

“Getting to Tomorrow: A Plea for Strategic Reformation”

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Focusing on the Future

- The future is where we are destined to spend the rest of our lives.
- We can either attempt to shape it or be victimized by it.
- We can either be strategic or not.

Being Strategic

- “Grasping” the future.
- Thinking:
 - Critically.
 - Creatively.
 - Holistically.
- Understanding strategy’s essence.

Linking Today and Tomorrow

Our view of the future



Our actions (and thoughts) today



The actual future

The Future We Can't Predict

- Whether China will become a global superpower or balkanize.
- Whether China and Taiwan will war, reconcile, or divorce.
- Whether Russia will democratize or remilitarize.
- Whether NATO will revivify or dissolve.
- Whether and when the two Koreas will reunify.
- What will become of post-Castro Cuba, post-Saddam Iraq, or the post-Milosevic Balkans.
- Whether OPEC will survive.

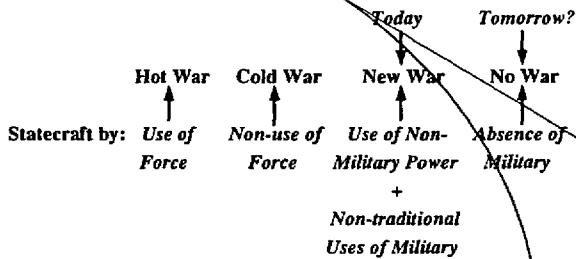
The Future We Can Foresee

- Global interconnectedness, compression, transparency.
- Heightened expectations.
- Magnification of effects.
- **Convergence of strategic-tactical.**
- Lower crisis threshold.
- Reduced response time.
- Increased disaster potential.

The Future We Can Foresee

- Intolerance for casualties.
- Confused sovereignty.
- Subliminal forms of aggression, intervention.
- Diffused power; proliferating violence.
- Contingency expansion.
- Profusion of undeclared internal "non-wars."
- Accelerated technological obsolescence.

The Grand Evolution of War



Thinking Critically: Demolishing Received Truth

- The United States is the world's only superpower?
- History has ended (liberal democracy and capitalism have triumphed)?
- A revolution in military affairs is underway?
- There are clearly identifiable national interests?
- Preparing for war can produce real peace?
- Technology is the answer?

What Strategy Is

- Philosophy of Global Conduct
- Management of Perceptions
- Marriage of Ends-Means
- Exercise of Power

Strategy as Philosophy of Global Conduct

- Is there objective reality (e.g., threats, national interests), or do we create it in our minds?
- Is the future an inevitable repetition of the past, or can we shape a future that is different?
- Is there an immutable essence to war, or may war assume a variety of forms?
- Is preparing for war the best—or only—way to produce peace?
- What is the fundamental purpose of the military?

What is Peace?

- The absence of war?
- The absence of conflict?
- The absence of violent, collective conflict?
- The absence of violent, collective conflict *and* the presence of justice?

What is the Military for?

- Preparing for/waging war?
- Providing for the common defense?
- Preventing war?
- Providing for security?
- **Securing/preserving peace?**

Strategy as Perceptions Management

- Creating/projecting **images**; manipulating **symbols**; constructing/deconstructing/reconstructing **reality**.
- *Strength; Success/Victory; Presence; Threat; Risk; Deterrence; Aggression; Militarism*
- The Keys: **Credibility, Hypocrisy, Arrogance.**

Strategy as Marriage of Ends-Means

The overriding questions:

- *What ends should we seek?*
- *Should ends dictate means?*
Should available means constrain the ends sought?

Democracy's Strategic Aims

- Assured Security
- Crisis Prevention
- Preservation of Civil Society

What is Security?

Security < Defense?

Security = Defense?

Security > Defense?

Security as Negative Freedom

Freedom from:

- Doubt and Fear
- Harm and Danger
- Threat and Intimidation
- Need and Want

Toward Assured Security (from America's Security Credo)

- A More Perfect Union (national unity)
- Justice
- Domestic Tranquility
- Common Defense
- General Welfare
- Liberty

Security: Deductive or Inductive?



The Ingredients of Crisis

- Unforeseen/Unanticipated.
- Threatens something important.
- Diverts resources and time from primary purposes.
- Time-sensitive.
- Demands immediate response.
- **Situation Dominance.**
- **Symptom Dominance.**

Civil Society

The interactive constellation of institutions (public and private) and values (rights and obligations) that give democracy its name and permit society to function with civility

The Threat to Civil Society

That which, in providing for the common defense:

- > creates or feeds injustice,
 - > foments civil unrest,
 - > diminishes the general welfare,
 - > infringes on civil liberties, or
 - > aggravates tensions, instability, and militarism,
- undermines civil society and produces insecurity rather than security.

The Measure of Strategic Effectiveness

= f (Goal Attainment)

= f (Perceptions Management)

