities to view the Swedish HG while working with the HV of Norway. One full time field grade officer observing Sweden's HG has had very positive impressions: "... I have also had chance to work with soldiers from Sweden and Finland (while training with Norway), commanded a Swede (HG) platoon during a PfP exercise, and witnessed one of their (HG) soldier's during this year's NOREX 35. I

have found them to be high quality soldiers and their leaders to be the equal of anyone. Their and our HG/NG Units are a wise use of funding, they are quality citizen soldiers that bring many other qualities and skills to the table. The benefit they provide, as a bridge, both ways between the actives & citizens, is immeasurable..." (Worde, 2008).

The other Scandinavian nations and Sweden, although relatively small in population, play a very large role on the European and world stage in peacekeeping missions. Sweden has, as part of the EU/OSCE, NATO's PfP, and the UN, taken part in Bosnia, Kosovo, Georgia, Afghanistan, Congo, Ethiopia/Eritrea, Sierra Leone, Sudan, etc. When the three Baltic states first became independent, Sweden played a very large role in providing assistance (Wadensjo, 1999).

Within the EU, Sweden has become the lead nation of the Nordic Battlegroup along with Estonia, Finland, Ireland, and Norway. This is one of several rapid reaction force structures of about 1500 troops set up by the EU's European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) (Svensson, 2007).

Even though Sweden is not a member of NATO, it was one of the first nations to join NATO's PfP programme when formed in 1994. The PfP agreement has given Sweden a far-reaching relationship with the Allies, including actions such as joint training exercises and partaking in NATO's operational programmes that allows Sweden to become a member of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC) in 1997. Sweden is now one of the Allies' most visible supporters, among the many PfP nations, with over 700 troops spread in Afghanistan and Kosovo under the NATO flag. The role Sweden has played for many years with NATO is unique, but a role that can set an example for other neutral countries like Ireland that has now joined the EU's Nordic Battlegroup (Hendrickson, 2007).

It is interesting to note that, for the first time since the 1815 Congress of Vienna, Sweden has made a significant shift to its foreign and security policy of neutrality. In December 2007, the Swedish Defence Commission made the following announcement as part of a press release: "Sweden will not take a passive stance if another EU Member State or other Nordic country suffers a disaster or an attack. We expect these countries to act in the same way if Sweden were affected" (Stolt, 2007).

## Conclusion

The programmes in the Nordic countries that promote interoperability, although complicated to coordinate, help to strengthen the credibility of the militaries in the eyes of NATO and any potential foes. The programmes increase the ability of the reserve/guard and standing forces of these northern states to train successfully to NATO standards no matter if a country is a member of NATO or not.

There is considerable debate among Western nations about potential new members of NATO and the defence mechanisms of the EU and how this improves security in Europe. According to a specialist on world security, Barry Buzan, international security is a five dimensional issue (military, political, economic, societal and environmental) and joining NATO only assists with one or maybe two of these dimensions. Some Nordic countries have also joined the EU. This step has helped add another one or two of Buzan's security dimensions. Through a combination of joining NATO and the EU, as well as generally working closely together with other European nations, maybe all five of the dimensions have been addressed for this northern tier of Europe (Buzan, 1991).

The positive attitudes of Scandinavian countries concerning joint cooperation in northern Europe should be contrasted with Russia's antagonistic attitude, which drives some of the external debate about the security of the Baltic Sea Region. Since the end of the Cold War should Russia be seen as the enemy or even a threat? Russia had hoped to develop a buffer zone between it and the West or at least a trading zone, but no one in the Baltic Sea Region is interested in being part of this "gray zone". "Russia's threats have produced precisely the opposite of their intended aim" (Blank, 1998). Russia's unpredictable actions, as demonstrated by its recent cutting off natural gas to the Ukraine, create tension and only fortify Nordic interest in looking westward to both NATO and the EU (Ruutsoo, 2006). As stated by a member of the Finnish Parliament on September 4<sup>th</sup>, 2007, in the Financial Times, "neutrality is a thing of the past" (Salolainen, 2007).

In an article, Lieutenant General Hillingsoe of Denmark states that a major reason for membership in a collective defence organization like NATO is that if a country is a member of NATO it does not matter if it is

defendable or not because an attack on one is an attack on all. Thus, an enemy would think twice before it attacks small nations, if it knows that all NATO would mobilize. A key statement the general makes is that for a group of small nations to survive they must work together and they must have a total defence system that mobilizes the whole nation. He and others advocate the theory that to mobilize the whole country, a strong reserve and guard system is needed that is quick to respond with credible plans and weapons (Hillingsoe, 1999).

In the field of collective defence, the Scandinavians have believed for the West (NATO/EU) to be able to help them, they must be strong enough to hold on until reinforcements arrive. The Nordic countries have helped themselves by adopting NATO standards for interoperability, participating in NATO exercises, working together, and developing both total and collective defence systems which include credible reserve and guard structures (Archer, 1998).

The reserve component concept first developed by the Swedes, Prussians (Germans), and other Europeans in the 17-1800s is very significant today in Scandinavia (Corvisier, 1979): "This idea that the army was not to fight the next war, but was to train the nation to fight the next war, should not be underemphasized! ... Theoretically, the Prussians believed, when the reservists marched off to war, his hometown support marched (symbolically) with him" (Gray, 1992).

This concept of total mobilization is what allowed Finland to successfully defend itself in WWII against the USSR. The guard and reserve systems of the Nordic countries are becoming professional. Therefore, the reserve forces are more easily able to mobilize within a few hours to protect strategic locations and be part of collective defence by providing host nation support. Also, if necessary, the home guard forces are able to form plausible partisan forces, which would provide an additional deterrent to any enemy thinking of attacking (Nordberg, 1994).

The home guard concept continues to develop in Scandinavia: three of the countries have HG organizations, and Finland is developing its "Maakuntajoukot" (Provincial Forces (PF)). The PF are in reality a HG that is under centralized control of the regular military forces similar to other Scandinavian HGs. In addition, Iceland is having political discussion

about the development of a “National Guard” to supplement its armed police.

As previously stated, one governmental reason for more interest in greater use of HGs is budget constraints and the reduced cost of HGs vs more expensive active forces. But as Sweden is finding, even wide use of the HG does not completely compensate for insufficient funding from parliament. Gradually the HG, if not properly funded, cannot train and be equipped enough (Ullestad, 2008). Since HGs are deeply rooted in society, HG members could form voluntary political associations whose purpose would be to influence elected officials to keep finances adequate. Extra Congressional funding for the NG, in addition to regular funding through the active forces, is the successful method used by the US NG to keep abreast of needs. The US NG members use the voluntary National Guard Association of the USA and other social organizations for this purpose.

The Scandinavian HGs have developed many similarities including compensating for training: some countries reimburse for meals and travel and some countries pay for certain types of training. Norway is even looking into developing a retirement programme for members of the HG, which indicates a willingness to integrate the HG with the total military as is the case of the US NG and its retirement programme (US NG part time members can start collecting retirement at age 60 after 20 years of service. The US Congress might soon lower this age to 55). One major difference between the three Nordic countries is that HGs in Denmark and Sweden are filled with volunteers while in Norway individuals can be drafted into the HG. Table 6 below compares the troop strength of the home guards in the five Nordic countries:

**Table 6: Approximate numbers of Scandinavian Home Guard personnel as of December 2007 (Birgsson, Kjosnes, Siebken, Tovei, Ullestad, Winkler, 2008).**

Country	Total in HG	Actively Involved	Rapid Reaction Force	Full time
Denmark	51500	23000	3000	616
Norway	50000	25000	5000	530
Sweden	33600	28000	5000	400
Finland	In early stages of building a 6000 person local force.			
Iceland	In the very early stages of political discussions about maybe developing a National Guard.			

All the HGs of the Scandinavian countries are becoming completely integrated into the military structure of each country by wearing the same uniforms as the regular forces, by the use of the same basic rank structure and by having the same standard equipment as the regulars. This intermixing of regular forces and HG troops is similar to recent changes in Britain with its Territorial Army (TA) and in the United States with its NG. This intermixing encourages HG professionalism and a better understanding and appreciation by the regulars of the needs and peculiarities of the HG. During a national emergency, when every second counts, a smoother transition is possible if all parties have a better understanding of each other. In the world, especially since the U.S. 9/11 terrorist attack, rapid reaction is extremely important. Iceland's earthquake in May 2008 shows that even a natural emergency can need auxiliary emergency guard forces that are well integrated into the system.

Officers of NATO countries, like Britain, have high regard for the HG troops of Scandinavia and consider them "... impressively professional and certainly on a par with our own ..." (Roads & Jenkins, 2008). In addition, the following quote from the commanding general of the U.S. 29th Infantry Division shows the high regard for the HG troops of Scandinavia: "While serving as the OIC of a Baltic Challenge (training exercise) for the U.S. Army National Guard I observed the HG soldiers from Norway, Sweden and Denmark. They were properly equipped and all performed in a very professional, well trained manner" (Hayden, 2008).

Since the end of the Cold War the Nordic HGs have changed from strategic reserves into operational reserves for homeland defence and security. The future could hold deployments for them to be used not just within their own country but also anywhere within the Nordic countries and the EU. This would be similar to U.S. NG units that while performing their "state militia" duties can be deployed outside their home state anywhere within the continental USA. As stated above, Norway is already preparing to do something similar to this for its HG.

Based on information from the many individuals interviewed, it is obvious that the reserves in Finland in the PF format (like a HG) and the HGs of Denmark, Norway and Sweden have greatly improved and become better equipped, trained, and employed since the end of the Cold War. In an unofficial survey of several non-Nordic defence attachés from two



continents stationed in Washington, DC, all agreed that Nordic officers are of a high calibre, but they suggested that the HG of Norway was the best trained. The one area that allows Norway to look possibly better than the others is its involvement in America's Small Unit Reciprocal Exchange Programme (SUE).

Norway and Germany are the only Baltic Sea countries that are part of this programme, but other European countries do belong (Britain, Belgium, etc). SUE is open to non-NATO countries as well (e.g. Australia & Singapore), and allows reciprocal training exchanges of company size units every year for training and 50 per cent of the costs are paid by the USA. Countries formerly behind the "Iron Curtain" might be able to get 100% coverage by the USA (Werley, 2008).

In the case of Norway, for over 35 years the HG of Norway and the NG of the USA, specifically the Minnesota NG, have trained together. Every year the Norwegian HG has had exposure to training opportunities from a non-Nordic source. Therefore long before the end of the Cold War, the recent European reductions in the size of active forces, and the consequent improvement of reserves and HGs, Norway has had some special company size training for its HG. Maybe this long-term special cooperative training can partly explain Norway's preparedness. Naturally, Norway's annual training with the U.S. military is only one factor, but it is something that could be explored by other Baltic Sea countries. The training opportunities allowed by law under the State Partnership Programme (SPP) between nations (like Estonia with Maryland, etc.), could be expanded into SUE by a memorandum of understanding (MOU) before the SPP ends in its present format.

As the following summarizes, and the above sections on each country help demonstrate, the Scandinavian nations are carefully modifying their reserves and HGs to deal with current situations: "Throughout the world military reserves are changing. National governments are transforming the relationships between their active and reserve components; the allocation of roles and responsibilities among reserve forces; and the way they train, equip, and employ reservists. One central precept is driving these changes: Nations no longer consider their reservists as strategic assets suitable primarily for mobilization during major wars. Whereas previously they managed reservists as supplementary forces for use mainly during national

emergencies, major governments now increasingly treat reservists as complementary and integral components of their “total” military forces”. (Weitz, 2007)

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<sup>1</sup> This paper uses the words Nordic countries and Scandinavia interchangeably, but the word Scandinavia can also mean only Denmark, Norway, and Sweden (Olsen, 2008).

## **“Uncle Bill” of “the Forgotten Army” or the Leadership of Field-Marshal Lord Slim**

*By Aivars Purins \**

*“If you can keep your head when all about you  
Are losing theirs  
and blaming it on you;...*

*If you can meet with Triumph and Disaster And treat  
those two imposters just the same..”*

*“If”, by R.Kipling*

Studying Field Marshall William Joseph Slim (August 8<sup>th</sup>, 1891 – December 14<sup>th</sup>, 1970) feels like rereading Rudyard Kipling’s “If”. This poem could almost be the best story of Slim’s life. Two of his superiors wanted to dismiss him but both times Slim was promoted to replace the two generals. He had to struggle to enlist in the officers corps, but he went on to take the post of Chief of General Staff of British Army. Biographer Ronald Lewin actually holds the belief that Slim was a marked man- “primus inter pares” (Lewin, 1976:47) - already in his early years of his life.

It is claimed that Slim commanded the first (Anderson, 1992:304) British offensive of the Second World War, but it was not a battle of lingering significance. The Japanese attack into Burma would build the occasion that would call for Slim’s remarkable addition to the war effort. He was transferred to Burma theatre on March 14<sup>th</sup>, 1942 as the commander of Burma Corps (Burcorps). At that point British were on continuous withdrawal already since January. This would develop into the Retreat- the withdrawal of almost 1500 km by May, 1942. British tried unsuccessfully to counter-act in the autumn of 1942. But Slim was only indirectly involved in this attempt; his main occupation at the time was initiated reconstruction of his force. Slim’s first and right away triumphal<sup>1</sup> engagement was the defensive operation around Imphal and Kohima in the spring of 1944. A year later Slim cemented the achievements of his transformed force with crowning operation that would recapture the territory of Burma<sup>2</sup>. Slim met

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Victory over Japan Day as a four star general in the post of the commander of allied land forces (CIC ALFSEA)<sup>3</sup>.

Slim has been recognised as the leader without comparison. That is evidenced by the suggestion that he was selected to the post of the senior officer of British Army in 1948 mainly because of the “insistent pressure of the populace, stirred up by his former soldiers” (Dugan, 1950:34). This paper is the study of nature of Slim’s leadership and focuses on Burma campaign during the Second World War, because it was there that Slim’s leadership was put in the open for all to see. However it does look at the particular operation to the limited extend, instead focusing on Slim’s personality and its actions in the particular context. The analysis makes a consideration and substantiate that the transformational leadership of Slim was the key to the successes in Burma. Slim’s leadership as the model of transformational leadership (Bass, Riggio, 2006) is the proposition of this paper. Transformational leader as defined by Bernard Bass (1996:4) is able “to motivate others to do more than they originally intended and often even more than they thought possible”. This is a case study that attempts to draw the attention to Slim’s achievements and highlight the ever important factors of a successful leadership.

## **1. “The forgotten army”**

Slim’s or rather Field-Marshal Lord Slim’s personality and leadership served as the catalyst in the process of changes in the British campaign in Burma. He turned around the situation of the complete failure- “the longest retreat ever carried out by a British Army” (Lewin, 76:58) - to the point of being claimed by one of his biographers to be the greatest British general of the Second World War (Lyman, 2005:261). The first part of the paper will explore the changes by looking at three parts: why, how and with what the catalysis or changes were accomplished by Slim.

### **1.1 The objectives of change**

At a time there was certain disbelief that Japanese may ever move into Burma. And when they did it in January of 1942, there was no one really responsible for preparation or actual defence of Burma (Slim, 2000: 10). British position was “a house of cards, erected on the quicksand of false hopes” (Lewin, 1976:79). Two month later in a search for efficiency it was

decided to organise the two divisions in Burma as the Burma Corps and introduce Slim to the theatre as the Corps Commander. And two more months later – on May 19<sup>th</sup> – the last unit of the Corps withdrew from Burma to India after almost 1500 km of retreat over the five months. The most distressing aspect of the retreat, according to Slim, was the lack of defined strategic objective. From his point of view this was the factor that turned the failure into disaster (Slim, 2000:535). “Commanders in the field... must be clearly and definitely told what is the object of the campaign” (Slim, 2000:536) was Slim’s conclusion about the causes of the Retreat.

The differing allied views have to take blame for the defensive and territorial attitude of mind during the Retreat. And the central issue was “Burma road” or the need to have a path to supply Chinese forces. With the fall of Burma to Japanese the land route to China was lost. United States established airlift operation (The Hump) and were looking towards a limited future campaign- just enough to open “new Burma road” from India to China. British thought that to be wasteful and advocated the recapture of Burma and re-establishment of the more effective original road as well as placing themselves in a better position for future operations against Japanese. Additional complication was the disagreement within British establishment about the possible strategic approach to the operation. Prime Minister Churchill held preference for amphibian and special approaches (Keegan, 1992:4-5) instead of traditional over-land operations. He even saw that fighting Japanese in the jungle is like “going into a water to fight a shark”<sup>4</sup>.

Though Slim was openly discontent about the lack of clear purpose during the Retreat, his campaign to recapture Burma was not setting up better. The priority of potential operation was unclear on the national- British- as well as Allied level. The view on operation was fluctuating from having amphibious assault – “from south” – to overland push – “from north” – and as well as the rather nebulous way of special force operations<sup>5</sup> as the main axis of advance. Slim set down rather actively to distil the objective<sup>6</sup>. Firstly, he persuaded Mountbatten, the Supreme Allied Commander of the theatre, that it would not require more resources by being proactive – “that were 14 Army to mount an offensive into Burma proper it could do so with no more resources than those that would anyway be allocated to the defence of India” (Lewin, 1976:229). Less than three months later he had



secured the agreement of the UK and the United States on further exploitation of Slim's overland advance ("Capital") while withholding the priority in the theatre to the amphibious operation ("Dracula")<sup>7</sup>. This preferred operation by the superiors comes to being only at the very end and then only as a sideshow, while central place is taken by Slim's "brilliantly daring operation" (Anderson, 1992:318)<sup>8</sup>. It was three months after the directive when Slim changed the pace and direction of his campaign. "Capital" was transformed to "Extended Capital" and that was done entirely on his own initiative (Lewin, 1976:209) without informing the superiors (Lyman, 2005:243). He famously took the risk and implemented his vision through the capabilities of his transformed force.

## 1.2 The ways of change

Slim was the outsider to the traditional higher officer corps. He was a son of Birmingham ironmonger- a lower middle class family – (Anderson, 1992:318) with no claim to impressive family name. He served in the British Indian Army and had not come through Sandhurst and had some difficulties to be promoted to Lieutenant Colonel in 1938 just because of his age. Therefore he could have had some tough time to be noticed and listened to by the traditional officership, but he himself was not making that kind of mistakes. "(Slim) was most approachable, and a ready listener to the ideas of his officers" (Lyman, 2005:234). It was not a sign of politeness or undecidedness, Slim was noted for his continuously absorbing and digesting approach to the experiences. Slim was "a pondering man... a pupil-teacher in the classroom of the world" (Lewin, 1976:10).

