



DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY

HEADQUARTERS UNITED STATES ARMY TRAINING AND DOCTRINE COMMAND
FORT MONROE, VIRGINIA 23651-5000

REPLY TO
ATTENTION OF

ATCG-S

6 October 1995

Mr. Andrew Marshall
Director of Net Assessment
The Pentagon
Room 3A930
Washington, DC 20301-2950

Andy
Dear Mr. Marshall:

Enclosed is the think piece on deterrence that I promised to prepare during our recent conversation. Knowing your interest in this subject, I called hoping that you can use the enclosure as a catalyst for additional action.

There is probably general agreement among people who have thought about deterrence that the U.S. needs to develop a better understanding and practice of deterrence. This is going to be even more difficult in the future because of the increasing variety of conflicts, and the national and non-national leaders that the U.S. will want to deter. I believe there is much that can and should be done.

As part of this effort, you might want to consider initiating some case studies, perhaps addressing what might have deterred Saddam Hussein from invading Kuwait, or the leadership in the former Yugoslavia.

Copies of this were sent to a number of our colleagues who may want to support your effort to address deterrence.

Sincerely,

Paul

Paul J. Berenson, Ph.D
Scientific Advisor
to the Commanding General

Enclosure

Copy Furnished:

GEN Joulwan
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Prof. Rosen
Dr. Spiller
Prof. Stein
Dr. Talley
Mr. Toffler
Dr. Wolfowitz

WHY ARE TANKS NEEDED?
(Plus Why War? And Why Armies?)

Dr. Paul J. Berenson
Scientific Advisor to CG


I. INEVITABILITY OF WAR

A. Why War?

- Some argue that war is now irrational, and to eliminate war it is only necessary to educate all to the new realities of economic dependence, global communications, and the nuclear/biological devastation that war would cause. However, historical facts and logic lead to a contrary conclusion.
- “War has been a persistent part of human experience since before the birth of civilization.” Kagan, On the Origins of War and the Preservation of Peace. 1994
- “In the 2,340 weeks that passed between 1945 and 1990, only three weeks were truly war free.” Toffler, War and Anti-War
- “There had been only 268 years free of war in the previous 3421.” Durant, The Lessons of History
- “War is probably part of the human condition.” Kagan, On the Origins of War
- Wars and other conflicts are caused principally by human nature, which has not changed.
- “Plato and Aristotle took enduring human nature and the persistence of war for granted -- and concluded that war was inevitable for mankind.” Kagan, On the Origins of War
- “We are uniquely human because for millions of years, we alone killed for a living.” Ardrey, The Hunting Hypothesis
- “War is in our genes.” Ardrey, The Hunting Hypothesis
- “War is a sickness, though it may be humankind’s ‘sickness until death.’” Stoessinger, Why Nations go to War

- While human beings, particularly Western human beings, like to believe they are rational and behave rationally, much (most?) human behavior is not rational, is driven by forces in human nature that are poorly understood, and often beyond our ability to control.
- “No nation that began a major war in this century emerged a winner.”
Stoessinger, Why Nations go to War
- “Wars were begun by people.” Stoessinger, Why Nations Go To War
- Thucydides found that people go to war out of “honor, fear, and interest.”
Kagan, On the Origins of War
- War is caused by human nature, often irrational or based on inaccurate perceptions. War is generally a result of the human compulsion for greater power, security, wealth, respect and prestige, and the often irrational fear of perceived threats to these.
- “Why does man wage war?” Einstein. “Because man is what he is.” Freud
- “The current condition of the world, where war among major powers is hard to conceive because one of them has overwhelming military superiority and no wish to expand, will not last.” Kagan, On the Origins of War
- “The elimination of war is an implausible expectation.” Kagan, On the Origins of War and the Preservation of Peace
- There may be fewer wars between major nations as a result of the increasing number of democracies which historically have not usually initiated wars. However, the increasing number of nations, increasing terrorism and subnational war, plus future computer network war and biological war require the U.S. to continue to be prepared to win increasing wars if we hope to deter most of them.
- “Only the dead have seen the end of war.” Plato

