

Chet Richards  
Straus Military Reform Project  
Center for Defense Information  
May 2006

# Conclusions

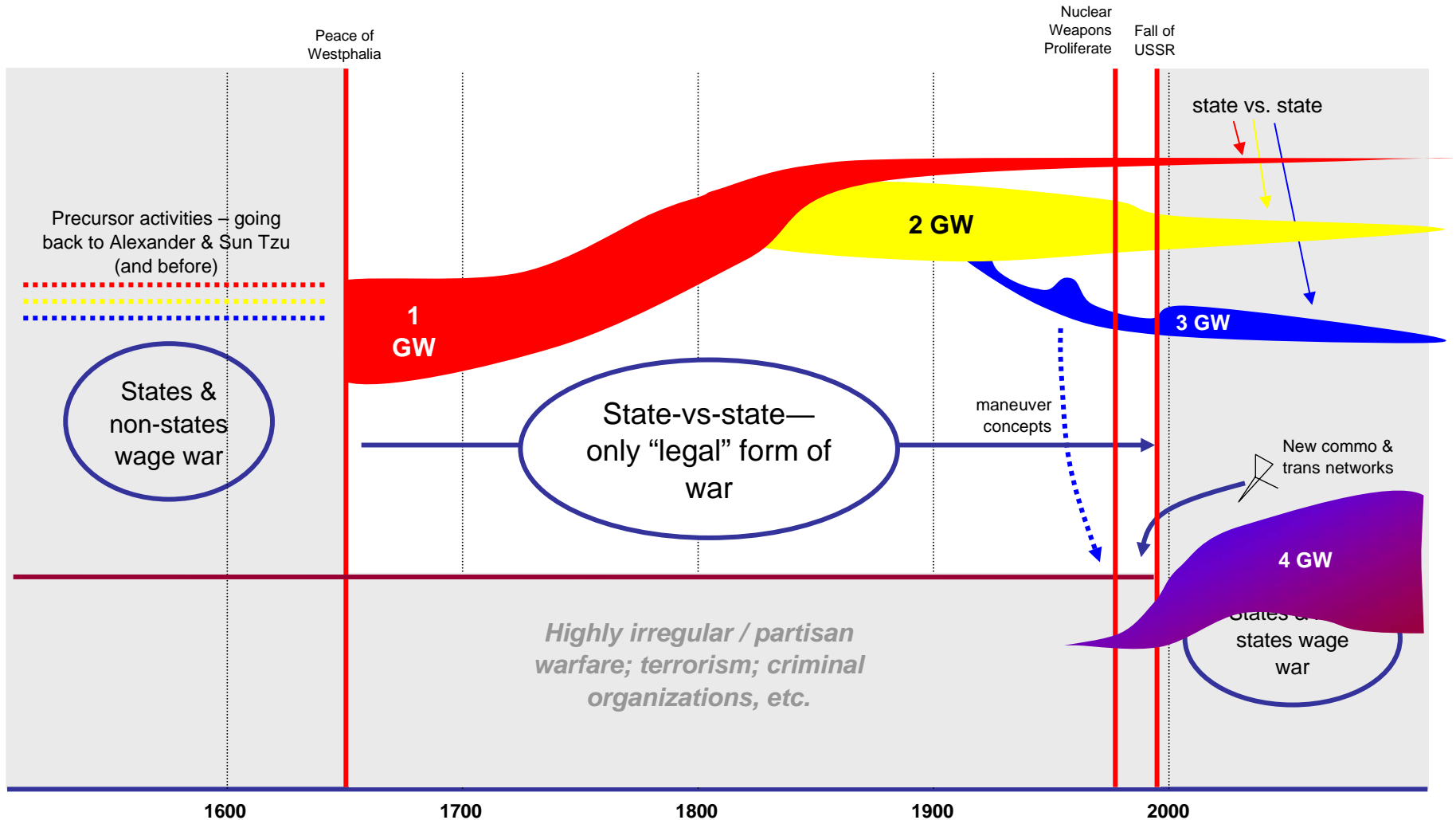
- We're not going to fight Russia, China, or India (at least not with conventional weapons).
- Therefore we can eliminate most of the non-nuclear forces we now have.
- What we will face is "evolved insurgency," for which we have no good solution.
- Our best strategy is military containment combined with a strong incentive program a la the way we dealt with the Soviet Union.
- Eventually, we should privatize our residual conventional combat forces.

# China

	China	USA
Potentially hostile border	13,700 mi.	0
Restive minorities	Tibetans, Uygurs, Mongolians, etc.	0
Breakaway provinces	Taiwan	0 (since 1865)
Strat nuc weapons	100 - 150	2,000
Recent invasions	Vietnam (29 day incursion, 1979)	Grenada, Panama, Iraq
Defense budget	\$70 billion	\$500 billion

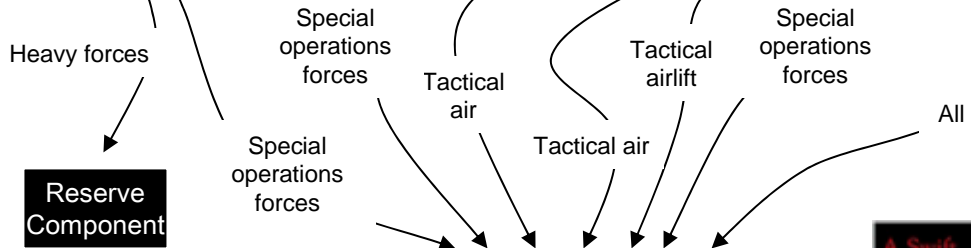
# The "generations of war" model

## From the viewpoint of Core states and nuclear powers



# So, what is 4GW?

- Correct answer is: We don't know – still being worked out. It's however non-state groups confront a conventional / nuclear superpower
- Possibilities
  - Base around what has worked: guerrilla warfare
  - Pump up “information operations” at the moral level
    - convince them (i.e., us) not to continue the fight
  - Often build around an ideology
  - Regard current states as artificial and illegitimate



Two conceptual scenarios:  
**containment** or  
**rollback**



financial,  
enforcement,  
training, etc.