Historian Duncan Anderson suggests that Slim's slow ascendancy to an important posting was beneficial to his professional development. Historian implies that for the first thirty months of war Slim was very much assigned to the backwater where he could afford to make mistakes (Anderson, 1992:304). The disaster in Gallabat (Sudan) against Italians made Slim to commit himself to the imperative that if he would be having two options – he will work to implement the boldest one (Lewin, 1976:108). While the attack on Vichy France forces in Syria let him learn a lot about the logistics of manoeuvre warfare. Though it was not just about gathering the personal experience; Slim also distinguished himself over that time by learning from others experiences. There are examples of Slim's readiness to learn, absorb and distil the new ways. A significant one was

during the first days in Burma theatre when Slim got into conversation with a Chinese general who was the one and only at the time that had been victorious in a fight with the Japanese. The Chinese general told the concept that would be instrumental to the victories of Slim some two years later: “If you could hold the Japanese (nine days), prevent them capturing your supplies, and then counteract them, you would destroy them.” (Slim, 2000:192)

However that all had yet to come, in the meantime the experiences of the Retreat made Slim to write the famous conclusion: “The outstanding and incontrovertible fact was that we had taken a through beating. We... had been outmanoeuvred, outfought, and outgeneralled” (Slim, 2000:115). That was to form the baseline on what to develop the victorious army. Slim saw the lack of confidence, vision and robustness in the British commanders as the cause for ineffective tactics and lost initiative. Japanese approach was creating the shock and paralysis. The exploitation of jungle, the disregard for human life and tenacity allowed Japanese to psychologically dominate the enemy. The single most significant “instrument” of Japanese was the envelopment through jungle to put a road block on the British lines of communications. At the time British were tied by the roads, what lead to “a road block mentality which often developed into an inferiority complex” (Slim, 2000:119).

Robert Lyman observed that “the Japanese consistently moved faster and more decisively than British” (Lyman, 2005:62). As if prescribed by John Boyd’s OODA loop<sup>9</sup> – Slim intuitively recognised that his best defence would be the attack (Lyman, 2005:23) and, what is the most important, he realised that Japanese can be set in disorder by unexpected (Slim, 2000:121). Slim went on to define the four principles that would guide the operations against the Japanese. An operation must be offensive, its idea must be simple and overriding throughout and contain the element of surprise (Slim, 2000:209). The concept of defensive area (“box”) that should fight as a stronghold and envelopments of Japanese strong positions were the few important solutions to the difficulties raised by implementation of the principles. By the end of campaign in Burma he was employing blitzkrieg techniques for the first time in the eastern theatre (Lewin, 1976:230).

In contrast to the strategies of the Retreat<sup>10</sup>, Slim intentionally “gave away” territory to pull in the Japanese forces in the ground of his choosing. With the extending lines of communications and the onset of summer monsoon season<sup>11</sup> Japanese faced the disintegration of their advance. However the most exemplary product of Slim’s mastery has to be the offensive phase of campaign-the recapture of Rangoon in 1945<sup>12</sup>. The initially planned decisive battle in the plain in front of Irrawaddy River (operation “Capital”) was replaced by the envelopment to the South to strike at the Meiktila-nerve-centre of Japanese operations- crumbling all enemy resistance in the area (operation ‘Extended Capital’). After this the forces were “punching forward as fast as their fuel would allow, isolating and bypassing significant opposition, armour raced from airstrip to airstrip, where engineers prepared for the fly-in of aircraft under the noses of the enemy”. (Lyman, 2005:253) The end of Burma campaign has to be the exemplary display of indirect and manoeuvre approach.

Two qualities that are invariably present in such successful operations are jointness and mission command. As early as 1943, Slim was convinced that successful operations were in fact “air-land” operations (Lyman, 2005:129). He believed in the need for seamless work of both services at all levels to the degree that he insisted that HQs of both services are located in a common location (Slim, 2000:546) and that they share the same mess (Lyman, 2005:129). Air supply was the distinctive aspect of Burma campaign. Slim experimented, developed and implemented also afterwards widely used methods of air transport (Slim, 2000:544), while Supreme Commander did his utmost to secure from the United States the minimum required squadrons of planes. By the end of campaign British Air Marshal concluded, that “Slim was quicker to grasp the potentialities and value of air support in the jungles of Burma than most Air Force officers” (Lyman, 2005:226). Slim had to be air-mined because he based his strategy on the air supply. As regards the mission command – it was somewhat self-explanatory to Slim (Lyman, 2005:240). In the jungle companies and platoons became the basic units. It was difficult to maintain the lines of communications as well as Slim believed in the force of empowered people. He encouraged to act “in anticipation of orders, or without waiting for approval” (Slim, 2000:542).

### 1.3 The tools of change

Slim formed his objectives and applied the methods and techniques of change, but the most significant was his work with men – establishing the force to execute the change. From the experiences of the early defeat it was acknowledged that there is the requirement to go back to basics – the individual training. Slim wrote down the tactical lessons that were promulgated as training directive. It started with the idea that “the jungle itself is neutral” (Green Hell, 1949). That is the later reflection on jungle warfare by Spencer Chapman, but Slim had come to similar understanding which he wanted to instil in his troops. The seven other lessons (Lyman, 2005:77) followed from this. Firstly, patrolling is the key and Japanese in the rear have to be seen as “surrounded” and not otherwise round. Simultaneously, the reliance on long and static lines of communication as well the frontal attacks on narrow fronts should be forgotten. Forces have to exploit the armour to the maximum and remember that there are no non-combatants in jungle. Nonetheless, it should be remembered that the primary fight is to be for the initiative. The fundamentality of this thinking is shown by the fact that these principles formed the basis of the British Army’s approach to jungle warfare for some decades after the war (Lyman, 2005:77).

As ever, practising what he preached, Slim started by retraining his HQ<sup>13</sup> from colonial and static institution to the one which could pack in a couple of hours and open up for several days at time in jungle as a properly camouflaged working headquarters and whose every member went through qualifying courses on use of all personal weapons. Slim went on to establish infantry battle schools, artillery training centres, co-operations courses with air force, experiments with tanks, classes in river-crossing and other instructional activities to train his force (Slim, 2000:146). The training ultimately expanded to collective training at the level of inter-divisional live exercises in the jungle. Training would make good start to build confidence of troops, however there is noted the revelation of Slim’s greatest strengths as a general (Anderson, 1992:313). He again single-handedly developed the theory on the foundations of morale as he called it (Slim, 2000:182). Later British Military Doctrine would call that as hierarchy of Fighting Power<sup>14</sup>, but John Boyd would conceptualise that as the three levels of war (Lind, 2003).

Depressingly high incidences of desertion as well as the picturing the Japanese as supermen of jungle were the signs of dangerously low morale in 1943 (Slim, 2000:181). Success is the easy way to high morale but Slim did not have it. He had to build it and the foundations were to be spiritual, intellectual and material, with this order of the importance (Slim, 2000:181-196). The development of spiritual foundation was relying on Slim's transformational leadership. The men had to be inspired by the cause and each needed to feel as part of something greater than themselves- as a team for common and worthy cause. The intellectual foundation was to achieve the confidence that Japanese can be beaten. Firstly, the full scale of training, then patrols in small groups and later in larger formations, but always with the numeral superiority. That was the road to the common recognition that the object was attainable. It was complimented with the belief that the army was efficient organisation that can expand on the achieved intellectual recognition of its capability. Discipline, theatre newspaper and good quality of the rest and re-enforcement camps were tools to the fully built intellectual foundation. The last material foundation was very much at the mercy of the outside decisions as example- the supplies. However there again Slim's leadership was transforming the meaning of the sulky label "the Forgotten Army" to the assertive motto of "God helps those who help themselves". Slim's contemporary Lt.Gen.Nye even went on to suggest that this ability to do so much with so little was a measure of Slim's true greatness.

Slim wrote that his 14<sup>th</sup> Army had only two items of equipment of unlimited amount from start to finish: their brains and their courage (Slim, 2000:194). Nevertheless he was concerned about the supplies<sup>15</sup> (Slim, 2000:169). The solution to the supply anxiety was threefold. Firstly, Slim recognised the importance of logisticians by having general in charge of administration<sup>16</sup> as the senior staff officer. Secondly, there was a strong drive to limit the need and therefore the volume of supplies. He again started with his HQ who got assigned a limited number of lorries, but there was also a widespread search for efficiencies – cutting of margins. It was managed to reduce the standard requirement of supplies from 400 to 120 tons a day for an Indian division in action, without loss of battle efficiency or morale (Slim, 2000:540). Slim stressed the enduring relationship between mobility, size of staffs and effective control, while noting the sure ability of bureaucracy to bog down itself to standstill. The last and most significant solution on this list is the self-reliance or inventiveness by necessity. Slim's

army built roads, airstrips, ships and at times even fought with the aim to assist logistical efforts<sup>17</sup>.

The binding item between the tools of change was the commanding coalition of generals. Slim was lucky, at the time of the appointment to Burma theatre to have the presence of close friends. He said that he have not heard of any other occasion when the corps commander and both his divisional commanders came from the same battalion (Lewin, 1976:41). Later Admiral Mountbatten lingered to appoint Slim as Commander of the 14<sup>th</sup> Army, but having met him, he made the appointment on the spot (Lyman, 2005:270). And there is expressed little doubt that from the end of 1943, “the whole of far Eastern campaign revolved around the Mountbatten Slim axis, ... They were complementary” (Lewin, 1976:128).

Historian Anderson writes that “Burma was a peculiarly fitting trial for Slim’s abilities” (Anderson, 1992:307). It was his people skills that allowed him develop and succeed in a form of warfare that was based on human factors then on lavish equipment (Slim, 2000:549). From putting into focus the strategic objectives to manoeuvring forces Slim pressed on the process which exposed tactical freedom in a strategic context. It was done with limited resources, but with a lot of experimenting and inventiveness. Yet Slim’s interest and capability to work with men was his core skill that made the change happen in Burma as well as uplifted Slim to the top of his profession.

## 2. “Uncle Bill”

“Those who do not wish to go on that journey, we will not send” (Macintyre, 2003) began Col.Collins of Royal Irish Regiment in his now legendary “rallying cry” on the eve of Iraq War in 2003. His “simple and stirring prose-poem for the 21st-century soldier” (Macintyre, 2003) draws upon the affluent history of British military leadership. Leadership authority John Adair is drinking from the same well of British military leadership when he states: “Wellington and Nelson, Slim and Montgomery – yes, the armed services do grow leaders.” (Adair, 2007) Slim is the one of “Churchill’s generals” that is not only mentioned often in the same sentence with the selected few (Lyman, 2005:2), but he is also prized by the comparison to Guderian, Manstein and Patton (Anderson, 1992:319).

Clearly, the military competence is common characteristic of all these towering men, but capacity of leadership must be the one excelling them.

## 2.1 A discourse on nature of leadership

It is reported that Socrates was convinced to say that while “tactics” is important (Xenophon), the ability to lead is the overshadowing force. He justified a merchant for a post of “general” instead of military man, because of the former’s shown capacity to lead (Xenophon). Socrates view is beautifully reinforced by author John Buchan as quoted by J.Adair: “The task of leadership is not to put greatness into people but to elicit it, for the greatness is there already” (Adair, 2007).

“[Men] would rather be led than managed,” (Adair, 2003:253) was also what Slim said, believed and practiced. He recognised the importance for the leader to be knowledgeable about the jobs of subordinates, but he was clear in pointing out that there is one knowledge that should always be present in the leader – that of men (Adair, 2003:71). Though Slim appeared to view the actual nature of leadership to be a somewhat mysterious. “It is an extension of personality. Leadership is an extremely personal thing” (Slim, 1963). He did not see much in what is currently called functional leadership theory. It was an approach too much managerial. He felt some sympathies towards the so-called situational leadership theory, but only up to a point beyond which the technical competence of the leader holds increasingly diminishing importance. Conversely Slim was a distinct proponent of quality approach to leadership.

Slim produced his own list of the qualities he saw required in the personality of successful leader. Courage, Will-power, Judgement, Mental flexibility, Knowledge and Integrity are the six qualities of a leader suggested by Slim. Mental flexibility was the quality of a leader that attracted the most attention of Slim. “The hardest test of generalship is to hold (the) balance between determination and flexibility” maintained Slim. He recognised the determination of his opposition – Japanese in Burma, their boldness and confidence (Slim, 2000:118), but that he considered also as their Nemesis – “lack of flexibility was a major Japanese fault” (Lewin, 1976:185). The failure by Japanese field commanders to exploit the actual encirclement of British forces in Burmese capital in the early stages of the Retreat (Slim, 2000:14) or the stubbornness to continue to engage harder

but less strategic objective as Kohima instead of Dimapur (Lewin, 1976:185) are the two of the experiences for Slim to say that Japanese leaders lacked an important quality of leadership – the courage to recognise a mistake and overcome it by the mental flexibility. “Time and again you will see in leaders a conflict between flexibility of mind and strength of will ... (but) every man must work this balance out for himself” (Adair, 2003:184). Slim agreed that it varies, but he still could not stress enough the critical importance of this quality to a leader.

## **2.2 Slim as a transformational leader**

“Leadership is not imposed like authority. It is... wanted by the led” (Holmes, 2004:340). Leadership could obviously be exercised by authority however the authority without leadership can only “buy” the compliance and then only for a short term. It is rather difficult to see how an authority in the military could be operating without the leadership, when the circumstances of challenge require the leadership the most. Slim was visibly carrying out the leadership by stimulating and inspiring followers to achieve extraordinary outcomes and, in the process, developing his leadership skills as a prototypical transformational leader (Bass, Riggio, 2006:3).

The conceptual alternative to transformational leadership would be transactional one, but that is not something one could apply in Burma. There soldiers at a point in campaign had begun to refer to themselves as “the Forgotten Army”. This sign of the breach in the covenant at the mental level had to be bridged in the hearts of men. Slim set out to build “that intangible force which will move a whole of men to give their last ounce to achieve something, without counting the cost to themselves” (Slim, 2000:182). Slim was about to perform transformational leadership and there is said to be four components of transformational leadership: idealised influence, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation and individualised consideration (Bass, Riggio, 2006:5).

Slim’s idealised influence was exposed by generating the collective sense of mission. General was distinctive in his “identification of himself with his men, ... men of (his) army...spoke of fighting with, not under him”. Slim committed itself to get the men know him. It was his conviction that he has to speak to all and every combat unit of the Army. “My platform was



usually the bonnet of my jeep with the men collected anyhow around it” (Lyman, 2005:65) he wrote about his reach out to every one of the half-million in the army. In doing so he made men familiar with himself as well as he strived to stress that even the seemingly inconsequential effort as telephone operator’s, sweeper’s or quartermaster’s orderly’s do matter, fits into and contributes to the whole success.

The other aspect of his idealised influence is his mental stamina and resilience in the face of challenges. “He never knew when he was beaten. By retaining his composure he was able to retain the confidence of his men” (Lyman, 2005:63). Without exceptions Slim spoke to men cheerfully, “carrying in his hands the gifts of faith and self-confidence” (Lewin, 1976:91). The confidence he was radiating, argued psychologist Norman Dixon, was earning him the affection of his men “...perhaps more than any other commander ... since Nelson” (Lyman, 2005:66). By the middle of Burma campaign General Slim become universally called by his man as ‘Uncle Bill’. This sobriquet is the symbol of the partnership Slim was building. However, the most symbolic display of collective sense of mission building was also a little bit theatrical: “When any of the forward formations had to go on half rations, as throughout the campaign they often did, I used to put my headquarters on half rations too” (Slim, 2000:195).

“But in the end every important battle develops to a point where there is no real control by senior commanders. ...the dominant feeling of the battlefield is loneliness,” (Lewin, 1976:71) said Slim. That is why he felt the need to be engaged with the every man, because there is required “the resolution and spirit of each man” (Lyman, 2005:137) to go on even if he is all alone in the thick jungle. Slim conceptually recognised and considered important the second component of transformational leadership- inspirational motivation. He is said to be almost the only one form British generals of the Second World War, who possessed “the common touch- the ability to communicate high ideals in simple language” (Anderson, 1992:314). Slim was winning over his subordinates by manifestly talking sense (Lewin, 1976:126). Biographer Ronald Lewin goes still further and suggests that “the essence of Slim’s achievement with the 14<sup>th</sup> Army was precisely this- the ability to communicate the faith that moves mountains” (Lewin, 1976:137). The inspirational motivation by Slim must have been as good as it may get.

The third component of transformational leadership is the intellectual stimulation. Maybe that is because of many years spent as student, instructor and commandant, but this element of transformational leadership almost seems to be inherent to Slim. "Commanders' conferences were not unlike post-graduate university seminars, with Slim as Chairman, guiding but not dominating discussion" (Lyman, 2005:233) observed historian Duncan Anderson. Slim was not in favour of decisions by committees, however he was very much "a natural democrat, sparing no pains to elicit from his subordinates a full spectrum of opinion about any important problem" (Lewin, 1976:194). And he was given the views and even the adverse ones, because he was respectful, approachable and good listener. Slim did not only consolidate and value the views, he "was also quick to pass on credit to his subordinates rather than accept it for himself" (Lyman, 2005:234). Still the intellectual stimulation was encouraged the most by the allowances to make mistakes. General Slim adopted a policy of allowing commanders to make mistakes "as long as they proved that they were able to learn from them" (Lyman, 2005:148). It must be because of his personal experience and a suspected concurrence with the Einsteinian aphorism that "anyone who has never made a mistake has never tried anything new" (Thomke, 2003:5).

The last conceptual component is the individualised consideration. At a point in this memoir General asserts (Slim, 2000:184) that the direct approach to the individuals is the way to achieve the surge in the fighting spirit. However this seems to be forgetting the enduring presence of a trait of his personality. "Slim was profoundly interested in people, with all the strength and weaknesses of the human condition, far more than he was interested in rank or status, behind which personal frailties lay obscured" (Lyman, 2005:115) asserts Slim's biographer Robert Lyman. From early civilian employment till the last public engagements he has applied the principal thought that a person is never a statistics. "(Slim) recollections are studded... with... precise and vivid details about individuals." (Lewin, 1976:113) He knew that he have to approach individually to be heard, but he also was well aware that everybody is special in his own right.

In Burma campaign he had to be sensitive about the individual interests. His Army consisted of only about 19% British troops, while more than half of troops were Indian (Lyman, 2005:227). Despite the knowledge of languages (Gurkhali, Urdu and Pashtu (Lewin, 1976:111) it was impossible

to reach literary each and everyone, but it is claimed that he was instrumental in creating the atmosphere of credibility in the Army to the lowest possible level of hierarchy. On the other end of this attentiveness to the individual is his unique relationship with two most famous and “picturesque” officers in the theatre – Wingate and Stilwell. Both were very challenging personalities. However they were placed under Slim’s command and Stilwell actually choose to be subordinated to Slim. Stilwell, an animated American, found Slim as the only British officer to whom he felt to be able to be subordinated, despite the fact that the operational command of the Stilwell’s forces normally would have had to be done by a higher level command than Slim’s.

These examples underline Slim’s aptitude to pay attention to the individual thereby enabling him to pull off the conception of shared ownership, commitment and involvement. Slim was looking to avoid as much as possible the staff officer positions during his military career. He recognised himself being much better employed at commanding positions – leading the troops. The transformational leadership is a comparatively young management jargon; however the leadership executed by Slim in Burma presents itself as the prime example of what we currently call the transformational leadership.