Unity: of Purpose

of Effort

of Action →

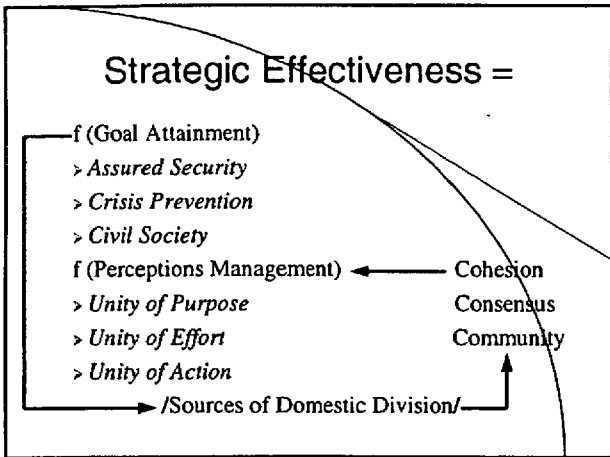
Coherence

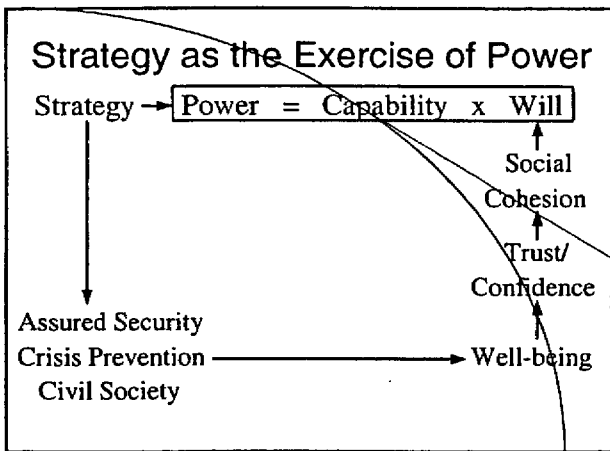
Consistency

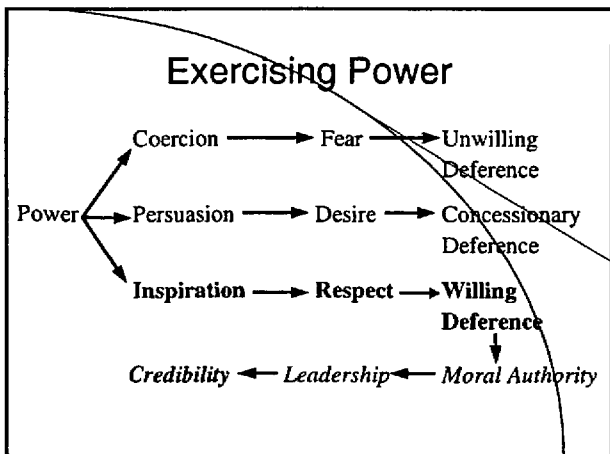
Reliability

Responsiveness

Efficiency







The Nexus of Morality and Strategy

- **Balanced Reciprocity:** treating others as you want or expect to be treated.
- **Principled Consistency:** acting consistently in accord with principle, regardless of circumstance.
- **Disciplined Restraint:** refraining from exploiting advantage over others (unless absolutely necessary).

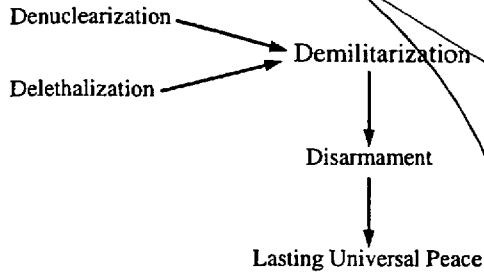
Achieving Comparative Strategic Advantage

- Targeted Causation Management
- Institutionalized Anticipatory Response
- Appropriate Situational Tailoring
- Comprehensive Operational Integration

Four Strategic Pillars

- Global Integration
(Institutional Leapfrogging)
- Global Democratization
(Institutional Leapfrogging)
- Global Standards of Conduct
(Rule of Law; Virtuous Strategy)
- Global Demilitarization

The Path to Perpetual Peace(?)



Toward Strategic Reorientation

<u>From (Cold War)</u>	<u>To (Post-Cold War)</u>
> Realpolitik	→ Idealpolitik
> National Interests	→ Supranational Interests
> International Dimension of Security	→ Domestic Dimension of Security
> Hard Power	→ Soft Power
> Unilateral Response	→ Polyilateral Response
> Preparation for Most Critical Threats/Contingencies	→ Preparation for Most Likely Threats/Contingencies

Toward Strategic Reorientation

<u>From (Cold War)</u>	<u>To (Post-Cold War)</u>
> Possessing Superior Capabilities	→ Bolstering National Will
> Tacit Threatmaking for Uncertainty	→ Successful Performance for Credibility
> Military Effectiveness	→ Strategic Effectiveness
> Civilian Support of Extraordinary Military Needs	→ Military Support of Extraordinary Civilian Needs
> Civilian Subjugation to Military	→ Civilian Supremacy Over Military

The Military Contribution

Military Effectiveness
(Managing Violence on Behalf of the State)

vs.

Strategic Effectiveness
(Serving the Larger Aims of Society)

A Strategically Effective Military

From: Warfighting

To: Peacekeeping
Nation Building
Humanitarian Assistance
Disaster Response

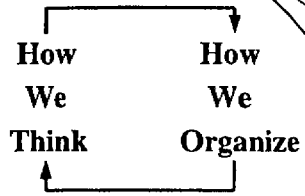
Revamping the Military

The Force We Have → The Force We Need

- | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| > Heavy | Light |
| > Combat-oriented | Support-oriented |
| > General Purpose | Regionally Tailored |
| > Unilaterally Structured | Multilaterally Structured |
| > Technology-centered | Manpower-centered |
| > Highly Lethal | Largely Nonlethal |
| > Reactive | Preventive |
| > Destructive | Constructive |
| > Prohibitively Expensive | Affordable |

To Rethink, Reorganize

Initially, we organize the way we think



Thereafter, we think the way we're organized.

Transformational Reorganization

- Regional Collective Security Regimes
- Regional Superambassadors
- U.S. Security Council
- Council of Strategic Advisors
- Congressional Committees on Strategic Affairs
- Council of Military Commanders
- Elimination of Service Secretariats
- Elimination of CIA

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