B. What is War? (Object of War)

- “The object of war is a better state of peace -- hence it is essential to conduct war with constant regard to the peace you desire.” Liddell-Hart
- “No one should start a war without first being clear what he intends to achieve by that war and how he intends to conduct it.” Clausewitz, On War
- “War is a continuation of politics by other means.” Clausewitz, On War

- “The U.S. Armed Forces are one component of national power: economic, diplomatic, informational and military.” Joint Warfare, JP 1
- “The essence of war is a violent clash between hostile military forces to accomplish political purpose.” U.S. Army FM 100-1
- “Politics is war without bloodshed. War is politics with bloodshed.” Mao Tse-Tung
- “The object of war is to subdue the hostile will of the enemy.” Clausewitz
- “The essence of war is a violent clash between two hostile, independent and irreconcilable wills, each trying to impose itself on the other.” USMC FMFM 1
- “The object of war is to impose our will on our enemy. The means to that end is the organized application or threat of violence by military force.” USMC FMFM 1
- “Our enemy’s ability to resist us, is a product of the physical means at his disposal and the strength of his will.” Clausewitz, On War
- “The essence of war is a confrontation with the enemy’s will.” Clausewitz
- “Combat power is the product of military forces and their will to fight. Leaders are the main source of will.” US Army TRADOC Pamphlet 525-200-1
- “The conduct of war is ultimately an art, an activity of human creativity and intuition powered by the strength of human will.” FMFM 1
- “The conduct of war is the art and science of using military force with other instruments of national power to achieve victory. Military victory is normally the decisive defeat of an enemy which breaks his will to wage war.” USAF AFM 1-1
- “The wartime objectives of Army forces are land force dominance, that is, to defeat the enemy’s land forces, to seize, occupy and defend land area, and to assist in destroying the enemy’s will to resist.” FM 100-1
- “The objective of the military in war is victory over the opposing military force at least cost to American soldiers.” US Army FM 100-5
- “Military force remains an indispensable element of our nation’s power.” Clinton, A National Security Strategy of Engagement and Enlargement. 1995

II. WHY INFORMATION WARFARE?

- Information warfare has always been an important part of war.
- “All warfare is based on deception.” Sun Tzu, The Art of War, 2400 BC
- “Always mystify, mislead and surprise the enemy.” Stonewall Jackson
- “Moral forces exert a greater influence on the motive and outcome of war than do physical.” USMC FMFM 1
- “In war, the moral is to the material as three to one.” Napoleon
- “War might have as much or more to do with the idea of willpower and nonfighting than it does with the idea of physical power and fighting.” Szafranski
- Willpower is in the mind. “The target of all human conflict, the battleground of all conflict resolutions is the human mind.” Szafranski
- “An officer’s principal weapon is his mind.” FMFM 1
- “Attack the mind of your enemy.” Sun Tzu, 2400 BC
- “It is the mind of the commanders that the issue of battle is really decided.” Liddell-Hart, The German Generals Talk
- “Playing on the minds of opponents is the supreme art of strategy.” Liddell-Hart, The German Generals Talk
- “The battlefield is a scene of constant chaos. The winner will be the one that best controls that chaos, both his and that of the enemy.” Napoleon
- “If the United States has dominant battlefield awareness, we win.” Adm. William Owens, VCJCS
- “A victorious Army wins its victories before seeking battle.” Sun Tzu
- “Supreme excellence consists of breaking the enemy’s resistance without fighting.” Sun Tzu
- “To subdue the enemy without fighting is the acme of skill.” Sun Tzu. This is an ideal that is seldom realized.
- While information warfare is not new, emerging technologies are making information warfare much more effective and important in producing decisive victory at minimum cost.

THOUGHTS ON DETERRENCE

P.J. Berenson

Scientific Advisor to CG

Background

- Deterrence has been an enduring part of post WWII U.S. foreign and national security policy.
- The basis for deterrence is not adequately understood.
- Deterrence more difficult in future because of increasing number and type of international players (e.g. multinational, subnational, transnational organizations).
- Weapons of mass destruction will proliferate. Biological warfare may be used in 21st Century.
- An increasing variety of conflicts are likely to break out because of the changing, multi-layered "map" of the world.
- "The single biggest vulnerability of the U.S. is a lack of understanding of emerging 21st Century conflicts and global relations." Toffler

Cause of War and Conflict

- War and other conflicts are caused principally by human nature, which has not changed, and is often irrational. (see enclosure, Page 1)
- War and other conflicts are started by individual leaders.
- Therefore, to deter war, the U.S. must deter individual leaders, and their most influential advisors.

Human Behavior

- Conflict is generally the result of the human compulsion for greater power, security, wealth, respect and prestige, and the often irrational fear of perceived threats to these.
- Human behavior is as much irrational, as rational. What is irrational to us, may be rational to adversary. The U.S. must not base deterrence on assumption of rational adversary. (see enclosure, Pages 1 and 2)
- Human behavior is driven by individual, e.g., psychological, forces that are poorly understood, and are often beyond one's ability to control.
- Must understand individual cultures, psychology, values and priorities. (Must not mirror image U.S. values.)

Perceptions

- Conflicts are often initiated because of inaccurate perceptions.
- Emerging technologies allow much more effective manipulation of perceptions.
- Must understand perceptions of foreign leaders and how best to influence them.

Willpower

- Willpower is in the mind. The target of all human conflict, the battleground of all conflict resolutions is the human mind. (see enclosure, Page 3)
- "Playing on the minds of opponents is the supreme art of strategy." (Liddell-Hart)
- Information warfare, particularly psyops, is a key element of deterrence.

Changing "Map" of World (Al Toffler)

- "International relations is no longer dominated by nation states."
- Multi-layered "map" of world; all changing. In addition to nations:
 - Multi-national corporations
 - Trans-sub-national powers
 - Criminal syndicates (e.g., drug syndicates)
 - International associations (currently 25000 associations)
 - Overseas nationals (e.g., Chinese)
 - Religions
 - International organizations (e.g., Greenpeace)
 - Multi-national organizations (e.g., ASEAN)
- "Cannot have significant change without conflict."
- "Conflict is more likely to break out all over the place," because of all the changes taking place.

Deterrence

- Deterrence is a mind game.
- Effective deterrence requires very selective violent, extreme, dramatic actions (to give clear message to potential future aggressors).
- Law means nothing if it is not enforceable.
- U.N. poor implementer of deterrence. Discussion and compromise will never deter.

“Idealism without realism is impotent.” Nixon

“Diplomacy without armaments is like music without instruments.” Frederick the Great

- How do we deter non-nations?
- Use Godfather approach (e.g., identify and destroy what adversary most highly values.). By selective, violent action by his special forces, Godfather obtains obedience and imposes his will on others. Reputation for fearsome, violent action generally deters actions Godfather would not want.? “Identify crown jewels of adversary.” Adm.Owens
- Tough for U.S. or other democracies to initiate violent action. Democracies do not often behave in this way unless attacked. Democracies must consider moral and legal constraints, as well as potential effectiveness of violent action.
- Need to task intelligence community and State Department to assemble critical cultural, geographical, and personal information needed to determine what will best deter potential adversaries (leaders and top advisors).
- The study of deterrence needs to be multi-disciplinary to ensure the best understanding of human behavior, motivations and values. The disciplines involved include at least history, religion, psychology, sociology, biology, anthropology and political science.
- All aspects of deterrence need careful realistic study.

“Supreme excellence consists of breaking the enemy’s resistance without fighting.” Sun Tzu