## Conclusion

Slim is the personality nowadays most associated with the turnaround executed by British in Burma during the Second World War. The fact that the turnaround actually was attempted is itself significant; it required the strength to face the low priority of the theatre and the most destabilising experiences of the long British retreat. Slim was shrewd to establish at the start that British were not mentally, intellectually or materially prepared for the war with Japanese. He observed Japanese warfare and introduced the tactics that neutralised British disadvantages and at the same time formulated the principles of coming operations that would make possible to take away from Japanese the initiative. And along the way Slim established practice of jungle warfare and air supply that would have an enduring effect.

“Slim was a complete general” (Lewin, 1976:210), wrote Ronald Lewin, however this completeness hanged very much on Slim’s leadership skills.

At the end of the Retreat there was not a problem for people to recognise a disaster. It was the opposite – the disaster was seen on much greater scale than it was justified by the reality. The Japanese invasion into Burma was the stumbling block of British troops, but Slim was a source of energy that would get the army back on its feet and brace it to turn the doom of defeat into the assurance of victory. Trust, integrity and loyalty are said (Lewin, 1976:142) to be the founding concepts of Slim's life pattern. They were the bridge from Slim defined list of qualities he was seeking in a leader to the notion of transforming leadership. This triangle of personality, traits and process of leadership formed Slim's paradigm of transformational leadership – “the ability communicate the faith that moves the mountains” (Lewin, 1976:137).

Transformational leadership is about releasing people's inner force therefore it is not surprising that Slim maintained the view that Burma campaign holds a timeless significance (Slim, 2000:535). Beyond leading his man in a very “hands on” manner, Slim provides an example of leadership that not only emancipates individuals but also controls this newfound strength to the profit of his objectives. Coalition framework, multinational force, ultimate jointness and indirect and flexible approach are all the important concepts that Slim work through in transforming and leading his force.

Whatever the form or scope of warfare, Slim was convinced that there would continue to be two requirements- “skilled and determined junior leaders and self-reliant, physically hard, well disciplined troops” (Slim, 2000:549) while the victory would go to “the tougher, more resourceful infantryman” (Slim, 2000:540). These issues must have been perceived as “a bit” oldish in the “massive retaliation” environment of 1956 when they were written, but they sound more than actual today. He was the leader that saw and insisted on the importance of the individual and there he felt to be placed the true and perpetual role of the leader – to lead and empower the men.

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<sup>1</sup> General Slim was knighted for the success in Kohima/Imphal battles.

<sup>2</sup> There were two other forces in parallel action against Japanese in Burma at different times. Chinese forces under the formal command of US General Joseph Stilwell were engaging Japanese from China, while British organised two special forces (Chindits) operations- long range patrols- large formations going deep beyond Japanese lines.

<sup>3</sup> CIC ALFSEA: Commander-in-chief Allied Land Forces South East Asia

<sup>4</sup> (Lewin, 1976:123) *“Going into swampy jungle to fight the Japanese is like going into a water to fight a shark. It is better to entice him into a trap or catch him on a hook and then demolish him with axes after hauling him out onto dry land”*. his is the full text of memo written by Churchill to the Chiefs of Staff on May 8, 1943. There could be claimed that Slim was actually exercising this approach to the problem, but he was doing that exactly by going into the jungle.

<sup>5</sup> There continues to be debated the role of the two Chindits operations (Long range penetration operations). However, there is rather broad agreement that the first operation definitely provided boost to morale in the Army.

<sup>6</sup> It is interesting to note that Slim himself was very certain about the direction he would have to explore- it would be from the north. He developed 14<sup>th</sup> Army badge with the sword, hilt upper most, what is even against the prescriptions of the heraldry.

<sup>7</sup> The full text of the relevant paragraph of Quebec conference directive (16/09/44) reads the following: *“3. If Dracula has to be postponed until after the monsoon of 1945, you will continue to exploit Operation Capital as far as may be possible without prejudice to preparations for the execution of Operation Dracula in November 1945”* (Lewin, 1976:197).

<sup>8</sup> Slim changed the operation (“Capital”) from the limited one where was planned to engage Japanese forces on the shores of Irrawaddy to the operation (“Extended Capital”) that combined further advances over Irrawaddy on Mandalay with an undercover enveloping movement to south striking the logistics and command centre of Japanese armed forces at Meiktila. At much higher scale and level, but this was an execution of “hammer and anvil” tactics that was so well developed and applied in tactical engagements of jungle.

<sup>9</sup> OODA- observe, orient, decide and act. This is a popular result of Col. John Boyd work, which represents his studies of the epistemology, game theory, military experience and history. The idea is that the one that is able to orient and act first would confuse the opposition and gain advantage.

<sup>10</sup> Battle of Imphal/Kohima (March 1944-June 1944).

<sup>11</sup> The monsoon played the significant role also in the two other years of the campaign. The chase of the Retreat by Japanese halted with the onset of annual monsoon in 1942, while the predictable date of the start of monsoon was the target date for recapture of capital- Rangoon- in 1945.

<sup>12</sup> Battle of Meiktila and Mandalay (Dec 1944-March 1945).

<sup>13</sup> It is meant here the HQ of 15th Corps. Slim commanded this unit from June 2, 1942 till October 22, 1943.

<sup>14</sup> *“The hierarchy of Fighting Power comprises three inter-related components: conceptual, moral and physical”* (Burton, 2000:28).

<sup>15</sup> There was also another important and critical concern- health issues. It was a special challenge in the jungle environment. Slim estimated that malaria, dysentery and exhaustion made sick some 80 per cent of the fighting men of the Retreat. In 1943, the ratio between sick and wounded to be evacuated was around 120 to 1. Slim made this issue as a personal one. He kept a chart in his office plotting the volume of sick at hospitals. He adopted the approach that the prevention is better than curing. That was the practical application of up to date knowledge on prevention, early treatment, with extensive use of air evacuation. However there was much dependence on the rise of morale- leadership factor again was the critical one to execute the changes. Slim was quick to dismiss a commanding officer if he failed to implement punctually the prescribed prevention programme.

<sup>16</sup> That was a post taken by Major General Alf Snelling

<sup>17</sup> General Slim explaining in this in a eloquent way: *“If man realise that everyone above them and behind them is flat out to get the things required for them, they will do wonders, as my men did, with the meagre resources they have instead of sitting down moaning for better.”* *‘No boats?’ asked Slim rhetorically to the Press Club in 1946. ‘We’ll build ‘em! No vegetables, we’ll grow ‘em! No eggs? Duck farms! No parachutes? We’ll use gully! [woven jute] No road metal?*

*Bake our own bricks and lay'm! No air strips? Put down bithess! [Hessian strips soaked in bitumen] Malaria, we'll stop it! Medium guns busting? Saw off three feet of the barrel and go on shooting! Their motto, 'God helps those who help themselves'" (Lyman, 2005:144).*

## Proceedings of the Seminar on Leadership in a Multi-National Environment \*

### *The Profession of Arms*

*By Louise K. D. Bastviken\*\**

I would like to focus on the heart and soul of our military profession by drawing on the recently published Norwegian Armed Forces Joint Operational Doctrine and my personal experience.

The military profession is in many ways comparable with other professions, such as the legal, clerical and the medical professions. One *is*, one does not simply *work* as a lawyer, priest, doctor or officer. Expanding on the ideas of Samuel Huntington, the concept of a profession can be defined by four attributes: *responsibility* is the obligation that the profession has to society and to its own members; *identity* refers to the members' identification with the profession and their exclusive status in society; *expertise* deals with the members' special knowledge and skills; and the final attribute, *fundamental values*, encompass the norms and codex that govern professionalism.

In other words, the heart and soul of a profession is about *ethos*. It is here worth mentioning that you cannot determine whether you are a "high-ethos individual" – it is for others to determine whether you have that quality or not, a quality that combines virtues, wisdom and practical skills. The military profession has its own peculiarities, and this is founded in our long-lasting mission. We are the nation's ultimate instrument of power. Let us not forget the basics: the rationale of the Norwegian military profession is to defend Norway and Norwegian interests, and our core business is conduct of operations.

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Thus, there is an ugly side to the military profession that we need to accept. First and foremost, it is the fact that we can be sent into harm's way to take lives and, by implication, sacrifice our own lives for the greater good. In contrast to many other professions, we cannot fulfil our tasks in isolation – our efforts only make sense when we work together. There is an extreme inter-dependence in our profession that requires values of comradeship, team-spirit, loyalty and trust – trust both in our own and others' power of judgment.

Vesting the military with this extraordinary authority and with significant material and human resources, society rightfully expects professional ethos among its members. Even more than in most other professions, officers should, at any time, be conscious of their responsibility as role-models to their peers and subordinates and as representatives of the military to society at large. The importance of *ethos* is also reflected in the *Core Values of the Norwegian Defence* (Forsvarets Verdigrunnlag), a document that emphasises respect, responsibility and courage, values that are easy to understand at first glance but often difficult to master under stress and pressure. Society expects us to live by these values and rightly so. I find that General Sir John W. Hackett's observation is right on target: "...the military virtues – fortitude, endurance, loyalty, courage, and so on – these are good qualities in any collection of men, and enrich the society in which they're prominent. But in the military society, there are functional necessities, which is something quite, quite different. I mean, a man can be false, fleeting, perjured, in every way corrupt, and be a brilliant mathematician, or one of the world's greatest painters. But there's one thing he can't be, and that is a good soldier, sailor or airman."

At the essence of our military profession lies leadership, the common denominator of what I have touched upon so far. To put it bluntly, success in matters military depends on solid leadership, and failures of leadership are therefore tantamount to failure as an officer. In most other professions leadership is associated with age and experience, although there are, of course, plenty of examples where one finds old experienced men who are bad leaders, and young inexperienced men who are brilliant leaders. The military profession *is* leadership, however, and this simple fact distinguishes it from most other professions. Professionalism, shown through great leadership, is all about doing the right thing at the right time for the right reasons.

As Commander of the Norwegian Defence Education Command, it is my responsibility and a major leadership challenge to educate officers and leaders. The following discussion of what constitutes the inherent qualities of military leadership is therefore also a description of the core educational aims in Norwegian military education, both at the War College level and at the Joint Staff and Command College level. Needless to say, qualities of leadership, although a prerequisite for success in the military profession, are not enough. Qualities of leadership are of little value unless accompanied by specialised knowledge and experience suitable to the individual officer's field of duty. Practical experience, training and intellectual education – these are major elements in military education as well as in a successful officer's career.

As I have already mentioned, successful military leadership is a matter of ethos, and with ethos comes credibility. This brings me back to military leadership being defined in terms of a trinity: military virtues, wisdom and practical skills. What it takes to be a leader of men and women in the armed forces can be summarised in three verbs: to *be*, to *know* and to *act*. In other words: character, *being* together with cognition, *knowing* leads to the officer's behaviour, *acting* – that is, performance as a military leader.

Without doing any harm to Shakespeare's Hamlet, let me start with *to be*, the very character of good officership. High on this list of military virtues are the seemingly simple but nevertheless crucial qualities of *courage* and *strength of will* – which together may form prerequisites for something which characterise many great military leaders – *charisma*.

Courage is much more than courage in battle. Its more common application is the ability to make necessary but unpopular decisions and, when needed, to refuse to bow to pressure from peers and subordinates. Strength of will, on the other hand, is a prerequisite for that most important element in successful military leadership: the ability to identify and hold on to key goals even when confronted with a steady stream of competing options, some of which may appear highly attractive and tempting at the moment. Strength of will is also a prerequisite for another crucial quality – the ability to remain calm and act rationally even under strong pressure or when subject to serious deprivation. Again, enduring the battlefield is not the only challenge. To give only one example: More than

one high-ranking officer has suffered his most serious defeat in confrontation with the most unpredictable of adversaries – the media.

Military leadership is an example of an imbalanced relationship between one human being and another: The superior officer is invested with authority, and with authority comes responsibility – and the unfortunate possibility of misuse. As an officer, I feel responsibility not only for the outcome of the task at hand, but also for the well-being of the women and men under my command and for the long- and short-term consequences of my decisions. Empathy and sensitivity, although without sentimentality, should, in my opinion, certainly be considered as military virtues. An officer should have the ability of demonstrating empathy towards peers, subordinates and even adversaries.

Another core military virtue is loyalty, which is closely linked with the broader concept of integrity. The most obvious aspect of military loyalty is towards the orders and intentions of superiors. This requirement may be in conflict with the equally important need to be loyal to one's own judgments and ethical or professional guidelines. What should not be considered an option is continuing to carry out one's duty while in reality counter-acting the long- or short-term aims of one's superior. Loyalty, as part of personal integrity, is equally important in conveying information from subordinates to superiors. The loyal officer tells the truth as he or she sees it, independent of the expected response of the superior officer. Similarly, an officer of integrity will not disregard subordinates' opinions for the simple reason that he or she disagrees.

Let me move on to *knowing* and herein what to me are central elements of *cognition*. We need to recognize that the armed forces' role in a liberal democracy is one as executor of the decisions of elected political bodies. Rightly understood, Clausewitz' old dictum – that war is the continuation of politics with other means – is still valid. We do not plan and execute operations for their own sake; such conduct should always be part of politics. Equally important, however, is the ability to comprehend that adversaries as well as allies or partners may operate within a very different setting and according to different rules. A successful officer must therefore have a solid understanding of the foreign and security policy framework within which she or he operates. Good intentions or professional skills are

of little help if they are not applied with societal, cultural and political awareness.

This leads me to another crucial point, namely that it is becoming increasingly clear that the final outcome of a military operation depends on much more than success on the battlefield. An understanding of civil-military relations is therefore equally important to the officer as mastering of the purely military skills. From such understanding arises the ability to work with non-military actors, such as individuals among the local population, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) or political authorities. Such ability is a prerequisite for being able to adapt to concepts such as “integrated operations” or “the comprehensive approach”.

The officer must also be conscious of the ethical and the moral aspects in the conduct of operations. I am here thinking of the whole spectrum, *ad bellum*, *in bello* and *post bellum*. In all spheres of military activity, ethical conduct must be based on a much more solid basis than the individual officers’ spontaneous perceptions of what is “right” or “wrong”. Military ethics, just as the relevant aspects of international law, requires rational debate and judgement based on solid knowledge and intellectual reflection.

Where does all this leave us in our search for the building blocs of good military leadership? How do we characterise or summarise the cumulative outcome of the interaction between *knowing* and *being* as *action* – the officer’s *behaviour*? One thing may be obvious at this point: There are no unambiguous dividing lines between these three elements of analysis. Loyalty and integrity, as discussed in the previous paragraph, are characteristics of an individual’s personality, but are at the same time key elements in an officer’s behaviour. Leadership is exercised through action, and action is often an expression of drive and initiative, the seeking of possibilities, the taking of responsibility and the showing of determination. Motivation and inspiration of troops and credibility as a leader come through deeds.

An officer’s behaviour should reflect *focus* and *darity of purpose*. What is the task at hand? Which are the most important or urgent challenges? In the usually long list of deficiencies and shortage of resources, which task should be given priority? In more general terms, the officer should be able

to remain focused on the military's and the individual unit's core tasks and rationale, both in combat operations and peacetime activity.

Officers should demonstrate by their own behaviour and instil in their subordinates the understanding that *accountability*, in human terms, is always individual. To put it somewhat brutally, there usually *is* someone to blame. The "system" or military as such is no more and no less than the end result of the actions of its individual members. When each individual fulfils his or her duties to the best of his or her abilities, the "system" will at least be close to demonstrating its real capability under the given circumstances.

Flexibility, in various formats and dimensions, is a core requirement of today's officers, and herein the ability to handle the unpredictable, a classical element of warfare which, if anything, has been reinforced by contemporary developments. Here, however, I will focus on the need to partly balance and partly operate simultaneously, centralised versus the decentralised command. "Mission based command" and similar concepts of decentralisation of command or decision making in general make sense only within an overarching centralised command structure, and an officer must be capable of operating in both dimensions. A one-sided belief in the qualities of one of the *modus operandi* will hardly serve the attainment of operational or administrative aims.

Finally, in all her or his actions the officer should demonstrate an unambiguous adherence to the "rules of the game" as set by lawful national and international authorities. Such rules, in their turn, reflect the contemporary age with its increasing focus on the rights but also obligations of the individual. Respect for each individual human being, whether friend or foe, should be at the very heart of the officer's professional ethos.

To summarize, military leadership is but one element of our military profession, albeit an important one, and great leadership is about combining the words *be know* and *act*. There are plenty of challenges under each of these categories, but success lies in the ability to combine these three. Or, to use a Latin phrase: *Mens et manus* ("mind and hand") – when all is said and done, it is all about striking the balance between reason and skill.

## ***Military Leadership During Stressful Conditions***

By **Gerry Larsson** \*

There seems to be an ever-growing bonanza of conceptual buzz words on the military leadership arena. Recent examples include joint, multinational operations in multicultural network settings, with mission-specific packaging of forces assumed to exhibit instant interoperability, using an effect-based approach. Getting excited or bored? At the same time it is the same human beings as thousands of years ago, with the same fears, angers, and joys. So, is there really anything *new* in military leadership? Or is it old wine in new bottles, meaning that old, well-proven principles still hold true?

The thrust of the text will be a description of leadership demands and challenges observed in recent military operations. This will be followed by some theoretical reflections. Most parts of the paper stem from different own research projects. Here, I have taken the liberty to mix ideas and empirical results into a new composition. The text by no means claims to be an extensive review of the literature. Rather, it is intended to be a source of inspiration for reflection and further research.

### **1. Peacekeeping missions – the typical arena for Nordic officers**

Military organisations have historically been seen as placing a great emphasis on the importance of good leadership, hierarchical organisation with clear command structures, clear standard operating procedures, and centralised decision making. In multinational peacekeeping missions today, the fact of broadening tasks and roles puts additional demands on military leaders (Cameron, Kim & Whetten, 1987; Johansson, 2001; Moscos, Williams & Segal, 2000).

There is a great variability in the type and amount of stress to which peacekeeping commanders and soldiers are exposed. In addition to moderate or chronic stressors such as monotony, unusual climate, and cramped accommodation, missions in recent decades have also involved an increased exposure to acute danger, including exposure to fire and terrorist

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attacks (Bartone, Adler & Vaitkus, 1998; Carlström, Lundin & Otto, 1998; Elklit, 1998; Johansson & Larsson, 1998).

A peacekeeping operation is a different task to traditional combat. It lacks the “friend-enemy” relationship and requires much cognitive and emotional control. The role is psychologically complex in that different stressors interact (Vogelaar, 1999; Wallenius, Johansson & Larsson, 2002; Weisaeth & Sund, 1982). Leadership in direct as well as in indirect form during such conditions appears to be a demanding task, deserving research attention.

## **2. Typical challenges for officers during threatening situations**

A series of typical decision making and leadership problems faced by military officers in acute, stressful situations is presented in the following. The idea is to give readers an intuitive feeling of the demands and challenges. The text in this section comes from selected parts from an interview study (Nilsson, Wallenius & Larsson, 2006; Nilsson et al., in press). Ten Swedish high-ranking military officers with recent experiences of leadership in staffs during international peacekeeping missions were interviewed retrospectively.