For Containment

For Rollback



Counterinsurgency  
/ reconstructing  
forces

Potentially



**Privatize**

# Why privatize?

- Our (largely) public system isn't working
  - \$500 BN/yr = rest of world, combined
  - Can't suppress a pick-up insurgency in Iraq
  - More of same will only produce more of same
- Our opponents are already privatized
  - Non-state
  - Cellular, distributed
  - Low cost of entry (and exit)
- Rate of evolutionary change is a function of the amount of variation present in the population (with apologies to Fisher)

# Why privatize?

- Bankrupt organizations *can* go out of business
- Markets unleash competition
  - variety, rapidity, initiative
  - creativity
- Privatization has a long military history
  - Privateers & mercenaries
  - British East India Company (1600-1858)
  - US PMCs today
  - van Creveld's gloomy tomorrow
- Nothing less will force the amount of change that we need





# Predictions van Creveld

- Distinctions between war and crime will break down (204) as will the difference between armed forces and civilians (194)
- Battles will be replaced by skirmishes, bombings and massacres
- Intermingling with enemy forces, mixing with the civilian population, and extreme dispersion have become the norm (208) The problem of subversion is likely to be serious (211)
- **Much of the task of defending society against non-trinitarian warfare/4GW will fall to private security companies, with a corresponding decrease in the utility, size, and technological complexity (cost) of military forces**
- Armies will shrink in size and wither away, to be replaced by police-like security forces on the one hand and armed gangs on the other (not that the difference is always clear, even today) (225)

# Predictions van Creveld

- Distinctions between war and crime will break down (204) as will the difference between armed forces and civilians (194)
- Battles will be replaced by skirmishes, bombings and massacres
- Intermingling with enemy forces, mixing with the civilian population, and extreme dispersion have become the norm (208) The problem of subversion is likely to be serious (211)
- Much of the task of defending society against non-trinitarian warfare/4GW will fall to private security companies, with a corresponding decrease in the utility, size, and technological complexity (cost) of military forces
- **Armies will shrink in size and wither away, to be replaced by police-like security forces on the one hand and armed gangs on the other (not that the difference is always clear, even today) (225)**

# Why not rollback?



- Don't know how to do it
- Military interventions are unpredictable in result, but always expensive
  - nationalism, tribalism, sectarianism, etc.
  - insurgency / guerrilla warfare almost inevitable
- We never fund the reconstructing phase adequately
- And then there's corruption

# Rollback, in the heart of NATO

“In Albania and much of ex-Yugoslavia, the forces ranged against the state—crime syndicates and armed nationalists—are often more than a match for legitimate business and politics. Government, in so far as its writ runs at all, is frequently worse than useless: customs barriers and regulations simply obstruct legal business, offer bribe opportunities for bureaucrats and abet crime.

“... Albanian gangs spirit people into Britain and Germany; guns are reaching Britain from Croatia and points south; the stolen-vehicle trade in the Netherlands is dominated by Serbs; and Chinese syndicates based in ex-Yugoslavia send illegal migrants to Finland. It was once said of the Balkans that they produce more history than can be consumed locally; it is even more true that the region is a big net exporter of crime.”

“Europe's banlieue,” *The Economist*,  
Nov 24th 2005

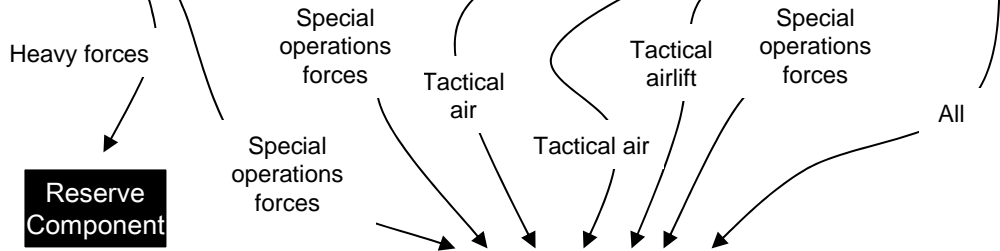
# Rollback, in the heart of NATO

NATO

"In Albania and much of ex-Yugoslavia, the forces ranged against the state—crime syndicates—are often more than a match for the Government, in so far as its writ runs. Customs barriers and regulatory opportunities for business, offer bribe opportunities for Germany; guns are reaching Britain through the stolen-vehicle trade in the Netherlands and Chinese grants to Finland. It was once said that more history than can be consumed locally, it is even more true that the region is a big net exporter of crime."



"Europe's banlieue," *The Economist*,  
Nov 24th 2005



Reserve Component

SES Strike Force

That leaves **containment**

Political, financial, law enforcement, engineering, etc.

Evolved SES Strike Force

For Containment

Developed world must combine with police, intelligence, and strong *preemptive* incentives:

- Financial
- Commercial
- Political
- Diplomatic

Potentially

Private military companies

# Could it work?

We integrated:

- The entire Soviet Union (except Belarus?) and
- The entire Warsaw Pact



into the global system without invading anybody.

(In fact, a proximate cause of the fall of the Soviet system was its successful attempt to invade and remove a “bad guy,” Hafizullah Amin, in Afghanistan.)



10 are now members of NATO

and 8 also belong to the EU



**Questions?  
Comments?  
Accolades?**