*Intuitive decision making during great insecurity in a high risk environment.* Elements of rumours are abundant, which sometimes blur the perception of what is real and what is not. Consequently, the decision making context is characterized by great insecurity. Several informants have described a decision making process based upon hardly any reliable information with little or no time for logical and rational considerations whereas a lot is at stake. Media presence and reporting tends to enhance the fear of making unsuccessful decisions.

*Deficiencies identified in staffs.* According to several informants, the decision making process as described above is sometimes undermined by shortcomings identified in the staff working process. Acute and threatening situations presuppose direct actions. The staff is often lacking experience regarding the making of decisions when one cannot rely on standard operating procedures. Consequently, officers have not always the time needed to await reports, but instead are forced to come to decisions on their own.

***Loneliness.*** In the decision making context, interviewees perceived a state of loneliness that in one case was referred to as “total isolation.” One cannot depend on anyone but oneself to make the right decisions.

***Pressure groups – conflicts of loyalties; the breaking of rules.*** There are a number of actors, e.g. the UN organisation, non-governmental organisations, and countries on the international scene that seek to influence the decision making processes. Thus, political aspects of war are made topical. Informants described how this can result in conflicts of loyalties as the higher officer cannot fulfil the interests of everybody. Moreover, conflicts of loyalties are described of as phenomena that provoke the breaking of rules as one cannot obey conflicting orders. However, by doing so the officer is exposed to the risk of juridical consequences.

***Lack of adequate resources.*** The lack of adequate resources to handle a crisis is described of as a relatively general problem during decision making processes in the international military system. This complicates for the implementation of decisions and adds more insecurity to the situation.

***Multicultural diversity amongst subordinates.*** Multinational missions are often organized in national contingents. This refers to national units at lower levels of organisation. A national leader serves as a link by handling the contact to over- and underlying organisational levels. Informants described how sensitive information (e.g. sexual abuse) regarding activities within the national units is not always passed on upwards in the hierarchy due to the protection of “national glory.” In this sense, the national leader serves as a gatekeeper in terms of deciding what information reaches officers at higher levels of organisation. Subsequently, officers do not necessarily get information on matters that concerns subordinates at lower levels of organisation.

***Anxiety related to the responsibility of subordinates.*** An environment in terms of warlike conditions and difficult operations is also indicated to define the superior-subordinate relationship. Informants gave an account of how they worry about the well-being of subordinates, in terms of life and death. Such anxiety sometimes leads to strong negative stress reactions.



### 3. Theory building

Two theoretical themes have constantly recurred in the analysis of our different studies of leadership under stress. These are a time dimension and a hierarchical level dimension. Findings from these are highlighted in the following. The text in this section mainly stems from the following empirical studies: Larsson et al. (2001), Larsson et al. (2003), Larsson et al. (2005), Larsson et al. (2007a, 2007b), Sjöberg, Wallenius and Larsson (2006), and Vrbanjac, Danielsson and Larsson (2006).

*Time* Leadership in complex, stressful situations can be understood as a causal process consisting of three broad time-related categories. Pre-operation conditions affect the leadership during operations, which in turn affects what comes after the operation which in turn affects what comes after the operation, which in turn may affect later operations, etc.

*Before a stressful event.* Pre-event conditions of importance to leadership in stressful episodes include personal characteristics of the leader and a broad array of issues which could be labelled everyday working conditions. Leader attributes which constantly come out as important include a favourable personality profile, emotional stability in particular, social skills, and a good capacity to cope with stress.

The following four aspects of everyday working conditions have repeatedly been identified: training and exercises, previous mission experiences, personal knowledge of co-actors, and organisational climate. All these antecedent conditions can be favourable or unfavourable at the individual, as well as at the organisational, level. I can illustrate this with some brief interview excerpts: “We have been trained to work collectively and live closely together” (favourable training and exercise); “The commanders have had different training, various ages” (unfavourable training and exercise); “No personal experience, may find myself in such a situation once in a life-time” (unfavourable previous mission experiences); “Personal knowledge makes it easier, you know how people act as leaders, particularly in stressful situations (favourable personal knowledge of co-actors); and “Built-in conflicts affect long-lasting missions but not short ones” (unfavourable organisational climate).

***During a stressful event.*** This has been the prime focus of our research and it is the area where we have the richest amount of data. Three mutually interdependent aspects are involved here: the leader's appraisal of the situation, his or her stress reactions and his or her leadership behaviour and the managerial routines being used. Although all three aspects influence each other, the greatest importance is ascribed to the leader's appraisal of the situation. This appraisal process acts as a "lens" and strongly affects the leader's stress reactions, leadership and decision making.

***After a stressful event.*** This aspect encompasses operation-related consequences of the event and the operation. It focuses on the leader of the operation and his or her everyday organisation, rather than on the situation of, for example, victims. Three areas have been identified: the leaders' evaluation of the outcome, organisational climate, and post-event stress reactions. The outcome can be favourable or unfavourable in all these respects, which, in turn, acts as an input to the continuing everyday working conditions.

***The leader's evaluation of the outcome.*** The typical comment underpinning this code deals with the outcome in terms of human lives and injuries. I illustrate with two very different quotes: "The outcome was good because nobody was injured, despite the rapidly evolving and long-lasting event" and "A colleague-died, no more comments."

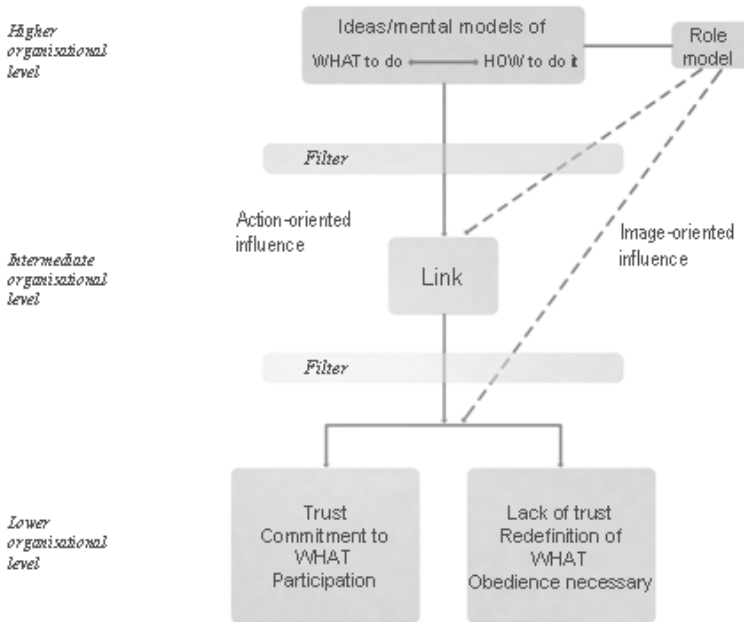
***Organisational climate.*** A favourable evaluation of the episode was typically followed by comments like: "Another attitude after this, we did it together, it has brought us closer." When the outcome was unfavourable (the case of the dead colleague), one of the informants said: "Accusations afterwards, from the others and from myself."

***Post-event stress reactions.*** A comment interpreted as favourable was the following: "It was important to return to work, not to hide to feel the support. This was the place to be." We end the results sections by presenting a couple of citations showing negative post-event stress reactions: "The hardest thing was when I phoned home and my wife asked me how I was. That's when all the emotions surfaced" and "We had a number of people on the sick-list afterwards".

***Hierarchical level.*** Existing research on leadership under severe stress is primarily devoted to direct, or face-to-face, leadership. Therefore, our

research group has taken on the task to study indirect leadership, or the influence of a leader on subordinates not reporting directly to him or her, during severely stressful conditions. The text in this section will focus on some results from this research.

Firstly, we developed a general model of military indirect leadership (see Figure 1).

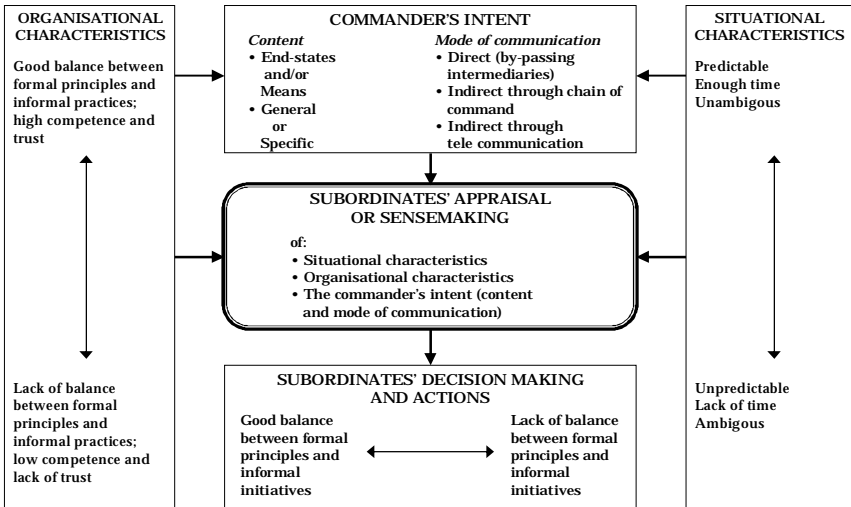


**Figure 1. Model of military indirect leadership (Adapted from Larsson et al., 2005).**

Indirect leadership can be understood as a process beginning with ideas and mental models of higher organisational level managers on what to do (visions and goals), as well as on how to get it done (implementation). The influence process then follows two routes that take place simultaneously. One of these is more action-oriented and could be called “the link.” It usually consists of a single individual or a small group of directly subordinate managers. The link passes the messages on to the lower organisational levels. The second pathway is more image-oriented and could be labelled “role model.” Higher-level managers influence by being favourable-unfavourable role models.

Both kinds of influence are exposed to filters between each hierarchical level. This means that information is omitted or distorted. In the favourable case, the employees at the lower levels trust the link and the higher management. This is a necessary condition for commitment and active participation. In the unfavourable case, there is a lack of trust. This breeds redefinitions of the messages and necessity to rely on rewards and punishment to obtain obedience. In the words of one of the high-level managers: “If there is no trust between you and your subordinates, how can you be sure that they stand up for your ideas? Without trust it can all break down.”

Secondly, we developed a model of military indirect leadership in severely stressful situations (see Figure 2). This, as well as the following text, comes from a recent interview study (Larsson et al., 2007b).



**Figure 2. Key aspects of indirect leadership under severe stress through the subordinates' eyes (Reproduced from Larsson et al., 2007b. With permission of Emerald).**

The model is based on 17 interviews with Norwegian officers and soldiers trying (and succeeding) to handle a riot in the town Caglavica in Kosovo, which took place on March 17-18<sup>th</sup>, 2004. The town was in the area where Norwegian and Swedish peacekeeping troops served. Between five and ten thousand people participated in this riot. The crowd was very aggressive and used Molotov cocktails and grenades. Several of the peacekeepers were

wounded and a Kosovo-Albanian demonstrator was shot as he tried to ram his lorry through the peacekeepers' barricade. A possible consequence of the riot, at its most extreme, could have been the extermination of the Serbians in the area. The onset of the riot was described as very fast and unexpected. When it was resumed on the second day, the situation was more predictable. By the end of the day, the crowd was dissolved, "as quickly as it had begun", as one of the informants said.

The following three categories emerged in the analysis: Situational Characteristics, Organisational Characteristics and the Commanders Intent. Each of these categories is built up from several codes derived from interview response. A core category related to all these three categories was labelled Subordinates' Appraisal or Sensemaking.

The model in Figure 2 represents an attempt to understand indirect leadership in severely stressful situations when viewed through the subordinates' eyes. The arrow from Commander's Intent to Subordinates' Appraisal or Sensemaking represents the ordinary, hierarchical chain of command. The Situational and Organisational Characteristics respectively constitute the framework of this indirect leadership. Both these kinds of conditions influence the Commander's Intent in terms of its content and mode of communication. They also influence the subordinates' appraisal or sensemaking of the commander's intent. The outcome of this appraisal or sensemaking process is the decision made by subordinates and the actions that accompany this decision. In the favourable case, these actions represent a good balance between formal principles and informal initiatives according to situational demands. In the unfavourable case, there is a lack of balance between formal principles and informal initiatives.

During the highly stressful conditions on the first day of the riot, the subordinates' appraisal of their action alternatives seemed to be characterised by a constant need to change the balance between actions guided by formal principles and their own informal initiatives. On the one hand, they tried to follow formally expected and trained actions as much as possible. On the other hand, they often found themselves in situations where they felt that informal initiatives were needed, which, in turn, required competence and a trusting environment in their own organisation. The formal principles are designed to be valid for most situations. However, according to the informants, the situation was characterised by

many exceptions from the norm, and trust and initiative were therefore essential. We illustrate with a typical comment from a group commander: "Well, you will have to adapt along the way. You will have to try the techniques you have been trained on, and you will also have to invent new techniques yourself. You just have to do it, otherwise you'll get stuck behind."

In terms of the previously developed model of indirect leadership (Larsson et al., 2005), much of the indirect leadership during the second day of the riot could be said to correspond to what is called action-oriented influence. The higher officers' messages and orders were well-planned and effectively communicated to the subordinate managers. The conditions on day one did not permit much of this form of leadership. Rather, as has been discussed above, it was a mixture of general and open orders and individual initiatives at the lower organisational levels. This indicates that the so-called image-oriented form of influence may be the only remaining part of indirect leadership which works in extreme conditions. If the image is favourable and trust breeding, the lower levels have optimal conditions for handling the balance between the formal and the informal action alternatives. The content of the reported trust-building leadership prior to the riot in turn shows significant similarities to the main ingredients in developmental (Larsson et al., 2003) or transformational (Bass, 1998) leadership. Thus, under severe stress a critical aspect of mission tactics may be a pre-incident leadership which is characterised by leaders being exemplary models, showing individualised consideration and being inspiring and motivating.

In summary, the present study confirms both kinds of indirect leadership paths of influence which have been proposed by Larsson et al (2005). However, it also shows that, in severely stressful conditions, there may be little room for the action-oriented influence pathway. The present study also highlights the appraisal and sensemaking processes which take place among the individuals at the lowest organisational levels. To put this somewhat bluntly, the results disconfirm the old Taylorian idea that the higher management thinks and the lower levels simply do what they are told. The results can also be theoretically connected to the more general and well-documented models of psychological appraisal processes (Lazarus, 1991, 1999) and organisational sensemaking (Weick, 1995).

The findings summarised in this paper ought to have both theoretical and practical implications; the former in terms of applying both multi-level and cultural approaches to the military stress context, and the latter for the design of education and practical preparations prior to missions. The international military organisation comprises of a complex system with numerous stressors that could leave higher leaders in a state of control loss. It might be worthy to draw upon those similarities one appears to find when comparing the military organisation to other international corporations that are characterized by complexity, e.g. conflicts of loyalties, impossibility to follow rules, problems of communicating through organisational levels. Thus, there might be lessons to learn from other contexts.

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## ***Strategical Leading Culture in Military Organizations: Transformation Toward Information Age Crises and Wars***

***By Aki Huhtinen \****

***“As a strategic leader your prime responsibility is to ensure that your organization is going in the right direction. That sounds simple enough, but it is not always easy to achieve. What is the right strategic direction? How or where do you establish it? Why is implementation so difficult?” (Adair, 2002: 164)***

Philosopher Aristotle has stated that practical wisdom, in other words *phronesis*, is the central contents of especially the officers', doctors' and lawyers' profession. Practical wisdom to make a forced decision is an ability in the conditions in which no sure mental starting point exists. This practical wisdom has not changed since Aristotle's times, while western theoretical thinking and information changes its form continuously with an increasingly accelerating speed. Often the reality is the product of the human being and the abstraction which has come off a practical wisdom in many respects according to the central philosophers of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Many times we put together the planning process and thinking process. For example, strategic thinking is a function of practical wisdom, which is neither an art nor a science nor a skill. We forget that strategy really does not exist. In the ancient Greek the concept of strategy meant the whole art of a commander-in-chief, including leadership, administration and working with allies, as well as knowing how to bring an enemy to battle and what tactics to employ. As armies became larger and warfare more complex, strategy was introduced as a new concept in contrast to tactics (Adair, 2002: 165-166).

Mental alertness, problem-solving ability and keen perception of relationships are all implicit in intelligence. The concept of *phronesis*, practical wisdom, means action that is the outcome of wisdom gained by experience (Adair 2002:73). The problematic relationship between free will and determinism is tied in with the history of human thought, such as

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questions in economics (e.g., rationality and rational choice), ethics (e.g., moral responsibility and dignity), psychology (e.g., addiction and self-deception), law (e.g., criminal liability and punishment), theology (e.g., the problem of evil and divine foreknowledge), and natural science (e.g., causal laws and quantum reality) (De Rond & Thietant, 2007).

The question of ultimate goal is also a key question of the military culture. This question has always been the question of victory, but now in the information age there will be less and less discussion of victory, like in Iraq or Afghanistan.

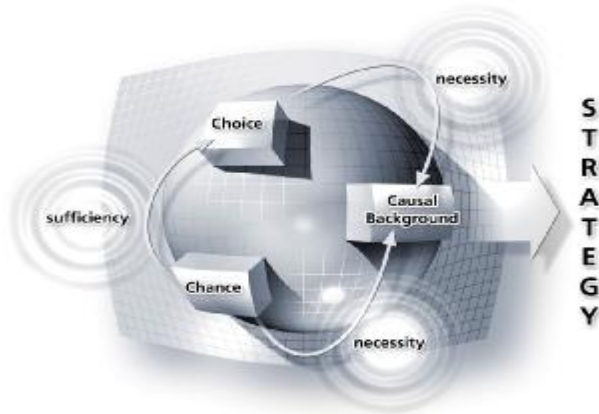
In his book *The Concept of Corporate Strategy* (1971), Professor Kenneth Andrews made an important contribution to understanding and improving the process of strategic thinking that precedes any form of planning. He advocated what became known as a SWOT analysis – the organizations should carefully appraise their Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats as a prelude to corporate strategy. He also stressed the importance of scanning the changing environment, using the ready-made headings of Political, Economic, Social and Technological (PEST) to consider the salient factors. The pattern of decisions essentially means a plan (Adair, 2002: 169).

In the Finnish culture of the command and control process, it has been customary to combine planning, education and management. This way one and the same officer can have been for his part responsible for all the dimensions at his own organisation level. In the United States and NATO operations, the planning is performed so that it is not connected to education and management of the practice. Different persons are responsible for education, the make-ups of the groups and management.

### 1. The concept of strategy

As we see in *Figure 1*, in strategy, rationality combines with intuition, chance, and a myriad of processes in which internal and external agents act, interact, tinker, and hesitate, taking advantage of some opportunities while failing to spot others. Formality, structure, and control are confronted with the informal, non-structured, and autonomous. In the former, decisions follow an orderly progression of problem identification, the search for solutions, selection, and implementation. In the latter, strategic choices

originate from organizational garbage cans in which problems are generated from inside and outside the organization, and solutions are the outcome of random and opportunistic processes between actors. The relation between subunits and higher-level (or population level) units is deterministic, where population-level forces provide a comprehensive account of the behaviour of individual units, leaving no scope for choice. By contrast, when subunits are different from higher-level units, yet related to them, the relation is one of heterogeneity (De Rond & Thietant, 2007).



*Figure 1: The concept of choice and change in strategy context*

The main question is where we start the investigation of strategy. According to Tolstoy, to study the laws of history we must completely change the subject of our observation, and leave aside kings, ministers, and generals, and study the common, infinitesimally small elements by which the masses are moved. First, strategy is seen to emerge from multiple, complex, interacting processes, only some of which are under managerial control. We have learnt to think that history obeys certain laws and the only thing is to discover its purpose. That is the reason why we find it so difficult to concentrate on the presence and being. The axiom that everything has a cause is a condition of our capacity to understand what is going on around us. Thus, throughout human history we have found it meaningful, even necessary, to think of events as somehow interconnected, as contributing to a grand, logical purposeful plot. Likewise, strategy, by

most definitions, is naturally teleological in focusing on the means to an end (De Rond & Thietant, 2007).

Managerial behaviour is ordinarily directed to achievement of goals, intentions or objects and the social sciences have generally concentrated principally on teleological determination. By contrast, natural science is primarily interested in efficient causes: formal and final causes are considered not amenable to experimentation, and material causes are taken for granted in natural phenomena. The strategic choices are fixed by the laws of nature and events in the distant past; given that it is not up to us what these laws and past events are, our choices are fixed by circumstances outside of our control. Hence, we are not free. By implication, we cannot be held accountable. If we are undertaken or a product of a Darwinian evolutionary process, we can still choose the place, velocity and time of action. Still, the causal background is not in and of itself sufficient to produce strategic choice (De Rond & Thietant, 2007).

The organizational actors need not only regard themselves as free but also need the concept of causation to be free. Causation as a strategic choice is implicated in a relationship of necessity; genuine freedom of choice cannot exist without presupposing causation. But, unlike the determinist, these causes are not in and of themselves sufficient to bring about strategy. Choosing requires deliberation. Hence, determinists and libertarians alike accept the presence of a causal background. But whereas the determinist will find their presence sufficient to account for particular choices, the libertarian insists on a gap between these and deciding. Where causal background is sufficient to determine a particular outcome we speak of strategic inevitability. The strategic choice can only ever be understood in terms of its relevant social and material context. A thing can only be homogeneous, heterogeneous, or independent with respect to something else. Causal background can be understood as the social and material context for decisions (De Rond & Thietant, 2007).

## **2. The organizational structure and decision-making**

When we look at western military history, we can find that it does not matter what formation the military unit or organization starts in – square, diamond, arrow, line, column or squashing matchbox – it will always end

up in the same formation – small groups rallying around the bravest men or natural leaders (Adair, 2002: 83).

The writers (Alberts & Hayes, 2003) claim a radical change in the art of war and meet to think of the soldier organisation and its management. According to the writers, the interaction between the individuals and an organisation requires new processes. They claim that the basic task of the organisation of the industrial time was to serve the leader and that the information exchange and communication of the organisation aimed at the serving of the decision-makers. This view of command could be characterized as power to centre, although the information age command can be characterized as power to edge. It is a shared and distributed responsibility. What, in fact, does “in charge” mean in the networked warfare?

The writers establish their whole thought in that the undivided responsibility as a starting point for the soldier management is no longer true. The division of the responsibility to more actors is justified just in the utilising of the variety of the network. Putting someone in charge did not result in effective command and control, but it made the question of responsibility absolutely clear (Alberts & Hayes 2003: 204).

In 1963, Stanley Kubrick directed classical film of the black humour “Dr. Strangelove Or: How I Learned To Stop Worrying And Love The Bomb” with Peter Sellers and Georg C. Scott as star actors. The film describes aptly the situation in which an accident caused by the human being happens to the management system which leads nuclear weapons. Commander Jack D Ripper (Sterling Hayden) of the air forces of the United States gets muddled and things get out of control.

The film hits a delicate section of information management. The indirect management which takes place in the networks always contains a danger that the responsibility and the control of the operation slide from the hands of the management. In the film, the President of the United States, presented by Peter Sellers, indeed demands repeatedly from his generals how it is possible that the B-52 bombers break into the air space of the Soviet Union even though he has not given such an order. The divided leadership is a target of the parody of the whole film. Eventually on the brim the nuclear war which is to meet the world the President of the

United States has a personal telephone conversation with the President of the Soviet Union so that the destroying of the world can be prevented. With the methods of the slapsticks comedy, the telephone conversation points out the discussion between two people with which mankind is conducted out of the catastrophe of nuclear weapons. So the film underlines the fact that in the end the responsibility for human lives is undivided.

We are all familiar with the inability of economists to predict economic performance and the lacklustre track record of various attempts to control the economy. All of us are familiar with efforts by meteorologists to forecast just one day into the future. In the information age, Alberts and Hayes (2003: 205) separate the commander(s) from the function of command because commanders perform a variety of functions. This means that command and control process no longer seek to optimize, but try to keep a situation within bounds while accomplishing an objective. Because of media and the individualization of western society, risk management and protection of one's own force has an increasingly important role for defence forces. The cost of single soldiers has changed. In the information age, the control can only be achieved indirectly. The control is not achieved by imposing a parallel process, but rather emerges from influencing the behaviours of independent agents. Instead of being in control, the enterprise creates the conditions that are likely to give rise to the behaviours that are desired.

*Table 1: The Difference between Hierarchies and Edge (Alberts & Hayes, 2003:220)*

	<b>Hierarchies</b>	<b>Edge</b>
<b><i>Command</i></b>	By directive	Establishing conditions
<b><i>Leadership</i></b>	By position	By competition
<b><i>Control</i></b>	By direction	An emergent property
<b><i>Decision making</i></b>	Line function	Everyone's job
<b><i>Individual</i></b>	Constrained	Empowered
<b><i>Information</i></b>	Hoarded	Shared

Today, the network connects young people but at the same time separates the ones belonging to different social classes into their own pigeonholes. Instead of an income level, race or sex seeking a community, where a young person knows he or she belongs to, now has an even greater effect. The network is a question of identity. In addition to the advertisers, the

division is utilised for example by the army of the United States who closed the entrance to the Myspace site favoured by the line soldiers but left open the connections to Facebook favoured by the officers (Boyd, 2007).

Still, the military ranks and the resulting control of the soldier organisation cause authority conflicts, even though the snapshot has moved to a netlike organisation structure. In the networks, information and what is to be done change place from one expert to another, and often the information does not go through the superior because he does not belong to the expert network any more. The network as a technological solution has broken the forming of a management culture, and planning, an executive group and snapshot are separated from each other.

The leaders of the so-called line-staff organization will experience a defeat of authority when the subordinates network according to practical needs. We notice that, from the point of view of safety, more important than an ability to make quick decisions is to give birth to information and understanding. The speed of the black and white simplifying fascinates us but at the same time leads to the constant inflation of the making of decisions. The ability of decision making is a play.

Earlier, one could live in a situation in which the leaders' decision preceded planning. The subordinate experts were allowed to look at the justifications for decisions made afterwards in the management teams. Now the junctions will dictate the forming of the snapshot in the networks to the planning and decision-making in chronological order.

Strategic thinking should differ from strategic planning which gives the model to the decision-making. However, the management of national security is a culture in which a small core group often makes a decision before the scientific study of a matter or phenomenon and before the administrative planning. The role of the scientific study in management of security is indeed to look for the grounds to already made decisions.

However, the globalisation and the networking of environments and mycelium together are changing this traditional order of management. Now planning is a foundation for the learning and informing of the whole organisation. Complexity of the situations and infinite amount of the information compel giving up an ability of decision making as a starting

point for everything and to move the focus of the management for the success of communication and interaction. The global media and the different publics react in real-time to the decisions made by the organisations and to their practical consequences. To the organisations, management of the reputation has indeed risen past the ability of decision making to the centre of management.

According to “General Field Doctrine of the FDF” (Kenttaohjesaanto, 2007:32), leadership in all situations is based on a model of the so called “line and staff organization”, and tasks are bound to the military rank, rights and responsibility of every one in the organisation structure in all the situations. In addition, the principle of performance management is also used, and different phenomena and matters, such as the delivery of a weapon system, are carried out with the methods of process management.

In practice, many processes, such as the delivery of a weapon system, begin with a clear ownership, but in a “line and staff organization” the tasks also often change in the organisation, and the owners of the process will change. In the “line and staff organization”, the power and the responsibility are bound to a hierarchical and bureaucratic position whereas in a process responsibility is based on the time span of the project. When an officer owns processes and changes tasks in the “line and staff organization”, verifying power and responsibility issues will be difficult. In principle, simultaneous process organisation and matrix organisation which functions over “the line and staff organization” possibly makes the questions of power and responsibility dimmer.

The overlapping of two different management methods is manifested as a challenge especially in the acquisition of weapon systems and military material. The weapon systems of the high technology of the information time and their possibilities of use are based on complex networks of studies, development and the international court, in which the time span required for carrying out a project is considerably longer than the turnover of the staff of the the “line and staff organization”.

When an officer is in the situation in which he “sits on two chairs”, the power and the responsibility issues will be very complex. One can ask: if the officer changes the station and the task in the “line and staff organization” during the management of the project, according to which



management structure will the officer's power and responsibility be estimated? How will the quality of the process be secured when its owner changes? Furthermore, more and more outside actors of the soldier organisation and outsourced subprocesses often participate in the process. In this area, power and responsibility issues often depend on the agreements which are based on the law, and the combining of the ways of action of different organisational cultures has not taken place.

The existence of two overlapping structures makes advocating of the personal interests of an officer possible. A person who is unscrupulous and reaches for his own interest can seek his way for the starting of new and interesting projects, but in the "line and staff organization" can fall back to a protection which is based on the position of the quick withdrawal when the project experiences difficulties. The next officer to lead the project may receive a task the grounds of which and the ways of action are unknown to him. For the new owner of the process in question, the possibility to succeed is non-existent for the task already before he/she takes it. The failure of the next officer in the promotion of the process will weaken his/her status in "the line and staff organization".

Alongside traditional classic power and responsibility based on station and task, a horizontal leading of the project and process management based on professionalism take place, giving birth to exceptionally strong competition and pursuit of one's own interest in the culture of the soldier organisation. Passiveness of particularly the peacetime environment allures the competitive and victory-oriented soldier culture to also utilise the ruthless pursuit of one's own interest that the two systems make possible. When, furthermore, our time favours the promotion of social and well mannered people in the leader tasks, there is the danger that the overall interest of national security and defence system is endangered by individual and personal aims. The situation of two systems does not make the required democratic principle of transparency of power and responsibility possible either.

When it comes to pursuing Revolution in Military Affairs, hiring the consultants often becomes one of the favourite solutions. But they would come to the organisation and perform the necessary changes without feeling and being familiar with the organisational culture. The management can hide behind the consultants' work; the management outsources the

responsibility for its unpleasant decisions. The consultation produces a social distance in which control is detached from responsibility. The power becomes concentrated, the social value difference increases but authority does not increase. Similarly one can think that in a bureaucratic organisation the transition from the line to the matrix operation distances the civil servant from the responsibility in some projects and moves it to the line. Thus projects are consultant activity inside a bureaucratic organisation (Sennet, 2007: 56-58).

For an individual with weak self-esteem and also for the organisation, credibility often means the same as an attempt to similarity with other actors. However, often this aim is not credibility in the eyes of the others. For a weak actor, originality is often an arrangement in the relation; the only method to an asymmetrical status against a stronger competitor or opponent.

In Finland, there are a few examples of how, for example, in the purchase of weapon systems, the basis for the purchase has been credibility based on similarity. The bombers acquired before the Winter War tell about how other countries around the world also believed in the bombers. However, the problem in Finland's situation was the fact that enough machines were not quantitatively obtained so that the strategical target would have been achieved with the machines. A similar situation arose with the submarines. Heated discussion has been provoked especially by helicopter acquisition in recent projects.

### **3. Organizational culture**

In the culture of security, decisions do not even still network or democratise. The logic and framing of a question and time span of political, military and economic decision-making do not correspond to the time span of the scientific basic research that has been traditionally thought. Instead, the study of the technology will be well successful to adapt to the future which is also suitable for economical and political decision-making. The central question is indeed heard: which stage in the globalisation and networking will break the station and have traditional authority move the decision-making to the network? What does the change mean for the structures of managing security and defence?

According to Kesseli (2006), to some extent, internationalisation also confuses the definition of military culture in Finland. Because Finnish units are nowadays essential elements of multinational troops on different peacekeeping missions, we prepare to take part in Rapid Deployment Forces (RDF) in the European Union, and global cooperation in Multi National Experimentation (MNE) exercise has also started, so it is only natural that definitions of military art must be standardised.

The first steps have been taken, including translating Guidance for Operational Planning (GOP) – including definitions – into Finnish (FINGOP). In addition to standardising definitions, FINGOP has tried taking into consideration local special demands as well. However, learning about a new culture does not occur overnight. This also poses – and has already posed – challenges to both the research and teaching of military art, as our traditional understanding of the levels of military art is changing, or at least we can say that the scale of military art is changing by virtue of internationalisation. However, it also has to be said that somehow the Finnish practical way of tying the levels of military art to the size of the organisations or to the range of the areas of responsibility helps us to revise the definitions. It remains to be seen whether the definitions described above are enough, if ever-smaller and more scattered forces will have more and more challenging tasks on an ever-larger battlefield.

When at the same time the industrial society becomes an information society, it will change from a society of threats into a society of capacities. New threats, like terrorism, organized criminally or illegal immigration, call for new capabilities. The central foundation of the capacity of a defence system at the FDF is the citizens' national defence spirit. The citizens' values and traditions and the general liability to military service have been cornerstones of the national defence spirit. This spirit is based on the every day using principles, knowing and motivated staff, and materiel (Kenttaohjesaanto, 2008: 31).

In Finland, the basic structure of the management of the FDF is a commander central line and staff organization. The commander is responsible for carrying out the tasks ordered to him and commanders lead his subordinates on their tasks. The task of staffs is to support the commanders in their management. A process is observed like an action. The owners of processes are responsible for the quality of their products.

With the management system as a command and control system, a situation awareness and consciousness is created and designed, and the use of the defence system is carried out. The basic idea of the management is performance, or the so-called result management (Kenttaohjesaanto, 2008: 33-34).

#### **4. The concepts of leadership and management as academic question**

The study and teaching of management and leadership for the soldier have changed, because the 1990s brought new contents for the threats environment. From the point of view of strategic management, the concept of the information warfare were brought already to the contents of the teaching of management and leadership of the basic degree and the complex phenomenon worlds of the environment (for example the international trainings) and the examination of the challenges concerning the behaviour and management of crowds (the groups) with it.

At the moment, one can anticipate the factors which affect study and teaching; the ones materialising in connection with the revision of the tasks of the FDF (for example, the emphasis on cooperation between authorities and crisis management which is bigger than before). On the other hand, the effects of developing the network defence that has been brought up for the management and leadership can be anticipated in connection with the developing of the regional national defence. The network defence describes how the data networks of the future and the different networks, together with the advanced information processing systems and weapon systems, make it possible to reach the goals of total defending of the carrying out and cooperation between authorities of common and regional operations. Naturally this also has effects on the contents of soldier management.

The so-called "four-matrix", based on the interaction of leadership, management, organisation structures and organisational culture, forms the theoretical background of the study of the environments (war, peace, crisis management, and cooperation). To use "four-matrix" in analyzing the different kind of environment creates the concept of "leadership environment". The commanding or know-how of the wholeness of the management and leadership requires the know-how of management and leadership of the people, of the organising of functional units, of the issues,

in other words of the entire decision-making and management process. The leader must also be able to identify the effects of the organisational culture for the general manager according to this model.

**Table 2: Planned change versus change forced by external factors (Adair, 2002: 220)**

<b><i>Planned change</i></b>		<b><i>Change forced by external factors</i></b>
<b>MANY OPTIONS</b>	<b>FEW OPTIONS</b>	<b>NO OPTIONS</b>
Proactive	Sense of urgency	Reactive
Good communication	Have a focus – cannot do all the good things you would like	Catch-up
Involvement	Trying to keep up with competition	Trying to do too many things at once
Training for new ways	Doing the same things everybody else is doing	Falling behind in the competition
Anticipating customer needs		Driven by short-term, crisis decisions which change frequently
Staying ahead of competition		

The leadership applies to leading of the people in the “four-matrix”. However, the definition of the concept of leadership is problematic. Here it is based on the point of view of the FDF to the central study trend or, in other words, to the definition which has been created within the sphere of the new paradigm of management and according to which one can talk about leadership. When based on certain motives and objectives organisational, political, psychological and other resources are brought into use so that the subordinates will bind themselves to common objectives. The starting point for this thinking is the fact that the leader takes the needs for his subordinates actively into consideration. The precondition for this kind of a leadership is real interaction.

The required professional skill that is expected from all the authorities (soldier) leaders includes management, in other words the decision-making concerning issues and the know-how of the process of management. Management contains the following sectors (according to the description of the consecutive process established in the soldier activity), among other things as a process and described phase by phase:

- 1) follow-up of the situation;
- 2) evaluation of the environment and of the situation;
- 3) applying the means selection and solution alternatives to decisions;
- 4) field-specific planning;
- 5) control and supervision of the execution and operation of plans;
- 6) the whole process is cyclic and the control, and the supervision stage form the connection to the follow-up of the situation.

In the presented model of decision-making, the will is expressed and proceeds hierarchically down in the space from above without controls or interaction. In this model, a description of parallel processes is not included; it is both schematic and simplifying the reality. The commanding of the process can be striped to the core knowledge of the vocational know-how of details which are related in spite of the description of the process or to the adapting.

The organisational culture is seen as a way of action and behaviour which expresses the values and opinions, the people's basic defaults and attitudes. People in the organisation do not necessarily act, however, according to the declared values and goals because the core of the culture, the lowest basic defaults, directs operation. These defaults are often unconscious or self-evident beliefs, ideas, thoughts and feelings. The operation of the organisation is also influenced with the superiors' management methods and practices.

By scientific analysis, tasks in the environments are bound to phenomena describing the state of the war. Some of the phenomena can be the information warfare, among other things, and the threats which are related to the information society and terrorism. The analysis of phenomena that has been made from the environment affects the emphasis on the interaction of the "four-matrix" of C2. For example, the analysis of the phenomenon of information warfare affects the mutual emphasis of the sectors of the wholeness of management in the environment of crisis management, so that significance of an organisational culture and organisation structure for the process of management will be more emphasised for self than, for example, for leadership or management.

## Conclusion: toward leadership environment

Strategy, as a product of a mind or minds, once incarnated as a plan, is like any other artistic product – a book, or poem, a musical composition – in that it can take on a life of its own, quite independent of its creator. A plan is a very good basis for changing your mind. We know from military history how, for example, the so-called Schlieffen Plan was not successful because of its lack of flexibility. The idea behind the plan was great, but the time and political environment had changed, and so the idea and the plan were no longer in balance (Adair, 2002: 192-193). It is difficult in military culture to understand that some new process or political change may have come along overnight and you have got to adjust yourself and your organization to it.

I would like to summarize some key points of my arguments. First, strategy is a military concept of origin. Strategic thinking should be distinguished from strategic planning. Strategic thinking leads to strategic planning. Strategy is the art of the leader-in-chief. The practical wisdom – intelligence, experience and goodness – is the basis of strategy. It cannot be taught like a science or skill, but like any art, it can be learned by those who have an aptitude for it. Planning is a process, not a destination. The golden rule is flexibility of mind, so that you can adapt after the plan but still make forward progress as circumstances unfold. Vision is the art of seeing things invisible.

Second, the change of thinking is central to leadership. The change process is based on the understanding of culture. Culture is wider than behaviour: it embraces the distinctive customs, achievements, products, outlook, values, and beliefs of a society or group, and the way of life. Third, the difference between leadership and management is that in leadership it is not enough to merely read a new order, but you have to also see it in praxis (Adair, 2002: 227). Only face-to-face communication can change the organizational culture. Culture is not the same as structure, which is relatively easy to change. It is the deeper-seated pattern – unique to every organization – of assumptions, beliefs, attitudes, habits, and customs (ibid).

The living condition for the success of companies is the creation of their own databank with the help of their own study and development. In the FDF, the possibility to spend money on consultant services that began in

the 1990's is a development path in which the following turn will be the creation of an own study and research culture. Instead of the consultants, researchers and information leaders are placed in their own organisation. However, this change requires a new separation of powers and opening of operative decision-making for a wider discussion within the organisation. The commander-centrality and the personifying of the omnipotence of the information are no longer suitable for leadership of the information time. How well networking and divided leadership will stay in crises remains to be seen when the abilities of the new management will be weighed in the future.

The philosophy of C2 information warfare is that in the industrial time management was from the hierarchy and all honour, communication and creativity were concentrated to one visible commander. Therefore the creativity and snapshot of the organisation were always late, of course, also because of a deficient technology. Now we are going through time of leadership or C2 network centric warfare. In the networks every one is "a leader" and the time of one visible leader is over. When earlier a leader made the art and the staff the science, it is now actually the other way round. But RMA leaves two factors open: First, how is responsibility specified in the networks? Who will be responsible in the ultimate situation if the technological system causes a catastrophe? Second, because ordering no longer proceeds downwards more from above in the line, the commanding of the organisation in the middle of all creative chaos requires indirect control: the end users (human beings) are influenced so that by changing their behaviour they will be compelled, for example, to use information processing systems of a certain kind and mobile phones. The technical battle solutions direct people "to learn", and this way the self itself is controlled, in other words we can call it as "development" as a human being. What happens to those people "who do not learn" or who are not able to use the available military technological solutions?

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## Book Reviews

### **Ann-Sofie Dahl, *US Policy in the Nordic-Baltic Region* (Stockholm: Santerus Academic Press, 2008)**

*By Arunas Molis\**

The United States is the hegemon of the international system: it dominates in the oceans, controls Eurasian coasts and has one of the most powerful economies in the world. In other words, the US controls all the major economic and political events in the twenty-first century. It took more than fifty years for America to create such dominance. It started with “having interest” in many parts of the world after the Second World War. Main aim of becoming “global” was to prevent any other state from dominating over the strategically important regions. However, the USSR established a zone of influence in Eastern Europe and thus became the biggest source of threat for the United States. The United States employed a system of military alliances in response. According to P.Taylor, “if the USSR is a fortress, then the best way to deal with it is to surround and seal it”. NATO in Europe, CENTO in West Asia, SEATO in East Asia – these are only few examples of Washington’s efforts to set the limits of Soviet global expansion. Such policy of “containment” succeeded: America became the only superpower after the Cold War. Countries of Central and Northern Europe played an important role in this regard.

After the Cold War, fundamental geopolitical interests of the United States remained the same: military hegemony, scientific-technological leadership and disunity of Eurasia. However, American scholars and politicians now argue that those interests may be implemented without necessarily conducting active global policy. In other words, Western and South-Eastern borders of Eurasia (not continental states) became crucial in the U.S. unipolar strategy. Therefore, the United States gradually reduced its participation in European affairs. Nevertheless, Central and Northern European countries remained focal points for the United States, which seek to prevent the emergence of any dominant power (be it “new” Russia, Germany, or France). States of these regions enjoy American security guarantees but must accept the asymmetry of power: the United States

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speak to all of them from the position of strength. On the other hand, after 9/11 attacks, Central and Northern European countries changed their status in the eyes of the United States again. Now they are promoters of American values and interests and therefore have some influence on the U.S. attitude toward certain political decisions (mainly of tactical or operational level).

In *US Policy in the Nordic-Baltic Region*, Ann-Sofie Dahl looks at the U.S. policy toward the regional actors in the Baltic Sea region from the end of the Second World War, throughout the Cold War and during the first fifteen years of the post-Cold War period. In other words, the author analyzes what role the Nordic-Baltic region played in the U.S. strategy in the last sixty years. According to Dahl, the role of this region was extremely important at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century as the design of the entire international system was determined in this northernmost corner of Europe. However, did the Baltic Sea region enjoy this importance through the entire post-Second World War period? What will be the role of the Nordic countries and the Baltic states in the U.S. policy in the future, as it becomes increasingly preoccupied with problems far from the shores of the Baltic Sea? These are probably the most important questions Ann-Sophie Dahl is trying to answer in her study.

Inspired by the dual perspective, which characterized the U.S. grand strategy of containment, the analysis is divided into two parts. Dahl starts with the U.S. strategy in the Nordic region during the Cold War. The author names military and ideological containment as the main features of this strategy. In order to explore the details of how the U.S. applied this strategy, Nordic countries are divided into four sub-regions, each of them having its role and significance in the U.S. strategy of containment. "High North", consisting of Northern Norway and northern parts of non-aligned Sweden and Finland, is entitled as a place where two superpowers found themselves in close physical contact. Therefore, this sub-region is sometimes seen as crucial for the United States. Not of lesser strategic importance is Southern sub-region, consisting of Denmark, Southern Norway, and Southern Sweden with the Baltic Straits. According to the author, those Baltic Exits allowed NATO to maintain military control in order to deny the Soviet Union and its allies exit from the Baltic Sea. Third sub-region (called Atlantic) includes Iceland, Greenland and the coastline of Norway. Its prime strategic value was in the protection of the Atlantic

Sea Lanes and providing territory for military bases as well as fuelling stops for the U.S. air force on eastbound missions. Last sub-region consisted of Northern Sweden and had only limited significance for U.S. planning. Its main objective was to maintain Finnish territorial sovereignty and its ability to resist Soviet advances westward. Part of the study on military containment is devoted to a detailed assessment of the role that each of those sub-regions played during the bipolar years. Original approach, based on the geopolitical premises and logical analysis, creates real added value in the context of other similar studies.

Chapter on the role of the Nordic region in ideological containment is structured around the policy of each Nordic nation-state (not a sub-region, as in the case of military containment). Though ideological strategy was parallel to military one, this choice is logical: from ideological perspective, the Nordic area constituted a single region. Analysis starts with the discussion on the main features of the Nordic such as belonging to Western camp, neutral stance and certain distancing from the United States. It continues with analyzing elements of the Nordic doctrine of “flexible response” (deterrence, *détente* and confidence-building measures as the main elements of it). Dahl argues that tactics of “footnotes” when dealing with NATO decisions did not prevent the United States from applying the Marshall Plan and “keep them friendly” strategy in relation to the Nordic countries. In other words, the Nordic countries managed to combine their neutralist stance with idealistic approach and to use moral values as a foreign policy tool. A tool, which was very often chosen to criticize the U.S. policy in Vietnam and other places. Nevertheless, according to the author, the United States did not have any other choice but to accept the neutrality of Nordic countries, to abide harsh rhetoric and to hope that these “evidences of Soviet manipulation” will not spread deeper in the continent.

Three chapters of the second part of the study deal with the U.S. unipolar strategy in the Baltic Sea region after the Cold War. This is where the Baltic states are brought to the stage. The presentation of three different U.S. approaches towards the Baltic states clearly show how the U.S. strategy developed during the last fifteen years. Author claims that “developments in the three newly liberated Baltic countries ... gave the region an additional sub-region”. Three other sub-regions experienced strategic downgrading because of the fall of “strategic enemy”. Therefore, in the

unipolar system, the author defines three important sub-regions of the region: 1) Northern Flank with the Barents in the middle; 2) Atlantic Islands, and 3) the Baltic Sea sub-region. The creation of the latter, according to Dahl, demonstrates the unipolar system's monopoly in creating and defining regions and sub-regions.

In the following chapters, the author analyzes the way how the unipolar strategy of the United States was implemented in the Baltic Sea sub-region and what was the role of the Nordic countries in this process. Two parts of this strategy are distinguished: until the 1997 and afterwards. Each part had several periods, the limits of each being closely associated with such focal events as Clinton Administration taking the office in 1993, NATO Madrid summit in 1997, Washington Summit in 1999, Prague summit in 2002 and, finally, formal admission of the Baltic states into NATO in 2004. Analyzing the strategic environment and policy developments that brought about the decisive events, Dahl uses many different sources (interviews with relevant officials, archive documents and even intelligence briefs) which make it easier to understand different aspects of complicated diplomacy of those days. The role of Nordic countries with regard to implementation (or sometimes even determination) of the U.S. strategy towards the Baltic states is presented in detail, both explaining the causes and evaluating the consequences. Although the reader may have a different point of view on how "altruistic" were the Nordic countries when they "decided" to "bring" the Baltic states to Euro-Atlantic structures, the text itself is dynamic and, therefore, easy and interesting to read.

Dahl's book refers to the insights, feelings and reports from Scandinavian and American scholars, state officials and other persons interested in the subject. This is a perfect choice if author has a goal to disclose the nature of Nordic policy, strategy, meaning of neutrality and relations with the United States. However, no Baltic politician (current or former) is quoted and none of many studies done by Baltic scholars have been mentioned as a source. This absence of "Baltic" sources forces the reader to have doubts about certain ideas presented in this book. First question is related to the definition of "Nordic-Baltic" region. Dahl does not expand on the explanations why Nordic and Baltic states are "united" into the one "Nordic and Baltic" region. Internal U.S. State Department's decisions (see p. 67) cannot serve as the argument here. Same State Department initiated many documents and strategic decisions which implied the association of

the Baltic states with Central and Eastern Europe (but not Nordic) states. If the author took a look at the studies of the Baltic scholars on geopolitics, she would recognize that they talk about Central Eurasia, Western Eurasia, CEE region, Baltic Sea region, East Baltics region, Baltic region, Nordic region, etc. However, none of them have put 5 Nordic and 3 Baltic states together in one region or sub-region without including other states by the Baltic Sea. Dahl mentions huge differences in historical development of Baltic and Nordic states, also different role they play or played for the United States. Therefore, talking about the Nordic-Baltic region (and dividing it into several sub-regions) without including for example Poland and Germany, seems somewhat artificial.

So, how can we describe the U.S. policy in relation to the Baltic states during and after the Cold War? Although the answer to this question is one of the main aims of the study, it deserved much less attention in comparison with the role of the Nordic countries. Exclusion of Baltic sources leads to the conclusion that the United States only provided the “umbrella” under which Nordics did what they found necessary. There is no doubt that Western Europe and Nordic countries in particular were of great importance for consolidation of democracy and start of Euro-Atlantic integration processes in the Baltic states. However, arguing that the progress of the Baltic states is mainly the achievement of their Nordic neighbors sounds somewhat subjective. In other words, more detailed analysis of the U.S. diplomacy and application of concrete instruments would bring more objectivity to this study. Meanwhile, after the focus was put on the Nordic “implementation” of the U.S. policy (instead of the U.S. strategy itself), it is difficult to understand the reasons of why the U.S. attitude was changing during the different periods of time. Dynamics of interests of the “external” players (such as Russia) and the influence they made on the activities of the United States and Nordic countries in the region could be better presented in this study as well.

Final remarks could be made regarding some “sensitivities” which are necessary to be followed when analyzing recent policy and history of the Baltic states. Such an expression as “three former Soviet republics” (p. 91, talking about the Baltic states) contradicts the historical fact that the Baltic states were occupied by the Soviet Union, not included into it on a voluntary basis. Many Western countries did not recognize this annexation, and this allowed the Baltic states to re-establish their statehood on

historical premises. Next, it is very much true that, up until mid-1990s, all the proposals how to provide the Baltic states with appropriate level of security were associated with the concerns of not provoking Russia (p.70). However, the Baltic states have demonstrated clear determination to escape the “gray zone” by starting to participate, from 1994, in NATO and UN operations. Therefore, telling that only official “NATO membership removed the “gray zone” dilemma for the Baltic states” means underestimation of the Euro-Atlantic integration as a process. Finally, the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from the post-soviet space started with leaving Lithuania in August 1993, not in 1994 (as it is stated on p. 66). Nevertheless, these minor inaccuracies do not diminish the value of the study. Book of Ann-Sofie Dahl is strongly recommended to read both for the students and for experts, interested in geopolitical developments and interactions of global and regional actors in the Baltic Sea region.

**Philip Bobbitt, *Terror and Consent:*  
*The Wars for the Twenty-First Century* (Alfred A. Knopf, 2008)**

By *Robert M. Cassidy\**

*Terror and Consent* provides an analysis of the protracted struggle against networked terrorists that is well grounded in history, strategy and law. Philip Bobbitt is eminently qualified to write such an exegesis of the war on terror as he is currently the Herbert Wechsler Professor of Federal Jurisprudence and the Director of the Centre for National Security at Columbia University. He also has a record of distinguished service in key posts of the U.S. Government, including service as Associate Counsel to the President, Legal Counsel to the Senate Select Committee on the Iran-Contra Affair, the Counsellor on International Law for the U.S. Department of State and Director for Intelligence Programmes, Senior Director for Critical Infrastructure, and Senior Director for Strategic Planning at the National Security Council. Moreover, his previous book, *The Shield of Achilles: War, Peace, and the Course of History*, was an excellent work that examined the nexus and interplay of strategy and law during history's epochal wars, beginning with the Thirty Years' War and ending with the Peace of Paris at the end of the Cold War. *Terror and Consent* is essentially a sequel to *The Shield of Achilles*, and I recommend both works to scholars and practitioners of war and strategy as they offer exceedingly germane and excellent perspectives on what this long irregular war of the twenty-first century is all about.

According to Bobbitt, "epochal wars produce fundamental challenges to the state" and "a single epochal war encompasses shorter wars, interposed with periods of little or no fighting, when a central issue links the constituent conflicts and remains unresolved until the ultimate settlement." Before an epochal war can really be concluded, "the dynamic interplay between strategy and the legitimating goals of the state" must be reconciled. *Terror and Consent* examines the interaction of the changing nature of terrorism, the expanding proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD), and the increased vulnerability of the infrastructure of developed states. The author postulates that these three factors are the

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consequences of the interplay between the constitutional and international change that characterizes the twenty-first century. This book analyzes these topics in three principal parts. Part I examines the notion of a war against terror and it includes an analysis of the war our enemies wage against non-combatants. Part II addresses how strategy and law intersect within the internal domestic political arena. This part also includes a comprehensive analysis of the challenges for intelligence analysis that are engendered by bureaucracies and processes that for the most part remain wedded to the last century. Part III amplifies the nexus of legitimacy and strategy in the international area, including a chapter that illumines the imperative of legitimacy in the context of hegemony and the war on terror. This last part and the concluding chapter are particularly salient for what some perceive as a long war of ideas because they emphasize the centrality of moral and legal rectitude in a war between states of consent and non-states of non-consent that promote terror and theocracy in lieu of political sovereignty.

Examples of some of the percipient insights that Bobbitt provides in this work include the observations that “it is becoming increasingly apparent that al Qaeda is not only a reaction to globalization, but that it is a manifestation and exploitation of globalization;” and that “this looming intersection of an innovative organization and a novel means of terror will require a fundamental rethinking of conventional doctrines in international security and foreign policy.” Indeed, the same factors that are enabling the individual and catalyzing the evolution of states into polities devoted to maximizing the opportunity of individuals are also enabling the agents of terror, essentially increasing the vulnerabilities of democratic societies and ultimately menacing the notion of consent as the key source of state legitimacy. With the emergence of al Qaeda and the accelerated internationalization of terrorist networks, Bobbitt proffers that terrorism has “become the extension of diplomacy by other means.” What’s more, he acknowledges, as have many others, that counterinsurgency and counterterrorism are now conflated. In this sense, al Qaeda and its affiliated movements are affecting a revolution in revolution because they perpetrate acts of terror to foment insurrection and to overthrow the regimes of near enemies such as Egypt and Saudi Arabia; and, to undermine the Westphalian system of states along with the United States’ hegemony of this system.

In the end, Bobbitt's prescription is a strategy of "preclusion" wherein the United States and its like-minded allies apply the full range of military and non-military instruments "to preclude hostile acts and the development of capabilities in hostile hands," that once acquired are unlikely to be voluntarily given up, and are more likely to be employed against the domestic populations of America and its partners. Thus, he proposes that the central doctrine for states of consent and legitimacy should be "preclusion," the aim of which is to protect civilians and their duly elected or appointed officials, so that under this protection, "the political development of governance based on consent can take place outside a climate of terror." Moral rectitude, credibility, and the protection of civilians are central tenets of his proposed doctrine of preclusion. Moreover, his notion of protecting civilians is a broad one that engenders protecting not only the civilian populations of the United States and its allies, but also the civilian populations across the globe who may be subject to threats by terrorists, WMD, natural catastrophes, and even actions by our own governments that may be inconsistent with our own constitutions or international laws and norms. In fact, one of the principal threats illuminated in this excellent book is the prospect that the democratic states of consent themselves metamorphose into states of terror by reacting to terrorist attacks in ways that violate their own constitutions and laws.

## **Defence Policies '07 in Brief: Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania\***

### *Estonian Defence Policy in 2007*

If the year 2007 would have to be described from a security and defence policy perspective with only two words, Estonia would surely have to call it the year of cyber security. No other topic was more prevalent and influenced our perception of the Estonian, European and worldwide security environment deeper than security in cyberspace, as the entire Euro-Atlantic area stirred in the aftermath of the cyber-attacks that hit Estonia.

However, 2007 was also another year of successful cooperation within NATO and the EU, as we further consolidated our already strong ties as members of these organizations. Both NATO and EU undoubtedly remain our Estonia's primary partners in political as well as military cooperation. This is witnessed in the operations that are conducted by these organizations in Afghanistan and Kosovo with Estonian participation, as well as in joint initiatives and projects to follow up on the increasing demands of the modern security environment.

### **1. The cyber security challenge**

At the end of April and the beginning of May last year, following the relocation of a Soviet war memorial, Estonia became the target of an overwhelming barrage of cyber attacks. Amongst the targets were government servers, online news, banks and communications companies, but also many other institutions essential to a functioning society. Even though the damage was limited, worse consequences were prevented due to a quick reaction from the Estonian Computer Emergency Response Team (CERT) and swift cooperation between the government and private sector as well as help from other countries.

After the attacks Estonia quickly informed the world about the attack itself and the challenges that cyber security as such presents to the global village. Specifically, widespread use of information systems makes technologically

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\* Policy briefs, commissioned by the *Baltic Security and Defence Review*, where written and provided by the ministries of defence of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

advanced countries inherently more vulnerable as properties of the cyber net present us with problems such as unparalleled anonymity, lack of a sufficient warning and most of all, underlying asymmetry. Combined, these features represent a security challenge that is not only unique, but also dangerous.

NATO proceeded to respond to the cyber security challenge with remarkable speed and effort. After the attacks the Estonian Minister of Defence Dr. Jaak Aaviksoo briefed the Alliance on the issue as early as June 2007 at the NATO ministers of defence meeting. As a consequence, cyber security has been one of the top issues on the Alliance's agenda since then with perhaps the most visible sign being NATO cyber defence policy, released and approved in NATO ministerial meeting in Vilnius and subsequently endorsed at the Bucharest summit.

In addition to this, Tallinn became the location for the NATO Cooperative Cyber Defence Centre of Excellence. Intriguingly, Estonia proposed the idea before the cyber attacks took place and has since then stressed the importance of a Centre of Excellence which would better coordinate the Alliance's common efforts in cyber defence. The Centre of Excellence will mainly act as a cutting edge research centre for technological and conceptual research and development. By providing training, expertise, analysis and conceptual as well as doctrine development the Centre will present Alliance members with an unique opportunity to develop advanced capabilities in order to combat challenges in cyber space through greater synergy. The Centre of Excellence will go through an accreditation procedure and is set to achieve operational capability in January 2009.

Internally, Estonia has responded to the new challenge by drafting a national cyber defence strategy. This document aims to define vulnerabilities and map the road for a comprehensive national cyber security and as such should become the basis for cyber defence in Estonia; to achieve this, the strategy concentrates on five functional areas:

1. Increasing cyber security measures within the society with a special focus on government institutions and critical infrastructure;
2. Increasing competence in the field of cyber security;
3. Creating an appropriate legal environment;
4. Advancing international cooperation;
5. Raising awareness about cyber security in the society.

The strategy is a cooperative endeavour between several ministries, government agencies and experts from the private sector. The final document was approved by the Estonian government on the May 8<sup>th</sup>, 2008.

## **2. Developing capabilities through NATO and the European Union**

NATO and the EU remain the two international pillars to Estonian national security. Tensions in Afghanistan, Kosovo, Africa, the Middle East and other parts of the world have reinforced Estonia's conviction that the presence of capable and willing security cooperation is a keystone of European security. Both NATO and the EU have responded to this challenge by creating rapid reaction forces and encouraging their member states to modernize their military forces to meet the demands of this new security environment. These efforts, which include NATO Response Force and EU Battlegroups, as well as initiatives such as strategic airlift capability, missile defence and cyber defence, are fully supported by Estonia.

From an Estonian point of view, the NRF is the key to reforming the armies of NATO member states in order to guarantee that they remain capable when confronted with modern challenges. Estonian participation in the NRF was in 2007 most strongly manifested in its preparation for the creation of a NRF-14 Baltic battalion in 2010.

Additionally, to maintain a mobile and flexible force, rapid transportation capability is also essential. Seeing as maintaining such a capability separately would be too inefficient for many NATO members, Estonia has found that participation in the C-17 NATO strategic airlift capability (NSAC) initiative is a good opportunity to enhance both the flexibility and interoperability of Alliance forces. In the past year, Estonian officials from the Ministry of Defence participated in workgroups concerning the legal and political side of the NSAC, including drawing up a memorandum of understanding, agreements on deploying the aircraft in Hungarian airbases, negotiations with Boeing and drafting documents regarding Concept of Operations and logistical arrangements. After SAC achieves operational capability, 45 hours of flight time per year will be available to Estonia for deploying our troops into locations all over the world.

Within the EU defence framework, preparations commenced in Estonia to participate in the EU Battlegroups initiative during the first half of 2008, specifically in the Nordic Battlegroup together with Norway, Sweden, Finland and Ireland. Estonia is a strong proponent of developing the EU's rapid reaction force capabilities, and has also principally agreed to participate in the next Nordic Battlegroup in 2011.

The EDA as an institution, which directly deals with the risks, threats and shortcomings outlined in the European defence strategy and long term vision, has an important role to play in the development of the EU's and therefore also within Estonian military capabilities. Estonia contributed to the Joint Investment Programme with EEK 2.5 million (EUR 160 000) and participated in several procurement bids. Estonia hopes to see the EDA take on a more active role in joint procurements in the future.

### **3. Defence cooperation in 2007**

Even though the focal point for Estonia was cyber security, there were many other developments both internationally and nationally that left an impact from a security and defence policy point of view.

Estonia is committed to participating in ongoing international operations. As a result, Estonian troops are currently serving in Iraq, Afghanistan, Kosovo and Bosnia and Herzegovina, with a number of military observers deployed to the Middle East. In 2007, the total number of participating troops varied between 200 and 250 (approximately 8% of the Estonian defence forces) thereby fulfilling the corresponding goal set at the NATO Istanbul summit. Most of the Estonian troops were deployed to Afghanistan and Iraq, and served together with British and American forces. Unfortunately, 2007 also saw two Estonian soldiers killed in action in Afghanistan.

The Baltics have for a long time been one of the priorities on the Estonian cooperation agenda. One of the most important issues for all three Baltic states is air policing, which so far has been provided by our NATO allies. A decision was made by the Baltic states to develop a joint analysis of air policing options for post 2018 and look into drafting a political guideline. In September, a joint decision was made to start covering the costs for the accommodation of the international air policing starting with 2008 with

additional plans to start covering the deployment and redeployment costs in the longer perspective.

Plans for future Baltic defence cooperation were further elaborated with progress in the preparation of the NRF-14 Baltic battalion. In April, a military committee headed by the Commander-in-Chiefs of the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian defence forces approved the basic structure and a roadmap towards creating the battalion. In May, the Ministerial Committee approved the Political Guidance of the Baltic States Defence Ministers for the Formation of a Multinational Battalion (Baltic Battalion) in NRF-14. Progress was further cemented with a Memorandum of Understanding signed by the Baltic Ministers of Defence in September, which details the principles and obligations of each state in the NRF-14 Baltic battalion. Finally, an interim allocation of positions in Baltic battalion HQ was confirmed and an interim training and exercise directive approved in October. Additionally, during the past year four meetings of the Joint Military Working Group, which coordinates the creation of the battalion and prepares necessary documents, took place.

Cooperation also continued within the frameworks of the BALTRON mine hunter squadron, the Baltic Defence College and joint defence procurements. The latter was manifested in the joint procurement of anti-tank ammunition from Sweden's SAAB-Bofors. Finally, in September the Annual Baltic Conference of Defence held in cooperation of the Ministries of Defence of the Baltic countries successfully looked at the topic "NATO in Afghanistan – facing the shortfalls, measuring the success".

#### **4. Progress in Estonian outreach policy**

Estonia's outreach policy continued to expand with new projects and initiatives aimed at supporting the recipients in rebuilding and reforming their respective countries. Estonian policy is defined by the concept of prioritized target countries, which by taking into account Estonia's security and defence policy and willingness to cooperate are designated as our preferred outreach partners. In 2007, these countries included Afghanistan, Ukraine, Georgia and Moldova. A strong argument in Estonian outreach policy is that in addition to participation in military operations, it is very important to help new democratic countries as they democratize and modernize their societies.

In Afghanistan, Estonia provided financial aid for reconstruction and helped the Bost hospital in Helmand province with highly needed medical equipment. Medical cooperation is expected to grow in the future and in 2008 it will continue with more equipment and financial aid being delivered to Afghanistan. To make this process easier, preparations were made in 2007 to send an Estonian medical expert to the Laskar Gah Provincial Reconstruction Team where the Bost hospital is located. Estonian subject matter expert will complement the Estonian civil official from the Ministry of Defence who is already working with ISAF in Afghanistan in the field of improving parliamentary relations between the Ministry of Defence and the parliament.

In the Caucasus region, Estonia's focus is on supporting the nations of Georgia and Ukraine. In 2007, eight projects in different fields, including defence planning and IT, were completed in Georgia. In Ukraine, Estonia provided advice and know-how aimed at strengthening the principle of civilian control in the process of security reform. Furthermore, as a strong proponent of open door policy, Estonia continues to welcome progress in countries that are aspiring to join NATO. Throughout 2007 Estonia continued to support the initiative to give the Membership Action Plan to Georgia and Ukraine, as well as invite Croatia, Albania and Macedonia to join NATO at the 2008 Bucharest summit.

### **5. Prospects in domestic defence and security**

Compared to the previous year, the 2007 Estonian defence budget increased about 34% to a total of EEK 4.061 billion (EUR 260 million). This amounts to 1.62% of the GDP, which takes Estonia closer to the NATO benchmark (unofficially recommended 2% of the GDP). The fact that the Estonian economy was experiencing rapid growth throughout 2007 made reaching desired level of defence expenditures rather difficult.

Nationally, several significant developments took place, most notably in defence investments and procurements. In September, the Estonian Navy received the first of the three Sandown-class mine hunters procured from the United Kingdom. The other two vessels will be delivered in 2008 and 2009. These ships will strengthen the Estonian Navy's mine-hunting capabilities, which have been used in the NRF framework as well as in Baltic maritime cooperation.



In August, repair and renovation work was completed on two piers of the Tallinn naval port. The port is an important part of Estonian as well as NATO capabilities in the Baltic region by providing military ships with a specialized harbour. The second large investment project that was officially announced was the modernization of Amari Air Base near Tallinn. The aim of the project is to completely renovate the airfield and its supporting infrastructure, thus making it possible for the air base to function as a fully NATO interoperable airfield in the future. During 2007, procurements for the engineering projects for the maintenance complex and fuel station were made and the project for the landing and taxing area was approved. This is the first time for Estonia to cooperate in such a project with the Alliance. In the case of Amari, this will happen through the NATO Security Investment Programme, which will contribute a part of the funding necessary for the modernization of the air base.

Also of note are two documents that are going to have a strong impact on the future of Estonian defence policy. First, legislation on the status of the Estonian defence forces reached its final stages of drafting and will most probably be ratified in the parliament during the first half of 2008. This legislation will regulate three areas that have so far caused some misunderstanding in Estonian defence regulation – legal status of the defence forces, leadership of the defence forces and status of military intelligence. Among other things, the legislation will regulate the chain of command in the defence forces, and also define the legal basis, purpose and institutional position of the defence forces' military intelligence department.

Secondly, in 2007 the Estonian Ministry of Defence began the process of drawing up a Estonian Defence Forces 10-year development plan. As the current development plan time horizon extends until 2010, there is a clear need for an updated and further-reaching document, which takes into account changes in the security environment in the recent years. The main goal of the 10-year development plan is to harmonize the national and NATO defence planning cycles as well as to define long-term goals for development of defence forces. When ready, the development plan will define the long-term outlook on Estonian security and defence.

## Conclusion

From the Estonian security and defence point of view, 2007 was a year of many new initiatives and projects, a year of success, but also of new security issues. From the perspective of cyber security, 2007 could be called a “year of no return”, which will mark the rising importance of this topic and its increasing prevalence in global security.

Estonian troops continued to successfully participate in international operations. This readiness is further reinforced by our participation in the EU Nordic Battlegroup and preparations for a NRF-14 Baltic battalion. In the light of the international and domestic developments of the past year, we can remain positive that the successes which we saw in 2007 will continue in the coming years.

## ***Latvia's Security and Defence Policy in 2007/2008***

The development of a new State Defence Concept, the redeployment of Latvian forces and gradual increase in Afghanistan were among the most important events in the Latvian defence policy in 2007 and the beginning of 2008.

The collective defence guarantees provided by NATO and participation in the European Security and Defence Policy continued to be a stable basis for the Latvian security and defence. As a member of NATO and the EU Latvia is provided with greater security, but at the same time it remains open to new security environment and new threats. To improve Latvia's ability to stand against the new threats and adapt the Latvian defence system to new tasks the Ministry of Defence developed the new State Defence Concept.

Furthermore, Latvia steadily continued to improve its military capabilities by participating in the NATO Response Force and preparing rapid reaction units to participation in EU Battlegroups. It was also important to evaluate first lessons-learned from the transit to the professional armed forces and to continue modernisation of the armed forces. Latvia also continued to fulfil its operational commitments and provide assistance to NATO partner countries in defence sector reform process. Important decisions were taken regarding the host nation support for the NATO air policing mission and a policy paper "The Baltic View on the Way Ahead on NATO Air Policing Mission in the Baltic States" was endorsed.

In the follow-on chapters we would like to present a short overview of these and other important events in the Latvian defence policy.

### **1. State Defence Concept**

The Ministry of Defence has developed the new State Defence Concept that was approved by the government on May 20<sup>th</sup>, 2008\*. It is prepared in accordance with Latvia's geopolitical situation, national security and foreign policy objectives, and Latvia's commitments *vis-à-vis* NATO and the EU.

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\* According to the National Security Law the State Defence Concept has to be approved by the parliament (*Saeima*). It is expected that the concept will come into force by October 2008.

The concept defines strategic principles of the Latvian defence policy and Latvia's role in international security environment. The concept serves as the basis for the planning guidelines for the development of the National Armed Forces (hereinafter NAF).

Strengthening Latvia's military capabilities, NATO's collective defence principle and military cooperation with allied nations is fundamental in ensuring national security and defence. Military cooperation with the Baltic countries, the Nordic countries and the USA, which will continue to be an important strategic partner for Latvia in the future, is important in facilitating security of Latvia and the whole region.

The concept focuses on capabilities-based planning setting for the NAF (a) specific requirements for military capabilities, e.g. efficiency, deployability, multifunctionality, information superiority, and (b) specific directions of development, e.g. professionalization, modernization, deployable capabilities. It states that the total number of personnel in the NAF shall not exceed 20000, of whom 5800 are professional soldiers and the others are National Guard' members, military and civilian employees.

To improve Latvia's participation in international operations, the Concept determines that in mid-term not less than 8% of NAF personnel shall be permanently deployed in areas of operations, comprising 450 soldiers in total. Not less than 40% of the total NAF personnel should be prepared for participation in operations led by NATO, the EU and other international organizations. In mid-term, the NAF must develop the capability to deploy and permanently sustain one platoon-level unit in area of operations 15000 km from Latvia's borders, one company-level unit at a distance of 5000 km, and two company-level unites with integrated combat support and combat service support capabilities at a distance of 3000 km. Furthermore, the article on defence resources states that funding for defence shall be allocated to the amount of 2% of GDP.

## **2. Development of the National Armed Forces**

The decision on transition to professional armed forces has proved to be a success story and has considerably improved Latvia's military capabilities and ability to fulfil national defence tasks. Nevertheless, the modernization of the NAF is still ongoing and is focused to professionally-trained,

flexible, well-equipped armed forces that are able effectively to cooperate within NATO and EU units.

Development of professional armed forces has also brought some challenges. The decrease of birth rate in early 90's has imposed additional constraint today and in near future. Since there is no compulsory military service, the NAF is making great efforts to be able to recruit and motivate best possible candidates. Taking into account that a competitive salary is one of main motivational factors and in order to ensure long-term competitiveness in the labour market and thereby be able to recruit the required number of personnel for national defence, in 2007 the government has increased salary of soldiers by up to 70%, of higher ranked personnel approximately by 30%. Participation in international operations is better rewarded as well.

To ensure the link with society, role of the National Guard – a voluntary military public self-defence formation – has become even more important. The National Guard participated in dozen rescue and disaster relief operations, thus providing visible presence and credibility for citizens. Altogether the National Guard consisted of more than ten thousand volunteers. The National Guard also continued to develop capabilities needed for Latvia's participation in international operations and to ensure host nation support. Thus, the National Guard becomes a significant support for national defence and for fulfilling Latvia's commitments as regards NATO and the EU.

Latvia continued to develop capabilities needed for international operations. Latvia considers the NATO Response Force (NRF) as one of the most important tools for the development of NATO's expeditionary capabilities. The NRF should be at the core of the NATO's Article 5 guarantees and an important tool being used as a quick response to crises. Latvia's contribution to the NRF in 2007 was a Military police unit that participated in the 8<sup>th</sup> rotation of the NRF.

One of the main challenges in the upcoming years for Latvia and also for the other Baltic states will be participation in 14<sup>th</sup> rotation of the NRF \* – the first half of 2010. The Baltic states have already signed a Memorandum

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\* Latvia plans to participate with 310 soldiers coming from different NAF units.

of Understanding to start the preparation process for our common rotation. These common Baltic states' efforts will be a "vehicle" for both transformation of the Latvian Armed Forces and ever closer cooperation among the three Baltic states.

Latvia also continued multinational consultations on the establishment of the German-Latvian-Lithuanian-Polish-Slovak EU Battlegroup for stand-by period in the first semester 2010. Poland is the framework nation of this Battlegroup. Latvia's contribution to the Battlegroup is staff officers (13 soldiers), an Explosive Ordinance Disposal platoon (18 soldiers), a Military Police platoon (34 soldiers), and a national support element (6 soldiers) – in total 71 soldiers.

Initial consultations with all nations started in February 2005. Approaching the stand-by period, in the 2007 Polish-led Battlegroup nations worked on logistics, legal and operational aspects of the Battlegroup, including training and certification programme.

The gradually increasing defence budget – reaching 1.79% of GDP (EUR 357 mln.) in 2007 – provided a solid basis for continuous development of Latvia's defence capabilities.

Some of the most important modernisation projects were the development of sea patrol vessels and the NAF communication system. The Ministry of Defence also continued to develop the military airport in Lielvarde and the sea surveillance system. In 2008 these ongoing projects will be continued. Furthermore, Latvia will begin mechanization of land forces by acquiring armoured vehicles and the Naval Forces will be strengthened with additional countermine vessels.

### **3. Participation in international operations**

Being a member of NATO and the EU gives greater security and also requires greater responsibilities. In order to contribute to international security and stability Latvia has participated in several international operations. Participation in operations demonstrated that Latvia is ready to take part in burden-sharing. It also gave an opportunity to test whether the theoretical knowledge and practical skills acquired during training are suited for real-life armed conflicts.

Throughout the year 2007, Latvia has participated in international operations altogether with 344 soldiers, but by the end of the year 97 Latvian soldiers were deployed in the NATO-led operation in Afghanistan (International Security Assistance Force, ISAF) that is Latvia's operational priority. Latvia also continued participation in three other international operations – the NATO-led operation in Kosovo KFOR with 19 soldiers, Multinational operation Iraqi Freedom with three soldiers and the EU-led operation in Bosnia and Herzegovina EUFOR ALTHEA with two soldiers.

Recognising the need for comprehensive solutions in Afghanistan, Latvia has approved a comprehensive strategy for military and civilian involvement in Afghanistan for the period of 2007 to 2013 that defines Latvia's further civil-military involvement in Afghanistan.

### **3.1 Afghanistan**

Latvia increased its contingent in Afghanistan almost three times – from 36 in 2006 to 97 soldiers in 2007. Altogether, 172 Latvian soldiers were deployed to Afghanistan. The contingent consisted of explosive ordnance disposal specialists, staff officers, force protection personnel and a military observation team. Most Latvian soldiers were located in the Norway-led Provincial reconstruction team in Meymana. Additional support was provided by three civilian experts – one political and two police advisers. Latvia also started its first civilian reconstruction project that aimed at providing several thousands of Afghans with clean water resources. It is planned that Latvia will increase its contribution to approximately 150 soldiers involving National Guard by participating in an Operational Mentor and Liaison Team in the second part of 2008.

### **3.2 Kosovo**

Latvia's contribution to the NATO-led Kosovo Force (KFOR) was 34 soldiers in 2007. Taking into account still unstable political and military situation in Kosovo, Latvia plans to keep its contribution at the same level. The main tasks of Latvian soldiers will be maintaining public order and supporting the operation's headquarters.

### **3.3 Iraq**

Latvia transferred the responsibility for security in its controlled area to Iraqi national forces in the beginning of 2007. Therefore for the most part the Latvian contingent (more than 100 soldiers) left Iraq. Only three soldiers remained and continued to fulfil their tasks in the operation's headquarters.

### **3.4 Bosnia and Herzegovina**

The NATO-led operation in Bosnia and Herzegovina became the first Latvian international operation back in 1996. Latvia contributed to the EU-led operation EUFOR ALTHEA with two soldiers in operation's headquarters in 2007 and it is planned to maintain the same contribution till the end of the operation.

## **4. Air policing**

The NATO air policing mission in the Baltic states has been the most visible proof for collective defence guarantees provided by the Alliance since Latvia joined it. Taking into account that the Baltic states are not yet able to guarantee security of their air space by own means, NATO has agreed to conduct the air policing mission till 2011 by revising the decision in 2009. The air policing mission demonstrates solidarity of the Allies and allows Latvia to pursue development of deployable capabilities needed for the Alliance's operations.

The NATO air policing mission related expenses which involve host nation support to the NATO air policing mission contributing countries are shared by the three Baltic states. In 2007, the important decisions regarding host nation support were taken. The Baltic states have agreed to cover accommodations costs of the contributing contingents starting with January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2008. The Baltic states will provide assistance in personnel and equipment deployment-related activities from January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2010.

On January 12<sup>th</sup>, 2007, Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian Ministers of Defence endorsed policy paper "The Baltic View on the Way Ahead on NATO Air Policing Mission in the Baltic States" in which they agreed to



seek the continuation of the current NATO air policing mission until 2018 and jointly explore all possible options for air policing after 2018.

The Common Political Guidance for conducting a common Baltic states' analysis for air policing in the post 2018 period was approved by the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian Ministers of Defence at the end of May 2008. The Political Guidance defines level of ambition and sets a framework for conducting a common analysis of options for air policing in the Baltic states after 2018. It is defined that our level of ambition for air policing beyond 2018 is to have solution which meets all NATO standards in the airspace of each of the Baltic states and is an integral part of the NATO Integrated Air Defence system, and adheres to the principle of the collective security of the Alliance. It is significant that Air Policing aircrafts have to be deployed on the territory of the Baltic states.

## **5. Bilateral defence cooperation**

Latvia continued cooperation with its traditional partners in the field of security – the USA, the Baltic states and other regional partners of whom enhanced cooperation with Norway plays a central role. The signed Memorandum of Understanding between Norway and Latvia last autumn serves as a good basis for intensified cooperation in the field of defence planning, support and logistics, operational issues, as well as between the three services of the Latvian NAF and the Norwegian Armed Forces.

New forms and fields of cooperation are being developed. In cooperation with the USA, as the main strategic partner in the field of defence, Latvia is developing the Operational Mentor and Liaison Team which will be deployed in Afghanistan to train the Afghan National Army later this year.

The cooperation in the framework of the Baltic states continues within the existing projects: BALTDEFCOL, BALTRON, BALTNET etc., at the same time Baltic experts are also looking for new fields of cooperation that would bring it forward in accordance to national defence policy and planning objectives, simultaneously enhancing efficient use of financial resources. As it was mentioned earlier, a good example of continuing close cooperation is the formation of a common battalion for participation in the 14<sup>th</sup> rotation of the NRF.

## 5.1 Security assistance policy

Latvia's own experience in implementing the security sector reforms and successful accession talks with NATO have given experience that allows assisting other nations wishing to undergo similar reform process and integrate into the Euro-Atlantic structures. Latvia has established intensive co-operation with the South Caucasus countries, especially Georgia, as well as Moldova and Ukraine. Projects of smaller scale have also been developed with the Western Balkans.

While maintaining traditional bilateral co-operation, the Ministry of Defence has developed additional co-operation in the three main directions: (1) training of partnering countries personnel (Baltic Diving Centre, Baltic Defence College, on the job training etc); (2) consultations for partnering countries' defence experts in different areas (PR, personnel, logistics, resources etc); (3) strengthening military capabilities (donating, equipment, contributing to NATO/PfP Trust Funds etc). During the recent year Latvia has accredited defence attaché to: (1) Georgia and Azerbaijan with residence in Tbilisi, (2) Ukraine and Moldova, with residence in Kiev and (3) Armenia, with residence in Moscow. Non-residential advisers have been appointed to Georgia and Moldova.

Latvia is also actively engaged in different multilateral assistance formats, such as the Nordic-Baltic Sector Reform Initiative (NBI) and the South Caucasus and Moldova Clearing House (SCMCH). The focus of the NBI assistance is more concentrated towards Ukraine and Western Balkans, whereas the SCMCH as an international donor forum enhanced better coordination of international assistance efforts for Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Moldova. Latvia continues to value the international assistance coordination mechanisms and took over the Chairmanship for the SCMCH also in 2008.

Latvia continued cooperation with South East European countries. In the framework of the Baltic-Adriatic initiative political dialogue and cooperation in defence sector reforms was continued on several levels, which were ranging from specific experts meetings to defence ministers. Recognizing the successful defence transformation process and fulfilment of the Membership Action Plan, Latvia actively supported Croatia's, Albania's and Macedonia's efforts to join NATO. It is planned that after

their accession to NATO their cooperation with Latvia will be strengthened in driver training, environmental protection, military education, training and legal issues.

### **Conclusion**

The successful participation in the major international NATO- and EU-led operations, including increased military and civilian contribution to facilitate further reconstruction and stabilization in Afghanistan are among the achievements of the Latvian security and defence policy. The development of the new State Defence Concept will stipulate mid-term and long-term guidelines for fulfilling national and also collective defence tasks. Additionally, achievements in the development of the NAF have greatly improved Latvia's ability to stand against new threats. Assuming co-responsibility for ensuring security in the Euro-Atlantic area, Latvia actively participates in strengthening international security, which is simultaneously an investment to the Latvian security. An important part of this process is our support to partnering countries in implementing defence reforms.

## ***Defence Policy of Lithuania in 2007***

Defence policy activities of Lithuania in 2007 were continuously concentrated in building a secure and stable environment and ensuring a reliable defence. NATO was a key instrument to keep transatlantic security links and European security relationships undamaged and fortified. The EU security and defence policy was paramount in building security and stability in and around Europe.

Some developments, which occurred in our security environment, have influenced our defence policy. Decisions concerning future deployment of the U.S. missile defence elements in Europe were discussed, raising the issue of NATO missile defence among the others at the top of the Alliance agenda as well. Cyber-attacks against Estonia last year showed a danger of the non-traditional threats, which hardly can be responded and mitigated by traditional conventional means. Russia's unilateral moratorium on CFE treaty undermined conventional arms control regime in Europe and diminished overall confidence in the region. However, we expect the disagreements regarding the CFE treaty will be resolved and mutual consensus between NATO and Russia achieved.

Lithuania maintained a close working relationship within NATO, the EU and with partners, developing and implementing its defence policy while contributing to the resolution of the pressing international security issues around the globe.

Several defence policy issues were of particular significance for Lithuania in 2007: NATO Air Policing policy and mission in the Baltic countries, active participation in NATO and the EU initiatives and international operations, transformation and strengthening capabilities of the Armed Forces, and partnerships.

### **1. NATO and the EU initiatives in Lithuania's defence policy agenda**

While NATO is in the transformation process as responding to the security challenges of the 21st century, Lithuania keeps stressing that the collective defence commitment is the first and foremost important principle of NATO. Therefore, Lithuania supports the development of NATO defence

capabilities, specifically those, which are launched to establish and maintain common assets.

The development of the NATO's Response Force (NRF) is a keystone element in the Alliance deployable capability package, and a driving force of Lithuania's Armed Forces transformation as well. In 2007, Lithuania has contributed to the NRF by assigning one mine countermeasures vessel and staff officers from the Special Operation Forces. In 2008, Lithuania will offer a Special Operation Forces squadron, a Water Purification Unit, and a Joint Airport Support Unit for Air Control Command. In 2010, Lithuania plans to prepare a 420-strong land forces unit within joint Baltic battalion.

The C17 airlift capability initiative, which, when implemented, will provide a strategic airlift capability for NATO is a sound example of sharing responsibility among nations in formation of the new common assets. Lithuania in team with other supporting nations is ready to procure and deliver this capability for the Alliance and national needs.

Cyber-attacks against Estonia last year sent a strong signal for a comprehensive revision concerning the security of the national and NATO communication and information systems. Lithuania actively supported the drafting and adoption of the NATO Cyber defence policy, and now participates in the development of the NATO cyber defence capability. Lithuania is closely involved in the establishment process of the Cooperative Cyber Defence Centre of Excellence in Tallinn, Estonia, and, as a Sponsoring Nation, will assign one military staff officer to this Centre. Lithuania is convinced the Cooperative Cyber Defence Centre of Excellence will enhance its national and NATO cyber defence capabilities.

Riga Summit's tasking on energy security served as a basis for the intensive and protracted discussions on NATO's role in energy security field. Lithuania was actively engaged in these discussions supporting not merely NATO's involvement in military and civil protection activities of the vital energy infrastructure and sea lines of communication but also a political role NATO might be able to take. Lithuania is determined to stay active in promoting NATO engagement in this field, specifically encouraging the development of the appropriate NATO capabilities.

The discussions concerning NATO's future missile defence system, including theatre level, is all about NATO's defence credibility and unity of effort. Lithuania is sure that the deployment of U.S. missile defence system elements in Europe will serve positively in two aspects. Firstly, the presence of the U.S. elements in Europe will encourage the development of the NATO missile defence system. Secondly, the transatlantic link would be fortified by real European participation in this important project.

Lithuania maintained its active involvement in the EU security and defence policy, particularly supporting the initiatives for the development of the civil and military capabilities, including those launched by the European Defence Agency. Lithuania continued its preparation to participate in the common EU Battlegroup with Poland, Germany, Slovakia and Latvia, which has to reach its stand-by position in the first half of 2010. Currently, Lithuania is planning to assign to this Battlegroup a company size unit.

## **2. Air policing in the Baltic states: major developments**

Future of NATO Air Policing mission in the Baltic countries was one of the forefront issues in the defence policy agenda of Lithuania. Lithuania with Latvia and Estonia is seeking the continuation of the NATO Air Policing mission at least until 2018. Also, Baltic countries agreed to explore jointly all possible options for NATO Air Policing beyond 2018, including acquisition of their own capabilities.

In 2007, the North Atlantic Council endorsed the decision to continue NATO Air Policing in the Baltic states until the end of 2011. On their side, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia made important steps facilitating the execution of the NATO Air Policing mission. Accordingly, it was decided to enhance the Host Nation Support arrangements for the Allies, participating in the NATO Air Policing mission.

## **3. Transformation and strengthening capabilities of the Armed Forces of Lithuania**

In 2007, Lithuania approved the Guidelines of the Armed Forces Transformation. In general, for Lithuania the vision of the Armed Forces implies new operating concepts, organizations, new technology, which will change the way in which the Armed Forces have traditionally operated,

and, most importantly, the willingness to try different ways of approaching problems. In particular, the approved guidelines have discerned areas requiring reorganisation in the Armed Forces of Lithuania, have set the timelines for the reorganisation and expected results.

Transformation of the Armed Forces of Lithuania is a comprehensive and coherent process. It set ambitious targets for the Armed Forces and encompasses different areas of the Lithuanian Armed Forces activities, such as personnel policy, doctrines, logistics, structure and etc.

The transformed Armed Forces of Lithuania will consist of fully professional military personnel. In the spring of 2008, Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania (the Parliament) adopted the Resolution on the Principles of Organization of the Armed Forces of Lithuania. The Resolution noted that it was worthwhile to move to the Armed Forces based on the professional military service and volunteer military service. However, it was pointed out that the mandatory military service institution, according to the Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania, should be preserved in case of mobilization. Thereby conscription as a primary mandatory military service including basic military training is not abolished; rather it is suspended and might be restored upon a decision of the Parliament. Each year the Parliament should decide on the necessity of the primary mandatory military service and conscript numbers. It reflects a cautious approach taking into account hardly predictable security environment trends in the region.

The establishment of the Joint Headquarters of the Armed Forces is one of the most significant transformation projects. Joint HQ has been recently established; it is presumed that it should be fully operational in the second half of 2008. A project team has been established to work out a detailed design of the Joint HQ and streamline the overall operational planning process that would help to enhance operational Armed Forces capabilities and more effective employment of forces.

Lithuania continues working hard towards the envisioned integration of the Ministry of National Defence and Defence Staff. When accomplished, it would really help us to streamline strategic level management processes, and develop tight civil-military horizontal relationships in various defence

management areas, rejuvenating and complementing the whole transformation process.

In parallel with the transformation process, Lithuania continued improving military capabilities of its Armed Forces. Much effort was devoted to the preparation of the much-needed combat support units of the deployable infantry battalion, which is a part of the motorized infantry brigade. Two years back the Motorized Infantry Brigade “Iron Wolf” was affiliated to a Land Forces division of Denmark. Thus, Lithuania continued participation in the interoperability enhancing exercises within the Danish division, which gives us prime experience of acting in the framework of larger military units.

Special Operation Forces were developed and trained further in order to carry out special military operations, including counter-terrorist operations and other missions with high readiness tasks beyond the territory of Lithuania when necessary. Special Operation Forces were granted a legal status of the separate service within the Armed Forces of Lithuania in April 2008. It is expected to achieve a more balanced development and employment of the Special Operation Forces as required.

Major defence procurement programmes in 2007 were planned and implemented, seeking to replace old armament of the Land Forces starting to acquire automatic rifles, antitank grenade launchers and ammunition, mine clearing and communication equipment, short-range air defence systems and cross-country vehicles. Air Force modernization programmes concentrated mainly on the improvement of the aircraft maintenance and airfield maintenance and support equipment. In 2007, Lithuania launched a very important Navy modernisation project. Based on the Lithuanian-Danish agreement, Lithuania will acquire two Flyvefisken class patrol crafts starting from 2008.

#### **4. Partnerships**

Since Lithuania is a full-fledged member of NATO and the EU, it welcomes membership aspirations expressed by some of the Eastern European countries and advance their integration into the Euro-Atlantic community. Lithuania continuously extends its support for Ukraine,



Georgia, also for Azerbaijan, Armenia and Moldova in their efforts to reform defence sectors and improve interoperability with NATO forces.

Lithuania acknowledges the Ukrainian efforts to proceed with the defence reform. Our financial and expertise contribution within the NATO assistance programmes for Ukraine has been enhanced. In the framework of the joint Nordic-Baltic Initiative for Ukraine, Lithuania provided professional expertise on public relations and legal matters. Lithuania continued to sponsor Ukrainian participants at the long-term English language training and the International Captain Course at the Lithuanian Military Academy. Also, Lithuania extended sponsorship of the Ukrainian student at the Baltic Defence College. On the other hand, we have received valuable support from Ukraine for our PRT activity in Afghanistan. Since 2007, Ukrainian military doctors serve in the Lithuania-led PRT in Ghowr province.

Lithuania is strongly backing Georgia's endeavours to proceed along the path of the Euro-Atlantic integration. Recognizing that it is not a short road to go, Lithuania is ready to consistently support Georgia in the future. Lithuania and Georgia have expanded their cooperation in 2007. Since the previous year, a Georgian military doctor serves alongside with Ukrainian colleagues in the Lithuania-led PRT in Afghanistan.

Lithuania continued to support Armenia and Azerbaijan and Georgia in the framework of the South Caucasus Clearing House, which is an important tool coordinating international and national assistance efforts. Since 2007, Moldova, backed by the efforts of Lithuania and NATO, has joined this format. The representatives of these countries continued to attend the International Captain, English language and Enlargement Experience courses at the Lithuanian Military Academy.

In 2007, Lithuania hosted a High-Level Meeting of the NATO-Russia Working Group on Defence Reform and Cooperation. Among the issues discussed were the questions of NATO's military transformation, Russia's military reform and future of the NATO-Russia defence cooperation. This event served in building upon the common interests while learning to accept NATO and Russia's differences.

## 6. Participation in international operations

In June 2007, the Lithuanian Parliament adopted the Resolution on Participation in International Operations. The provisions of the Resolution enable sending military units, including civilian personnel, to the Balkans, Central and South Asia, South Caucasus and Persian Gulf regions. Current resolution otherises participation of up to 420 military personnel in missions and operations abroad till the end of 2010.

In 2007, a total of 804 military personnel participated in international operations and missions, of which 629 in NATO and 175 in non-NATO led operations. The biggest engagement throughout 2007 has remained the operation in Afghanistan. Lithuania-led Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT) in the Western province of Ghowr has taken the responsibility to enhance Afghan Government's reach by supporting its institutions and assisting their capacity-building and to establish secure and safe environment so that the development and reconstruction efforts could take place. Since 2005, when the PRT was established, a number of initiatives in security, rule of law, health care and education development sectors were implemented. One of the primary tasks of the PRT has remained the capacity-building and enhancement of efficiency and accountability of public administration and provincial security institutions. However, more active endeavours and balanced implementation of national development programmes by Afghan Government is required. Improvements of living standards, especially for those who maintain fragile stability and security, should be an important effort of Afghan authorities and international donors. The United Nations Assistance Mission's (UNAMA) wider outreach within the country is significant for tangible progress. Therefore, Lithuania delegated one military officer to the UNAMA.

While dealing with the security improvement issues in Western Afghanistan, Lithuania reacted to the capability shortfalls, which restrained overall NATO effort in South Afghanistan. Therefore, Lithuanian Special Operations squadron was deployed in the South in 2007.

Participation in the U.S.-led coalition in Iraq continued with an infantry unit and staff officers. Lithuania remained active in the NATO-led KFOR in Kosovo and EU ALTHEA mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina, rotating infantry units and staff officers. Lithuania is considering further

contributions to the build-up of the Kosovo Security Institutions, including Ministry of Defence, and is ready to send its experts in the framework of overall international assistance to Kosovo.

Lithuania demonstrated support for the EU efforts to improve security situation in Chad and Central African Republic. When an agreement to launch the EU operation on Chad was reached, Lithuania made a decision to assign two staff officers to the Operation Headquarters in France. Lithuania is also contributing with two officers to the United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia.