Through the Joint, Interagency, and Multinational Lens: Challenges in a Fiscally Constrained Environment

Volume 3

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Heather R. Karambelas
General Editors

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Acknowledgements

Foreword

For the mid-career military and civilian professionals who attend the US Army's Command and General Staff College (CGSC), "the world is more complex than ever and getting more complex every day" as the trope goes. They live and serve in an environment in which one regularly hears questions about US leadership and sees evidence that Americans are less tolerant of overseas engagements. The ongoing debate among pundits and academics over the fate of the post-World War II US-led international order and the wisdom of Washington's approaches to foreign policy after the end of the Cold War highlight the need for empirical study and informed commentary on contentious national security issues. We owe the leaders—current and future—of our Army, joint forces, and multinational and interagency partners our best shot at coming to grips with these challenges.

This volume, *Global Security Challenges in a Fiscally Constrained Environment*, is the third in a series produced by the CGSC's Department of Joint, Interagency, and Multinational Operations (DJIMO) to help meet this need. Drawing on a breadth of expertise, practical experience derived from years of service in the armed forces and other national security enterprise institutions, and a distinguished record of academic inquiry, the authors of these chapters grapple with some of the toughest challenges that America's leaders face in the complex international security environment. This volume explores domestic and foreign issues; military, economic, and development questions; and national security leadership. In a time when fiscal constraints add one more variable to the formulation and execution of policy, the insights and ideas these authors set out are timely and thought-provoking. I commend them to you for study and reflection.

Kudos to Heather R. Karambelas and David A. Anderson of DJIMO for shepherding this collection from concept to publication. Through their efforts, some of the finest CGSC faculty have the opportunity to share top-caliber research into key national security issues of the day.

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Heather R. Karambelas

We are all on a debt-filled train that is eventually going to crash, and if you are on it, it won't stop to let you off first. Jumping at the last minute is not a good option, either. So what do you do? You take action now, while you have time.[1]
— John Mauldin, financial writer and president, Millennium Wave Advisors

The government shutdown of January 2019 demonstrated the challenges of managing a nation's budget. A wall? Universal health care? Debt relief for student loans? Collective security of our Allies? These are all concerns that continue to face our nation. Questions of sovereignty and security versus diplomacy and humanitarian concerns are real. To be a successful nation, all of these issues must be addressed. How should the executive and legislative branches accomplish everything? How should domestic agencies respond? Where do defense priorities fall? There are risks with inaction, but there are additional risks in putting limited resources into actions that will not achieve the strategic ends desired for the country. Volume 3 addresses different challenges the United States faces when confronted with fiscal constraint. Department of Joint, Interagency, and Multinational Operations faculty once again apply their experiences in the chapters of this compendium to present well-researched recommendations on a variety of challenges faced in planning the use of vital resources during fiscal constraint.

Volume 3 starts with an instructive chapter as Kurt P. VanderSteen makes the case for a national-level strategic estimate by the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (CJCS). This estimate would provide "bounded options" to frame the security environment so unified commanders would understand the domestic security environment and thus provide the best recommendations and end-states for the country's security. In Chapter 2, David A. Anderson writes on globalization challenges related to domestic economics. His article offers no simple solution but is insightful in highlighting the challenges of globalization and suggesting a start point to regain economic prosperity. Next, Patrick J. Wesner, the US Army Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC) liaison from the US Agency for International Development (USAID), eloquently recommends the development of an agency-level Stabilization Unit within the National Security Council. The purpose of this type of unit would be to integrate global stabilization planning into the existing interagency process without adding financial obligation to the effort.

The underlying theme of this volume is to address global security challenges in a fiscally constrained environment. In that vein, John H. Modinger's article examines how the United States can effectively deal with China's increasingly assertive (some would say belligerent) behavior from a military perspective, amidst growing financial constraints. In Chapter 5, David A. Anderson writes about the role that investment plays in Africa's stability and economic development. His article also addresses the particular challenge of enticing foreign investment during times of fiscal constraint. In Chapter 6, Jeff D. Vordermark expands on his work from previous volumes to emphasize the importance of preparing for water scarcity when planning to provide security around the world. In Chapter 7, I seek to create an understanding that more money and education may be necessary to prepare leaders against the insider threat within their organizations. Even in a fiscally constrained environment, leaders cannot afford to be complacent against these threats. William J. Davis Jr. con-

cludes Volume 3 with a compelling discussion about the adaptive leadership required in the joint, interagency, interorganizational, and multinational (JIIM) environment.

These chapters consider national security interests while recognizing that funding is limited. Priorities must be made in how to educate, organize, train, and plan within this fiscally constrained environment. There are many topics on fiscal priorities that could be studied; the goal of this compendium is to provoke thought regarding some of the key issues that impact military planners.

Notes

1. John Mauldin, "Endgame Strategizing," *Thoughts from the Frontline* (27 July 2018), https://www.mauldineconomics.com/frontlinethoughts/endgame-strategizing.

Chapter 1

Bounded Options: Military Advice to the President

Kurt P. VanderSteen

Elected officials are hard-wired to ask for options first and then reverse-engineer objectives. And the military is hard-wired to do exactly the opposite.[1]

—Gen. Martin E. Dempsey

On a cool morning in mid-September, President George W. Bush and selected members of his security team met in the Camp David conference room to discuss options in response to the devastating 9/11 al-Qaeda-sponsored terror attacks against the United States. With the exception of newly appointed Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) Director Robert Mueller, the other members present were seasoned veterans of previous administrations or had prestigious portfolios from previous duties related to national security issues. Vice President Dick Cheney and Secretary of State Colin Powell fought Desert Storm as the Secretary of Defense and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff respectively. Donald Rumsfeld was on his second tour as Secretary of Defense. This was an exceptional team at the service of the recently elected president.

After a prayer and opening remarks, the president went around the table seeking advice. When the conversation reached Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) Director George Tenet, he presented the president with a comprehensive plan for attacking al-Qaeda globally—not only striking at them in Afghanistan, but also their affiliated networks, funding, propaganda, and other sources of power relied upon by terrorists and their state enablers. The president was ecstatic. Tenet's proposal seemed to strike the right note. Gen. Hugh Shelton was last to brief, and the president wanted to see multiple military options presented. As Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (CJCS), he was the military's primary advisor to the president. The other officials might have great ideas, but the chairman represented the primary means by which wars would be won or lost. He presented three options. Options one and two started with minimal efforts and effects and escalated to a bit more effort with marginally greater effects such as missile strikes and bombers, primarily centered on empty training camps and some Taliban targets. Option three included the previous options plus some troops deployed in Afghanistan. President Bush was unimpressed.[2] As the president's statutory military advisor, General Shelton should have been a major player in helping the president with decisions for the employment of the military. Why did his options fall flat?

This paper will explore the relationship between the president and his principal military advisor during times of crisis. It will demonstrate that the best military advice to the president for crisis situations starts with a strategic estimate developed by the CJCS to create a shared understanding of the situation, the policy issues at stake including potential strategic guidance, and the strategic problem. In light of this analysis, a broad range of options meeting desired strategic outcomes is presented in the estimate, and strategic risk is considered. This estimate is the start-point for the military to develop "bounded" options at the combatant command level. Recognizing that there is a constant tension and "unequal dialogue" between the president and chairman, the following analysis will look at the statutory roles and responsibilities of the CJCS as well as the doctrinal approach for providing options to the president. Additionally, it will make the case for the chairman developing a national-level strategic estimate, followed by combatant commanders providing "bounded options" for distinguishable military alternatives that will enable optimized civilian decision-making.

A Constant Tension and the Unequal Dialogue

American history is replete with descriptions of tensions between presidents and their principal military advisors. As early as the Washington administration, the Senior Officer of the US Army was contemptuously dismissed by the president following a disastrous defeat in a campaign against the Miami tribes: "I expected little from the moment I heard he was a drunkard."[3] More recently, Gen. Joseph Dunford appeared to contradict President Donald Trump over Iran's violation of the nuclear deal agreed upon by the previous Obama administration.[4] This tendency for a civil-military divide is a feature of a relationship that includes separate responsibilities and cultural differences. It is at the core of American civil-military studies. In his now-classic study of *The Soldier and the State*, Samuel P. Huntington described the normative civil-military relationship as "the recognition of autonomous military professionalism" or separate spheres of responsibilities.[5] Its professionalism demands that the military be allowed to prosecute war aims as they see fit. This normative view was opposed by several scholars but continues to speak to the fundamental fact that although the military is subordinate in its relationship to civilian control, it differs in its perspectives. As Eliot Cohen tartly observed, there is an unequal dialogue because "politics pervades all of war: the notion that politicians step aside during it is empirically untrue and theoretically undesirable."[6] The military has a viewpoint, but so does the president. How this paradox is resolved is central to any attempts of civil-military structural reform such as Goldwater-Nichols or more recent legislation and executive directives to modify civil-military relationships.

In a 2013 article, former Air Force officer Janine Davidson presented some hard-won lessons about the nature of this relationship after serving as the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Plans in the Obama administration. She was at ground zero for observing how the cultural and doctrinal predispositions of the military caused them to first seek strategic guidance from the president or civilian officials, for the "ends" of strategy in order to consider the ways and means by which they were able to craft optimal plans and present fully feasible courses of action for presidential decisions. Paradoxically, the president and civilian officials expected to first be presented with multiple military ways and means, or options, that they might consider for determination of potential ends, or policy choices.[7] There is a real tension between the military imperative to present feasible plans that require detailed planning and the presidential imperative for first considering all possible ways by which a strategic problem can be addressed before any plan is authorized for execution. Davidson later likened this to a "chicken and egg" problem in a follow-up study with other Council of Foreign Relations scholars that expanded on her previous research.[8]

Their analysis of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) and joint staff pointed out the structural flaws inherent in their relationships with both the president and civilian institutions that oversee military activities. The US chain of command runs from the president through the secretary of defense, and then to combatant commands (CCMDs) that are responsible for designated geographic areas of responsibility (AORs) or global functional support. This means that CCMDs develop options that are the basis for presidential decisions, because by law the CJCS is not in the chain of command. Consequentially, despite the fact that the CJCS and joint staff are in the best position to translate political and policy objectives into strategic guidance, the CCMDs are tasked with developing options which are often without insight to the political or policy issues of civilian leaders.[9] Regionally aligned CCMDs are not in a position to adequately assess global force posture or risk. Nor can they "assess the threats and hazards that pose the greatest risks to Americans . . . (or) prioritize resources based on the highest risks."[10] Since CCMDs often do not have organic forces assigned to

cover every contingency, they rely on a force management system supervised by the joint staff. If a crisis erupts in one AOR, forces assigned to other CCMDs may by allocated for the crisis, thereby exposing them to risk should a crisis arise in their own backyards.[11]

Because CCMDs are a layer removed from the political issues that drive option development, they are incapable of having a sense of the big picture or weighing alternative approaches that have domestic and international implications. This is essentially the argument made by Eliot Cohen: the "unequal dialogue" exists because only the president has ultimate national security responsibilities that transcend military concerns, especially the narrow boundaries of the regional CCMDs. This results in a lack of shared understanding with political leaders.

When the so-called Arab Spring exploded onto the world stage in early 2011, Libya became the focus of world attention when a rebellion challenged Moammar Khadafy's grip on the country. With conditions rapidly deteriorating, demands for intervention were placed before the United Nations (UN) Security Council. In early March, US Africa Command (AFRICOM) established a joint task force (JTF) and designated operations in North Africa as Operation Odyssey Dawn. Soon after assuming command, AFRICOM Commander Gen. Carter Hamm presented President Barack Obama with military options that were actually developed by the JTF, and not by the Combatant Commander's staff.[12] All of the options assumed decisive action by the United States, including regime change. President Obama had something else in mind. Although the JTF was ably led by a four-star commander, Adm. Samuel Locklear, its focus was on coordinating tactical coalition operations and the members did not have the same strategic policy perspectives that were being developed in Washington. Nor did the JTF understand or appreciate potential resource constraints as a result of strained budgets following the 2008 "Great Recession" and the ongoing fights in Iraq and Afghanistan. The president and his senior advisors were primarily concerned with questions of legitimacy, US versus multinational leadership roles—especially with Middle Eastern support and domestic political concerns.[13] Rather than options assigning US forces a lead role, President Obama was more interested in setting initial conditions for establishing no-fly zones and other authorities outlined in UN Security Council Resolution 1973 then rapidly transitioning the mission to others to complete; NATO fully assumed that role on 27 March 2011.[14] Neither the JTF nor AFRICOM were in a position to fully understand the complexities of strategic thought and discussion that culminate in strategic guidance allowing the military to develop suitable options. Strategic guidance was not forthcoming until the president held a televised address on 18 March, the day before the French initiated airstrikes against regime forces besieging Benghazi. Planners watching the speech learned for the first time about a designated constraint regarding "no boots on the ground," and also that the president's intent was to rapidly transition operations to other parties.[15]

Uniquely, the CJCS is positioned by law and custom to assist with strategic decision-making. However, besides presidential preferences for seeking CJCS advice, military doctrine has been slow to develop guidance for developing suitable options that meet political and policy decision-making requirements. Even the chairman's instructions (CJCSI) for campaign planning establish a policy-strategy dynamic that only exists between the CCDR and secretary of defense for strategic guidance dialogue.[16] Options developed by CCMDs will often reflect military goals at odds with desired policy or political outcomes. The chairman is the nexus for translating strategic goals into operational language. The CJCS is uniquely suited to provide advice that reflects strategic understanding between ends, ways, means, and risk—especially with respect to resourcing priorities across the joint force. Military doctrine needs to reflect this reality.

Law, Doctrine, and Letter to a Senator

The CJCS position was created by Congress after World War II following the 1947 reorganization of the National Military Establishment into the Department of Defense (DoD). The driving factor for this reorganization was the need to unify the separate military departments based on lessons learned during the war. With the urging of the Joint Chiefs, the bill signed into law by President Harry Truman prohibited the chairman from command over the other services, and expressly defined this role as being the principal military advisor—but only in the capacity of representing the corporate interests of the Joint Chiefs.[17] This narrow definition meant that advice to the president and secretary of defense excluded the chairman from establishing a military opinion outside of the other Joint Chiefs. The natural outcome resulted in consensus following prolonged debate, resulting in watered-down proposals for military action. Perhaps this was one of the reasons that Truman leaned on Adm. William Leahy for advice in his role as Chief of Staff to the Commander in Chief that he inherited from the Roosevelt administration; Truman also turned to Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower when he was President of Columbia University—only later did he seek advice from the chairman.[18] The first chairman, Gen. Omar Bradley, noted that "a war could not be run by a committee."[19] Despite other reorganization measures spanning several decades, the original goal of a unified military eluded reform attempts that still maintained the primacy of the services over the pressing need for unified action.

Following the 1979 aborted rescue of hostages held by a radicalized Iran during the Carter administration, and later with the noted joint coordination difficulties during Operation Urgent Fury in 1983, Congress again conducted a detailed organizational review of the military with the purpose of JCS reform. This led to the Goldwater-Nichols Act of 1986, which initiated noteworthy changes to a resistant military and thereby instilled "jointness" into all facets of military affairs. This reorganization removed the corporate nature of the principal military advisor, established the position of vice chairman, and greatly increased combatant commander authority.[20] The act outlined the chairman's statutory responsibilities to provide the best military advice in accordance with authorities granted in Titles 6, 10, 22, and 50 of the US code.[21] This greatly increased the chairman's influence at the expense of the individual services. By law, the chairman should now be able to advise civilian authorities without being hampered by consensus hammered out among the Joint Chiefs in consideration of the full range of capabilities in support of national security. At least that's the theory. As noted by Davidson and others, the chairman's influence is still relative to the degree that the president or secretary of defense accepts the chairman's input. Gen. Martin Dempsey, CJCS during the Obama administration, publicly suggested embedding advisor support within Iraqi Army units to combat the Islamic State, seemingly inserting himself into shaping national policy. However, his advice was rejected when the president insisted that American forces "will not have a combat mission."[22]

However, when you flip the civil-military coin, presidents are not always served with the best advice, especially when the military is at odds with presidential policies they disagree with. Peter Feaver identified a principal-agent problem, "shirking," which happens when the military deliberately advances its own agenda and interests at the expense of civilians who control the military.[23] When International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) Commander Gen. Stanley McChrystal presented three options to President Obama in order to set conditions for eventual withdrawal from Afghanistan, the president sardonically observed that two of the three options did not meet validity standards in accordance with joint doctrine. Only one option—the one preferred by the military—was considered valid or feasible, acceptable, and adequate to succeed.[24] Because trust between

the principal and agent is often personality-driven, military shirking is especially pernicious as a source of tension in civil-military relations. Over time, the military has become sensitized to criticism that it tends to only provide binary solutions to strategic decision-makers. As a result, joint doctrine and the chairman's instructions to the joint force place increasingly greater emphasis on options development.

Joint doctrine acknowledges the imperative to develop options that are not only valid, but also will enable strategic optionality. Joint Publication (JP) 5-0, *Joint Planning*, signed by the CJCS in June 2017, has more than 100 references to options. The summary of changes from the previous manual highlighted new wording that "identifies the requirement to provide multiple feasible options at the combatant command level to fulfill Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and Secretary of Defense decision processes."[25] The updated JP 5-0 also reflected an acknowledgement by the military that providing strategic decision-makers with two or three options was not acceptable.

As described in the chairman's instructions and in joint doctrine, the CJCS primarily fulfills statutory advice requirements through formal processes and procedures. There are several products that serve these ends, including the National Military Strategy, Chairman's Risk Assessment, and several other reports and assessments that formalize these responsibilities. There is a reference to the informal advice provided through daily interactions and other national security venues, but most advice hinges on the formal aspects of the chairman's duties.[26] In addition to national strategies, strategic direction and guidance from the president, secretary of defense, and CJCS includes the Unified Command Plan (UCP), Global Campaign Plans (GCP), and the Joint Strategic Campaign Plan (JSCP); they communicate strategic and operational goals that CCMDs then translate into Combatant Command Campaign Plans (CCPs).[27] Within the CCPs, branch and sequel plans are mostly developed for JSCP-directed contingencies. Internal to each contingency plan are options that support strategic decision-making, "Concept development should consider a range of COAs [courses of action] that integrate robust options to provide greater flexibility and to expedite transition during a crisis. CCDRs should be prepared to continue to develop multiple COAs to provide national-level leadership options should the crisis develop."[28] Considering diplomatic, economic, and informational instruments of power, military options include escalation/de-escalation choices in the form of Flexible Deterrent Options (FDOs) as well as another category of options called Flexible Response Options (FROs).[29] FDOs assist as each crisis develops, primarily with the intent of enabling decisions for de-escalation before a situation worsens. Strategic effects include allied reassurance, adversarial deterrence from cost/benefit calculations, signaling resolve, and setting conditions for later, more decisive actions. FROs primarily serve to punish enemies if the United States or US interests are attacked. FROs were originally developed to preempt or respond to terrorist actions, but now include options based on a range of possible threats.[30]

Despite the fact that joint doctrine for planning operations has always identified a need to provide options in support of strategic decisions, the revision published in 2017 deliberately singles out the combatant command as the designated level to develop options to fulfill CJCS requirements for providing military advice. Central to the problem of providing military advice is that doctrine places a premium on options developed at the CCMD level. This signals the importance of developing options suitable for strategic decision-making, but it still places the onus for options development at the combatant command level. It does not describe the role of the chairman or joint staff in options development, except through the formal process and procedures found in the federal code, the chairman's instructions, and joint doctrine. The formal process previously known as deliberate planning

ensures that strategic guidance and global integration will be embedded in plans. Furthermore, doctrine articulates the need for shared understanding in civil-military dialogue, and points out how the planning enterprise supports this understanding.[31] However, shared understanding is largely dependent on the formal processes and procedures that guide plan development at the CCMD level, and not what the chairman actually provides to the secretary of defense and president when there are no extant plans with options available at the start of a crisis—such as what happened after 9/11 and the situation leading to Operation Odyssey Dawn.[32]

In accordance with US code, the chain of command deliberately excludes the CJCS, which creates the paradox of a chairman giving the "best military advice" without the authority to deliver it. The secretary of defense or president can bypass the chairman and work directly with the combatant commander. When a former joint planner was asked about the role of the CJCS in options development at his previous combatant command, his terse reply was "chairman who?"[33] Combatant commanders and staffs also bypass the CJCS and Joint Staff to coordinate directly with the National Security Council or White House staff. Central Command (CENTCOM) Commander Gen. Tommy Franks was known as "Rumsfeld's general," partly because the secretary of defense did not trust the other flag officers inherited from the Clinton administration.[34] In addition to CCMDs developing options that bypass CJCS input, excluding the chairman from options development in a crisis also means that a proper appreciation for strategic risk and strategic resourcing may not be communicated to civilian policymakers.

The Chairman's Risk Assessment (CRA) is an annual requirement and the primary formal mechanism by which the chairman "assesses the risks to US interests, the military's risk to carry out missions called for in the NMS [National Military Strategy], as well as a description of the capabilities needed to address the risk."[35] Similar to options development, the CJCS largely defines this responsibility as part of a formal process by which military advice is offered. Combatant commanders and their staffs use the CRA to inform their planning, while also using the risk assessment methodology found in the instructions and in joint doctrine. Planners use this methodology to describe low to high risk, and probabilities for that risk from highly unlikely to very likely. They ascribe risks to forces and risks to missions. What follows are risk mitigation measures calculated to reduce exposure to risk.[36] In addition to the formal process, the CJCSI identifies "Special Risk Assessments" developed by the Joint Staff using the risk analysis methodology to "frame options."[37]

Risk assessment is conducted at all levels but is critical in strategy development. Decisions to employ forces have network effects that reverberate throughout the joint force, because forces are typically transferred from one CCMD to another in a crisis. In order to mitigate risk in one commander's AOR, risks are potentially transferred to another command because they may not have planned forces available if a crisis emerges in their AOR. In order for the ability to serve "national, departmental, and military leaders as they set priorities and allocate resources to mitigate risk," the CJCS and staff must still screen CCMD command options and provide appropriate recommendations based on input from the services and other DoD departments responsible for resourcing joint requirements.[38] As noted in the CJCSI, "resources are finite; commanders and staff must spend time and energy better through risk management . . . (because) if insufficient resources are available to respond to a threat or hazard, it may 'drive' an increase in assessed risk."[39] Former CJCS Martin Dempsey hit the nail on the head in remarks made before the International Forum at the Pacific Club: "Each action comes with greater opportunity costs—that is the trade-off of some other action somewhere else due to constrained resources. Each choice requires us to assess and accept increas-

ing risks with eyes wide open. This supply/demand imbalance demands that we bring our military instrument of power back into balance with itself."[40]

Combatant commands are not in a position to properly appreciate strategic risks or strategic resourcing. CCMD options will describe risks to forces and mission within their assigned AOR. They do not address risks to other combatant commands nor potential strategic resourcing constraints. The chairman is the only official suited for that role; yet despite being the principal military advisor, the CJCS is not formally in the loop for options presented to civilian policymakers other than to "transmit communications between the president or the secretary of defense and the commanders of the combatant commands, unless otherwise directed by the president or the secretary of defense."[41]

Interestingly, the CJCSI for joint risk analysis includes a vignette to assess risks based on a letter from General Dempsey to Senator Carl Levin written on 19 July 2013. The letter analyzed risks for five military options in Syria:

> In communicating a range of options, the scenarios in the Chairman's letter sketch tangible, plausible future states and potential costs to achieve them, providing the ability for policymakers to weigh the costs and benefits of the various Syrian options, including the option to continue the status quo. The best military advice informed by both a military and strategic risk assessment apprised a political-military dialogue and, ultimately, a political assessment and decision.[42]

The letter was essentially a strategic estimate of the situation that included the chairman's personal thinking about potential options for use by civilian policymakers. The chairman specifically addressed resourcing constraints as a driver for limited options and the need to consider risks that included resourcing constraints; "this is especially critical as we lose readiness due to budget cuts and fiscal uncertainty."[43]

Dempsey assessed the strategic situation, considered strategic guidance and potential resourcing constraints, understood that resolving the situation meant limited means and effort based on the administration's preferred policy, and narrowed the range of options to only include those tailored to desired strategic end states while considering strategic risks. This is the essence of "bounded options" advice that this paper will consider next.

Bounded Options and Military Advice to the President

First, therefore, it is clear that war should never be thought of as something autonomous, but always as an instrument of policy. . . . The first, the supreme, the most far-reaching act of judgment that the statesman and commander have to make is to establish by that test the kind of war on which they are embarking.[44]

—Carl von Clausewitz

In a 2015 report for the Council on Foreign Relations titled "Mending the Broken Dialogue," the authors present several recommended changes related to military advice to policymakers.[45] In particular, their recommendation for redesign of the military options process is noteworthy for their endorsement to make the process iterative: a "first round . . . that can help civilians understand what might be possible, perhaps before detailed military planning commences."[46] In Appendix I, "Anatomy of an Option," they recommend that options include the following elements: a problem statement, concept of operation (ways), resources (means), opportunity costs, risks, and a timeline

discussion.[47] These are important factors to consider for any dialogue between military and civilian policymakers, but it does not include perspectives of the strategic environment that leads to shared understanding prior to options development. Shared understanding should be the first step to bridge the gap between military means and policy ends. An additional recommendation expands on the iterative model in "Mending the Broken Dialogue;" the CJCS is to develop a strategic estimate to begin the dialogue so that the military and policymakers achieve a shared understanding about "the kind of war on which they are embarking" before military planning begins.

Combatant commanders use strategic estimates as analytical tools to gain an appreciation for strategic factors that include opportunities and threats in their AOR.[48] It assists with plans development and assessments by considering political, social, and economic factors in the operational environment as well as ends, ways, means, and risk analysis. As articulated in the joint doctrine, development of estimates starts with understanding the current environment and the desired environment—informed by strategic guidance or policy goals, threats, and opportunities that prevent or facilitate the ability to achieve desired goals. This assists with development of an approach that resolves the tension between the current and desired environments. The framework described is called operational design, which is an approach to solving complex problems found in JP 5-0, *Joint Planning*. It's a proven framework that supports decision-making. The framework is readily adaptable to the strategic level and can be used by the chairman as the starting point for dialogue.

Developing the Operational Approach

Identify the Problem
- What are the obstacles?
- What are the opportunities?
- What are the enemy's objectives?

Where we are

Operational Design

Where do we want to go?

- Achieving a common **understanding** of the situation
- **Continuous and recursive** refinement of situational understanding

Operational Approach

- Strategic/national end states and objectives (if appropriate)
- Theater objectives
- Military end states and objectives (if appropriate)
- Supporting departments' and agencies' objectives

Source: Department of Defense, Joint Publication (JP) 5-0, *Joint Planning* (Washington, DC: 17 January 2017), Chap. 4.2.
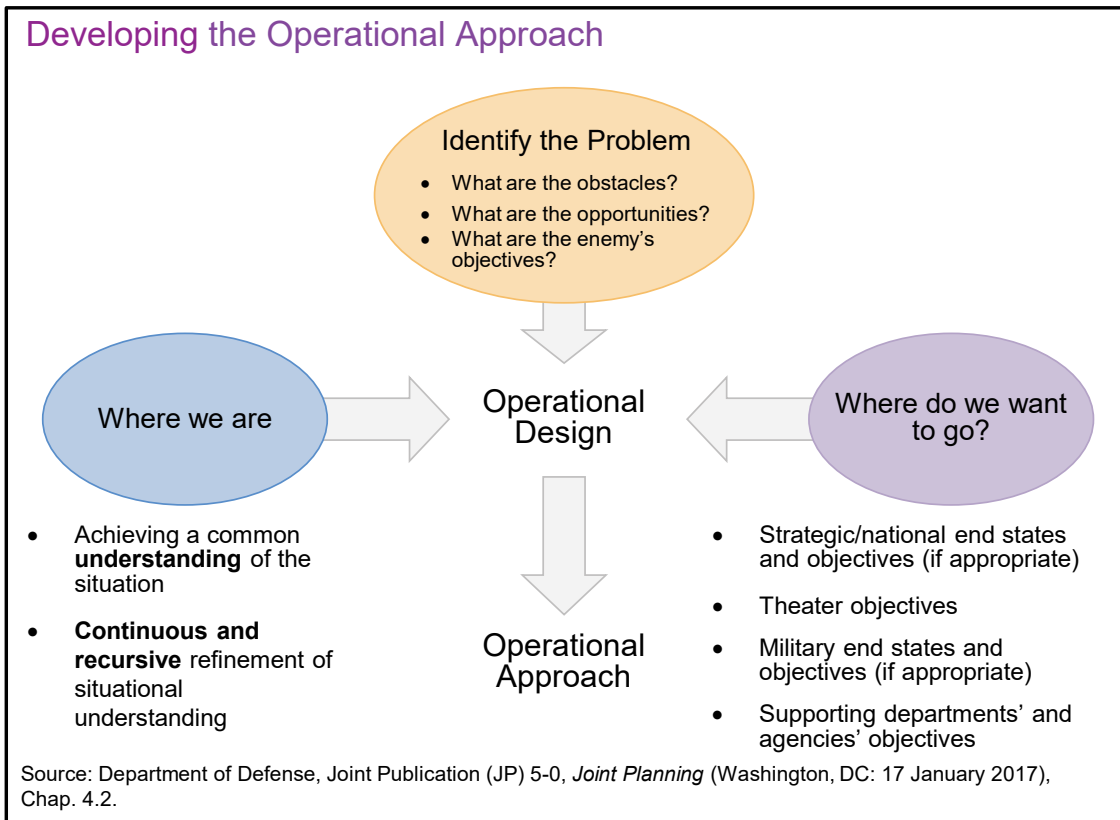
Figure 1.1. Operational Design: Developing the Operational Approach diagram. Created by Army University Press.

Adapting this framework to the strategic level starts with a shared understanding of "where we are," or an estimate of the strategic situation. Both military and civilian policymakers need a shared understanding of the current situation because where they want to go, identifying the problem, and developing a strategic approach will depend on a true appreciation for the current situation. This is the recursive nature of design: you invoke all elements of design as you consider each one separately. The CJCS and Joint Staff work in conjunction with the intelligence community in developing this frame. This includes a discussion of tendencies and potentials in the situation that, left alone, might be helpful or inimical to desired outcomes. The next element is a brief description of extant strategic guidance bearing on the situation. This guidance may already be available in plans as a result of JSCP guidance, strategic documents, National Security Council determinations, or even presidential speeches. It includes other governmental agencies and potential multinational partners. The chairman considers a range of potential strategic goals that form the basis for a dialogue of desirable policy outcomes preferred by the president and civilian advisors. Observing the tension between the current and desired situation enables problem definition.

Emphasized in "Mending the Broken Dialogue," "the problem statement is the most important element and describes what problem the president is trying to solve."[49] Identification of the problem leads directly to understanding potential levels of effort for potential solutions. Show of force involves limited means. Major sustained combat requires greater effort. If you develop solutions for the wrong problem, there will likely be a mismatch between ends, ways, and means. Complex problems are multi-faceted and may resist resolution. And solving one problem may lead to other "wicked problems."[50] The military and policymakers need to develop a shared understanding of the problem; this is crucial for developing options because it will determine potential levels of effort expected in the strategic approach. President Bush and General Shelton did not share a common understanding of the problem. President Bush saw a problem set beyond Afghanistan that required a more comprehensive approach. George Tenet was much closer to understanding the strategic problem: radical terrorism was a global problem that required global solutions and much greater national efforts. The strategic problem should describe the aim of any potential military action to favorably resolve current conditions that are unacceptable to policymakers. The goal of Desert Storm military operations was to eject the Iraqi Army—specifically the Republican Guard—and restore Kuwaiti sovereignty. Military operations for Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF) 1 were directed at Baghdad and regime change.[51]

The bottom line for problem identification and the aim for military operations is that all subsequent efforts to resolve a problem must trace back to strategic policy goals. If they don't, the problem wasn't properly considered. This is clearly the most important element of the dialogue before any discussions of military options. But once the problem is agreed upon—or designated by the president or secretary of defense—the participants can discuss a strategic approach that includes broad options. With this in mind, the chairman should come prepared to discuss different potential military aims that may have different solution sets. Using the Desert Storm example, a potential aim for military operations besides the Iraqi Army was the regime in Baghdad. If President George H.W. Bush had determined that long-term Middle East policy goals were dependent upon regime change, the military solution would have required greater means discussion for each of the potential options. This would also highlight military efforts over time. If policy goals require occupation and stability operations, the problem must be framed to address long-term resourcing concerns that

would then be outlined in the strategic approach. Following these considerations, a broad range of options along with a discussion of risk would follow.

Options presented by the CJCS should provide the president and secretary of defense with a rough idea about the types of military activities that would resolve the strategic situation as described in the problem frame.[52] They would not have the same level of detail that CCMDs would submit, nor would they be analyzed in detail regarding feasibility. The goal is to give civilian policymakers a range of potential options that would help them frame their thinking related to desired policy outcomes. They would then have a better idea regarding suitability of options leading to desired conditions.[53] In this dialogue, some options may be rejected immediately, whereas others may be more suitable for further consideration. At this point, options are "bounded," and more detailed options can be developed by combatant commanders.

The concept of "bounded rationality" was originally developed by Herbert Simon in his study of human decision-making.[54] Decision-makers ultimately resort to heuristics because complex problems resist completely rational approaches to solving them. Decision-makers are constrained by time, incomplete information about the environment, cognitive abilities, and other limited resources.[55] Following this line of thought, Gerd Gigerenzer argued that strategies addressing complexity should not aim for optimization, but should instead "satisfice."[56] He identified two "demons:" *unbounded rationality* that tends to ignore constraints and *optimization under constraints*, which assumes that there is a rational stopping point that can be calculated when searching for solutions.[57] These demons are present in the current decision-making process, which has CCMDs developing options that attempt to optimize military approaches without effective strategic guidance and civilian decision-makers demanding options but ignoring constraints that limit the CCDRs' ability to provide effective military approaches. With a CJCS-developed strategic estimate and constructive dialogue with policymakers, bounded options are sent to combatant commands for further development; they can now be optimized, making them more suitable for final selection. When CCMDs send their options back to the civilian decision-makers, a final step in the estimate must include an assessment of strategic risk. Options developed by the CCMD will already include discussions of risks to forces and mission for the AOR. Risks in the strategic estimate would assess global risk and joint resourcing constraints.

Joint Operating Environment 2035, a document that envisions potential future scenarios to assist joint force development and planning, includes a chart that summarizes how the future joint force will support national goals. Ironically, it is an excellent snapshot that contains most of the main elements for military advice to civilian policymakers. The chart neatly lays out the ends, ways, and means and also demonstrates how military activities support strategic goals.

Conclusion

At the highest level, the art of war turns into policy . . . no major proposal required for war can be worked out in ignorance of political factors.[58]

—Carl von Clausewitz

The current system for military advice to the president has proven to be ineffective and is a source of frustration and tension for both the military offering advice and the civilian policymakers who rely on the military for making strategic decisions. Combatant commanders are too far removed from political factors that drive policy and appreciation for strategic risk. By design, the

military is organized into combatant commands with a chain of command that bypasses the CJCS and receives strategic guidance directly from the secretary of defense or president. Despite this limitation, the CJCS is still the principal military advisor to the president. In times of crisis, the president needs the best military advice to enable strategic decisions. A strategic estimate developed by the CJCS would not only fulfill the statutory requirements for providing best advice, but it would also serve to bound options for more effective options development by combatant commanders. It would help bridge the policy-military divide, lead to improved shared understanding, and enable optimized unified action.

Range of Strategic Goals			
Adapt to Changing Conditions	Manage Antagonism & Impose Costs	Punish Aggression & Rollback Gains	Impose Change & Enforce Outcomes
Enduring Military Tasks			
Shape or Contain	Deter or Deny	Disrupt or Degrade	Compel or Destroy
Evolving Joint Force Missions			
Global Influence	Defense Against Subversion	Global Counterterrorism	Terrorist Neutralization
Consequence Management	National Strategic Deterrence	Protective Spoiling Attack	Homeland Threat Elimination
Military Support to Alliances and International Law	Extended Deterrence	Global Maneuver and Seizure	Major Sustained Combat
Freedom of Navigation and Overflight	Global Commons Stabilization	Global Commons Defense	Global Commons Exclusion
Military Support to Cyber Resiliency	Network Defense	Cyber Disruption	Cyberspace Control
Noncombatant Evacuation and FHA	Military Support to Foreign Partners	Defense Support to Stabilization	Peace Enforcement and Military Governance

Source: Department of Defense, Joint Publication (JP) 5-0, *Joint Planning* (Washington, DC: 17 January 2017), Chap. 4.2.
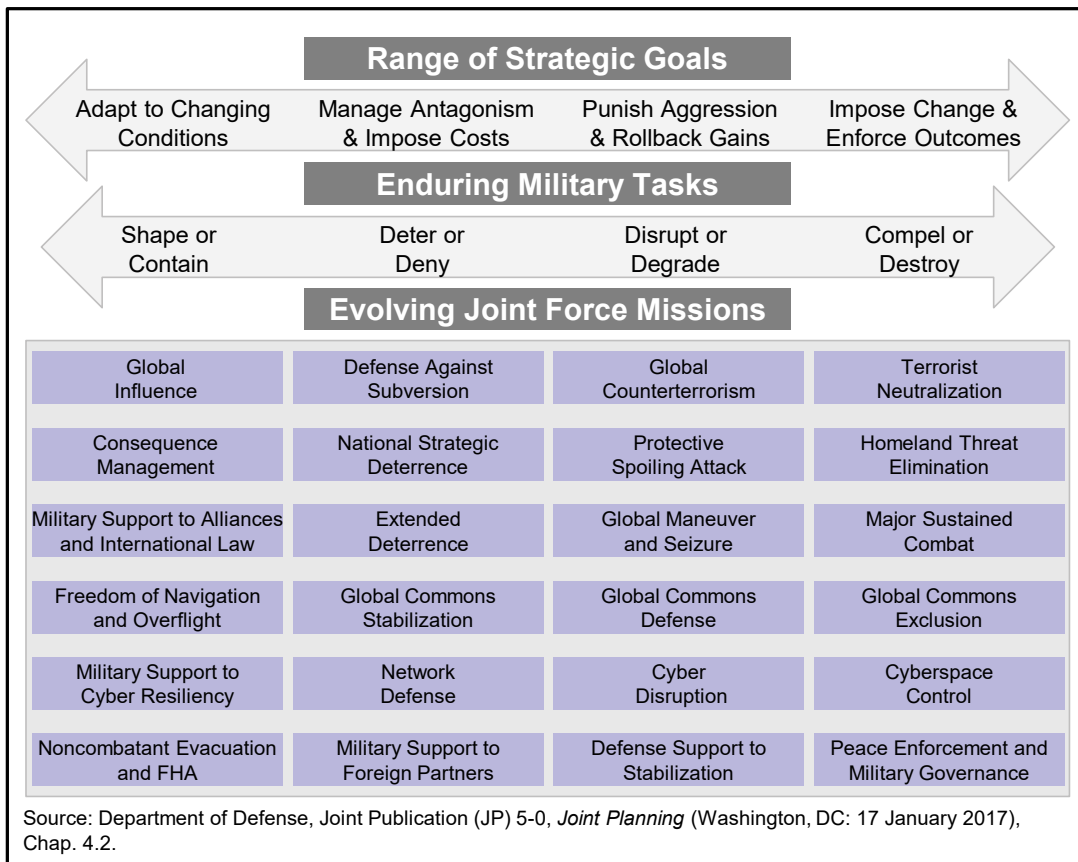
Figure 1.2. Evolving Joint Force Missions. Created by Army University Press.

Notes

1. Epigraph originally quoted in *Joint Forces Quarterly* (July 2015); Janine Davidson et al., "Mending the Broken Dialogue: Civil-Military Relations and Presidential Decision-Making," *Council of Foreign Relations Report* (December 2016), 16.

2. Bob Woodward, *Bush at War* (New York: Simon and Shuster, 2002), 74–80.

3. James M. Perry, *Arrogant Armies: Great Military Disasters and the Generals Behind Them* (Hoboken, NY: Wiley and Sons, 2005), 46.

4. Zack Beauchamp, "Trump: Iran Is Violating the Nuclear Deal. Top U.S. General: No It Isn't," *Vox Media*, 27 September 2017, https://www.vox.com/world/2017/9/27/16373166/trump-iran-deal-dunford-senate.

5. Samuel P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957), 83.

6. Elliot A. Cohen*, Supreme Command* (New York: Anchor Books, Random House, 2002), 84.

7. Davidson et al., "Mending the Broken Dialogue," 129–45.

8. Davidson et al., 134.

9. Davidson et al., 8.

10. "National Security Strategy" (Washington, DC: 2017), 14.

11. Davidson et al., "Mending the Broken Dialogue," 9.

12. One of the authors was a planner with the Operational Planning Team (OPT) at USAFRICOM HQ from the time the JTF was established through hand-off with Operation Unified Protector under NATO command and saw the options that were presented to the president. Also see Jeremiah Gertler, "Operation Odyssey Dawn (Libya): Background and Issues for Congress," *Congressional Research Service* (30 March 2011), https://fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/R41725.pdf.

13. Karl Mueller, ed., *Precision and Purpose: Airpower in the Libyan Civil War* (Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation, 2015), 16–17.

14. Gertler, "Operation Odyssey Dawn," 17.

15. For the presidential speech, see "Remarks by the President on the Situation in Libya," Office of the Press Secretary, The White House, 18 March 2011, https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2011/03/18/remarks-President-situation-libya. Strategic guidance was sought by USAFRICOM planners via back channels with joint staff members. The author – who was working out of the CCMD J35 sent an email to a joint staff officer asking him to "throw us a bone" and received a reply that the J33 hadn't received any guidance either. Some of the "unique capabilities" described by the president in the speech reference a bootleg report sent to another J35 planner from the National Security Council (NSC) committee exploring options for handing off operations to NATO.

16. Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Instruction (CJCSI) 313001.01A, *Campaign Planning Procedures and Responsibilities*, (Washington, DC: 2014), Enclosure B, 4.

17. Nathan S. Lowrey, *The Chairmanship of the Joint Chiefs of Staff 1949–2016* (Washington, DC: oint History Office, Office of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, 2016), 3–8.

18. Morton H. Halperin, "The President and the Military," *Foreign Affairs* 50, no. 2 (January 1972): 14.

19. Lowrey, *The Chairmanship of the Joint Chiefs of Staff 1949–2016*, 9.

20. Lowrey, 34.

21. Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Instruction (CJCSI) 3100.01C, *Joint Strategic Planning System* (Washington, DC: 2018), Enclosure A, 1-2. The 2018 version now identifies the CJCS as a global military integrator. This is also a recognition that CCMDs cannot see the big picture.

22. Ernesto Londoño, "On Ground Troops in Iraq, Obama and his Generals Appear at Odds," *New York Times* (17 September 2014), https://takingnote.blogs.nytimes.com/2014/09/17/on-ground-troops-in-iraq-obama-and-his-generals-appear-at-odds.

23. Peter D. Feaver, "Crisis as Shirking: An Agency Theory Explanation of the Souring of American Civil-Military Relations," *Armed Forces and Society* 24, no. 3 (1998): 407–34.

24. US Department of Defense, Joint Publication (JP) 5-0, *Joint Planning* (Washington, DC: 2017), chap. 5, 27–29. Full validity includes feasible, acceptable, adequate, distinguishable, and complete. Two

of the COAs presented were invalid because they were not considered adequate by General McChrystal, meaning that they would not accomplish the desired strategic outcomes.

25. US Department of Defense, JP 5-0, iii. JP 5-0 revisions over several decades increasingly added additional guidance for developing military options—from a few references in the 1990s to discussions of FDOs and FROs in the 2006 and 2011 versions. The 2017 version expands its discussion of options throughout the manual and more closely links options to CCMD development and assessments.

26. Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Instruction (CJCSI) 3100.01C, *Joint Strategic Planning System* (Washington, DC: 2018), Enclosure A, 1–2.

27. CJCSI 3100.01C, Enclosure A.

28. JP 5-0, chap. 2, 19.

29. JP 5-0, Appendix F, 1–8.

30. JP 5-0, Appendix F, 1–5.

31. JP 5-0, chap. 1, 9–11.

32. There were no plans developed by CENTCOM for operations in Afghanistan; it was all developed on the fly. See Woodward, *Bush at War*. Planning for Operation Odyssey Dawn did not start with an on-the-shelf plan because the Arab Spring was a surprise to most of the defense community and Libya was no longer considered a major threat in the region.

33. Interview with a former CCMD campaign planner, 25 October 2017.

34. Daniel Cappello, "The General's War," interview with Peter J. Boyer, *The New Yorker* (30 June 2003), https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2003/06/30/the-generals-war.

35. Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Instruction (CJCSI) 3105.01, *Joint Risk Analysis* (Washington, DC: 14 October 2016), Enclosure A, 2.

36. CJCSI 3105.01, Enclosure B, 5–9.

37. CJCSI 3105.01, Enclosure D, 4.

38. CJCSI 3105.01, Enclosure A, 2.

39. CJCSI 3105.01, Enclosure B, 3.

40. Jim Garamone, "Dempsey Discusses Use of Military Instrument of Power," *DoD News* (2 July 2014), https://www.defense.gov/News/Article/Article/602812/dempsey-discusses-use-of-military-instrument-of-power.

41. Office of the Secretary of Defense, "Department of Defense Directive Number 5100.01," 21 December 2010, Enclosure 3, 14.

42. CJCSI 3105.01, *Joint Risk Analysis*, Enclosure B, 8.

43. Martin E. Dempsey, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff letter to Senator Carl Levin, 19 July 2013, http://thehill.com/images/stories/news/2013/07_july/22/dempsey.pdf.

44. Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, trans. and ed. Michael Howard and Peter Paret (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 88–89.

45. Davidson et al., "Mending the Broken Dialogue," 41–50. "Recommended changes include revising military planning doctrine, establishing standing interagency working groups, creating new options planning processes across both the Pentagon and the national security system, and introducing technology improvements that will make interagency coordination and communication more efficient."

46. Davidson et al., 46.

47. Davidson et al., 52–53.

48. Joint Publication (JP) 5-0, *Joint Planning,* Enclosure B.

49. Davidson et al., "Mending the Broken Dialogue," 52.

50. Horst W.J. Rittel and Melvin M. Webber, "Dilemmas in a General Theory of Planning," *Policy Sciences* 4, no. 2 (June 1973): 55–69.

51. Joint doctrine would call this aim a Center of Gravity.

52. Davidson et al., "Mending the Broken Dialogue," 46.

53. In joint doctrine, valid options or courses of action must be feasible, acceptable, adequate (suitable), complete, and distinguishable.

54. See Herbert A. Simon, *Models of Man*, (New York: John Wiley, 1957).

55. Howard Rachlin, "Rational Thought and Rational Behavior: A Review of Bounded Rationality: The Adaptive Toolbox," *Journal of Experimental Analysis of Behavior*, no. 3 (May 2003): 409–12.

56. Gerd Gigerenzer and Reinhard Selten ed., *Bounded Rationality: The Adaptive Toolbox* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001), 37–50.

57. Gigerenzer, 39.

58. von Clausewitz, *On War*, 607–8.

Chapter 2

State Power and the Economic Curse of Globalization

David A. Anderson

Much lauding of the virtues of globalization has taken place over the past thirty years. Globalization has connected developed and developing countries around the world in ways unimaginable merely twenty years ago ranging from trade and technology to modes of communication and commerce. It is also hard to make an argument against bringing over a billion people out of extreme poverty—even if the overwhelming majority are from only one country—or enhancing the quality of life of billions more. Conversely, many unfavorable consequences have been borne by developed countries due to globalization. Undesirable effects include trade divergence, lower domestic economic growth, wage and job issues, balance of payment issues, mounting national debt, domestic policy and social welfare priority shifts, and internally focused diplomacy, along with international financial institution agenda and direction challenges. Globalization has also fostered rapid and monumental shifts in state power between developed and developing countries at a worrisome pace—fueled by mega movements in geographic locations where goods production takes place and how it is conducted. Globalization has rearranged much of the economic and international geopolitical clout held by traditional power states. Most of this power has been ceded to emerging powers—China being the most notable beneficiary.

Against the backdrop of globalization's impact on other developed nations, the purpose of this chapter is to assess the impact of globalization on the United States. Particularly, it addresses trending aspects that shape and challenge the US posture and its ability to remain the world's premiere economic, military, and diplomatic leader. The chapter concludes by offering an approach to right the ship and circumvent adverse sequels.

Trade, Commerce, and the Labor Force

Globalization has generated mega-shifts in the geographic locations where labor-intensive products are produced or assembled. This phenomenon began in the 1970s with the displacement of US labor-intensive manufacturing jobs to cheaper labor locations such as Japan. Labor locations shifted direction once again in the 1990s, primarily to China. Today, labor is increasingly moving to even lower-cost locations in East Asia, such as Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, and Vietnam. In fact, China now derives more of its gross domestic product (GDP) from the service sector than the industrial sector. The United States and Japan still struggle to fill the void left by this displaced economic sector, as well as address the labor wage deflation resulting from it.

The United States runs a staggering trade deficit and has done so since 1975.[1] This deficit is directly related to the loss of US manufacturing jobs to overseas markets. The US trade deficit has grown significantly since China joined the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001. In 2002, the US trade deficit was $419 billion. China constituted $102 billion of that balance. Whereas, China constituted $10.4 billion of a total US deficit of $80.6 billion in 1990. In 2017, China's share was $347 billion of a total US deficit of $504.7 billion.[2] The United States also had a $74 billion trade deficit with its North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) partners Canada and Mexico.[3] Apparent imbalances prompted US President Donald Trump to reassess these and other trade arrangements.[4]

For manufacturing businesses still located in the United States, competing and surviving against foreign competition requires cost cutting (e.g. lower wages for employees) and a reduction in the types and coverage of traditionally provided fringe benefits—namely medical coverage and employer-provided pension plans. By placing more of the cost share onus on the employee, the result is less disposable income to buy goods that more directly and meaningfully stimulate economic growth. Many workers opted to go without medical insurance. Eroding medical coverage provided by private sector employers—coupled with increasing life expectancy and lifestyles that increasingly lead to heart disease, cancer, strokes, and Type II diabetes—has progressively placed the cost/coverage burden on the federal government.[5] In 2017, the percent of the US population sixty-five years of age and older was fifteen percent but expected to rise to twenty-four percent by 2060. In sheer number terms, this means a more than doubling from 46 million people in 2018 to 98 million in 2060.[6] In fiscal year 1990, health care outlays represented thirteen percent of the US federal budget, whereas the 2017 share was twenty-eight percent.[7] An aging population and associated medical costs will further strain the federal budget going forward. This senior-aged cohort will also be an even greater presence as a voting constituency shaping federal budgetary decisions. The Affordable Care Act, a medical plan designed to provide medical coverage to Americans who otherwise could not afford private health care insurance, has placed an even heavier financial burden on the federal government.

Job losses have led to an increase in the number of people requiring government financial assistance. An alarming number of individuals whose job prospects do not materialize before assistance runs out seek other forms of federal government compensation. Worker disability benefits from the Social Security Administration have become an abused funding source, further straining its long-term solvency.

In addition to an aging demographic, immigration has become a hot button issue in the United States. Many Americans see immigration (legal and illegal) as a net cost to the country in terms of domestic security, job losses, welfare payouts, crime, and stress on the general social welfare of Americans. The Trump administration proposed building a wall along the US/Mexican border to prevent illegal immigration from/through Mexico. Yet, from a long-term economic perspective, the United States needs immigrants to offset an annual birth rate that is losing ground to the annual death rate.[8] Without immigrants, the US economy cannot maintain a healthy growth rate of two to three percent per year.

The Shift in the US Economy

Globalization has forced most of the US economy into the service sector. Roughly eighty percent of the US 2017 GDP was derived from the service sector.[9] Jobs in this sector generally require fewer skills at one end of the spectrum compared with highly skilled technical/innovation-driven jobs at the other end, with notably fewer jobs in between. This transformation has exacerbated a growing wage dichotomy within the US labor force. The Gini Index, an instrument that measures income distribution within a nation, indicates a growing concentration of wealth in fewer US households.

A Gini index score of zero on a 100-point scale indicates a perfectly equal distribution of income among households. A score of 100 indicates that all income is held by one individual, perfect inequality. In 1986, the US score was 37.73; by 2016, it was 48.[10] The consequences of this growing disparity are notable and mounting. More and more people are working multiple jobs to make ends

meet. Dual-income households are now the norm. Under-employment and lower wages—directly attributable to global competition—are exhausting and creating an unhealthy stress dynamic within the US labor force. Furthermore, underemployment adversely affects the amount of tax revenue generated for local, state, and the federal governments.

Many of the highly skilled jobs needed require significant advanced education. Individuals who pursue this route routinely take on stifling student loan debt. Two-thirds of all college students accrue student loan debt. Whether they graduate or not, the average student loan debt load is $26,660. Others pursuing a college education are acquiring degrees and skill sets in numbers not readily needed or absorbable in the US economy. Compounding matters, the 9 October 2017 *Bloomberg Business Week* reported that since 2013, wages for college graduates have increased by merely two percent while the cost of tuition has gone up six percent. In 2013, aggregate student loan debt in the United States surpassed $1 trillion, most of which is in loans provided by federal government institutions such as Sallie Mae.[11] The associated financial overhang of student loan debt has delayed the number of marriages, childbirths, and first home purchases, thus undermining the sales of other major goods that stimulate economic growth.

Many pundits comment that the 2016 election of Donald Trump as US president was a manifestation of the perceived ineffectiveness of the current political apparatus in bolstering the economy. Large segments of the US population were considered generally dissatisfied with government and their own individual prospects for a brighter future. They blamed politicians for the budget deficit, job losses to foreign competition, US businesses moving overseas, the erosion of their relative income and quality of life, and for the general state of the US economy. Many also feared more direct competition from the likes of China in the higher value-added production and technological innovation-driven economic sectors. By electing Trump, many Americans voted for change from the political status quo in hopes that a successful businessman could right the ship. Other countries have followed a similar pattern of electing government leaders from the business world (e.g., Chile, Italy, and Guatemala).

US Personal Debt and Societal Norms

The Federal Reserve Bank of New York reported that household debt hit $13.54 trillion by the end of 2018.[12] Recent Urban Institute research indicates one-third of Americans have debt in arrears that has been turned over to debt collection agencies.[13] In 2017, student loan debt accounted for ten percent of total household debt, auto loans for nine percent, credit card debt another nine percent, and home mortgages sixty-eight percent.[14]

It's becoming more commonplace for young adults, regardless of attained education, to live in their parent's home. In 2016, fifteen percent of twenty-five- to thirty-five-year-olds lived with their parents. In 2000, this figure was ten percent. For those with college degrees, ten percent lived at home in 2016, while twenty percent of those with just a high school diploma lived at home.[15] One in three adults ages twenty-one to forty-five receive some form of financial support from their parents.[16] Continuing shifts in the composition of the US economy and its corresponding higher education requirements have eroded the fabric of many societal norms. Research shows that men without a college education have directly contributed to the decline in marriages. With the loss of higher-paying industrial sector jobs that required no formal education beyond high school, this largely male cohort finds itself underemployed or unemployed. These men are increasingly opting to not marry or are not considered marriage material.

Sadly, unemployment is also associated with drug abuse, alcohol abuse, and incarceration.[17] If you happen to be one of the 1.2 million Americans who drop out of high school each year, your future holds even less promise in a globalized world. Over a lifetime, a high school dropout will make $200,000 less than a high school graduate and $1 million less than someone with a college degree.[18] US high school dropouts commit approximately seventy-five percent of all crimes.[19] Two-thirds of prisoners in the US penal system did not graduate from high school.[20] In 1990, prison budgets equated to one-sixteenth of pre-K through twelve school budgets. Today, prison budgets equal one-eighth.[21] Since 1990, education spending has been flat for both pre-K through twelve and for public colleges/universities, while prison budgets have increased approximately eighty-nine percent.[22] An often-cited Pentagon study revealed that only seventy-one percent of the US population ages seventeen to twenty-four qualify for military service for reasons such as the lack of adequate education, criminal conduct, obesity, and other health-related problems.[23]

Growing Government Debt and Economic Stimulus

Welfare, health care, the world's largest defense budget, and interest paid on existing debt make up more than ninety-five percent of the US federal budget; most of these costs are non-discretionary obligations.[24] The federal budget continues to exceed annual tax revenue received by approximately three percent. Since 2002, the annual federal government budget deficit has ranged from 1.5 to 9.9 percent.[25] Growing budget expenditures have led to mounting federal government debt. The 8 September 2017 US government gross debt was $20.16 trillion, which is 106 percent of America's annual GDP.[26] That deficit level was a far cry from the manageable 41.4 percent in 1991.[27] The federal government owes about thirty percent of its debt to itself, some $5.5 trillion worth; this intra-government debt obligation is owed to 230 federal agencies.[28] This precarious lending arrangement is likely to cost taxpayers in the long run.

The rest of the deficit is financed through government debt instruments, thirty percent of which is purchased by foreign entities, including governments.[29] China and Japan each own approximately five percent of US debt.[30] It is no coincidence that two of America's largest trading partners are the largest holders of US debt. They both simply recycle their positive trade balance with the United States back into the US economy. Buying US debt keeps the US government from raising taxes to pay on its debt and keeps Americans buying foreign goods. The United States derives seventy percent of its GDP from consumption, a figure not lost on export-oriented countries.[31]

The US Federal Reserve has bought a sizable portion of US debt instruments in support of the government's fiscal plans to stimulate economic growth. It has also printed money and lowered the prime lending rate to encourage member banks to borrow and, in turn, lend money to consumers in hopes of stimulating the economy. The Federal Reserve's quantitative easing has arguably worked but has noteworthy baggage associated with its success. Systematically, it will have to normalize toward traditional monetary practices by raising interest rates, retiring money it literally created out of thin air, and selling off government debt instruments that it holds. This may lead to an economic contraction of some degree for the US economy.

In 2017, President Trump signed a major change to the US tax regime that he believed would be more equitable for Americans and US businesses. The intent behind the new tax law was to empower more consumers with disposable income, keep businesses from moving abroad to avoid high US corporate taxes, and lure businesses back to the United States. The end result was expected to be a more vibrant economy with more tax revenue for the federal government.

The budget deficit is also impacting how much the United States is providing in foreign assistance around the world. Foreign assistance is allocated in four primary categories: long-term development aid, military and security aid, humanitarian aid, and political aid.[32] In a 1970s United Nations resolution, the United States along with all other Organization for Economic Cooperation (OECD) countries committed to provide .70 percent of their annual GDP in foreign aid. The US aid budget for fiscal year (FY) 2017 was .17 percent of GDP, or equivalent to 1.3 percent of the federal budget. This figure was well below the .30 percent average provided by all developed countries.[33] The FY 2018 budget proposal for foreign assistance was thirty-one percent lower than the 2017 budget plan. As such, nations would receive less US aid to promote their stability and development; the proposal would also impact the funding the United States provides the United Nations, the World Bank, and other international development promoting institutions.[34]

The United States has been successful in achieving more self-reliance in the realm of strategic resources such as oil—but at a cost. It made source providers into competitors, which led to lower global oil prices resulting in less revenue for mono oil exporters. Most oil exporting countries rely on oil revenue for the preponderance of their government budget. Lower oil prices caused by higher supply levels have destabilized governments, undermined social welfare programs, adversely effected economies, and created balance of payment issues.

The US military, far and away the largest discretionary portion of the federal budget, finds itself in an unenviable situation. How does it reconstitute after fifteen years of war in a fiscally perplexing and complex global environment? The task is further compounded by the necessary range/spectrum of operational capabilities it needs to rebuild, expand upon, or establish capacities ranging from the force capability to fight large-scale combat operations against a near-peer competitor, as well as full-scale cyber capabilities, to homeland security and humanitarian assistance.

The Economics of Globalization Elsewhere

The United States shares its growing debt-to-GDP issues with other developed countries that are not reaping all the globalization benefits they thought they might. The average debt-to-GDP percentage among OECD countries was approximately 111 percent in 2015.[35] Japan's debt alone was 239 percent of its GDP.[36] This is further telling since these thirty-five countries represent nearly eighty percent of the global population and ninety percent of global GDP. Much of their deficits are attributable to overly optimistic domestic economic growth projections about the amount of global trade that would be generated along with the ensuing tax revenues. Chronic budget deficits have led to lower defense spending and foreign assistance funding. Over the past twenty years, most all of Europe's NATO countries have conspicuously reduced their defense budgets and military force size, structure, and capabilities. Nations providing universal healthcare, for reasons now trending in the US marketplace, are finding it a financially costly proposition. Countries such as the UK and France are facing cost overruns that further burden taxpayers, erode the types and quality of services provided, and add to national debt.

China is by far the biggest economic winner in globalization. The country runs a huge trade surplus with the rest of the world. During 2017, the surplus was approximately $450 billion.[37] China holds more than $3 trillion in readily exchangeable foreign currency reserves, namely US dollars and European Union euros.[38] Finally, China is about to overtake the United States as the largest economy in the world. This success has brought international clout, power, and influence not just regionally but around the world. China has expanded its military capabilities and increased

its military footprint throughout the East Asian region. The country has strengthened its bilateral and multilateral trade relations in and outside of East Asia and has led efforts to establish the Asian Infrastructure and Investment Bank—a bank designed to rival the longstanding International Monetary Fund led by the United States. A permanent member of the UN Security Council, China continues to posture itself to secure natural resources to fuel its economic growth well into the future, including control of contested South China Sea islands and creating islands in areas geographically advantageous to accessing oil.

Trade competition and job protection have led to an increasingly nationalistic response in the international marketplace. Nations are progressively investigating trade competitor countries for illegal practices and adopting innovative practices that give them a competitive advantage. Foreign direct investment (FDI) is often sought as a way to create jobs and generate national income and tax revenue. However, FDI can be a double-edged sword in a globalized economy. Multinational corporations come and go based on global market opportunities. Private investors/institutions are always seeking the best return available. Foreign investment is often pulled from the host country quicker than the time taken to first invest it—particularly when asset valuation bubbles appear due to overinvestment. This can be economically cataclysmic for the country losing the investment money. A good example is the Asia financial crisis of 1997.

Cultural and political differences as well as economic friction among countries are more readily apparent. This has led to new or deeper fault lines. The WTO, an organization boasting the overwhelming majority of nations as its members, increasingly struggles to advance its trade liberalization agenda. The last formal trade talks initiated by the WTO began with the Doha Round in 2001. Expected to reach agreement among all member states within a four-year period, negotiations continued to drag on with no end in sight at the time of this writing. Problematic to a successful conclusion was gaining consensus among 150-plus nations in various stages of development; all were interested in advancing their own economic well-being, which would require an agreement that was palatable to both winners and losers.[39] Another example of China's increasing clout was its role as proponent for other developing countries during these trade talks. At the heart of many unresolved issues was jobs and income that would be lost with an agreement.

The WTO struggles led most countries to establish bilateral and multilateral agreements. These arrangements have quickly become the instruments of choice in facilitating trade. As of 2018, the United States had free trade agreements with twenty countries.[40] In late 2017, it rejected the possibility of joining the proposed Trans-Pacific Partnership and was considering the possibilities of a Trans-Atlantic Trade and Investment Partnership with the European Union. Many other nations are opting to establish agreements with their major trading partners as well. For example, China was pursuing the establishment of the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership. This trade arrangement would encompass sixteen members in Southeast Asia, as well as Australia and New Zealand. These member states would account for about thirty percent of global GDP and fifty percent of the global population.[41] Paradoxically, the United States questioned the viability of the NAFTA agreement while the United Kingdom voted to exit the European Union because economic policy and sovereignty issues. Organizations such as the EU were created to gain economic advantage over non-member states. Following its inception in 1992, numerous countries joined.

Currency valuations are purposefully manipulated to make one state's goods cheaper than another's. Interest rates have been lowered to encourage lending and spending. In places such as the

Euro zone, Switzerland, and Japan, interests rates were even lowered below zero to achieve the aforementioned objectives. People were financially penalized for not spending their savings.

The International Monetary Fund (IMF), a financial institution whose primary purpose is to help developing countries with loans to address temporary imbalance of payment issues, loaned money to some various nations that have historically been contributors to the fund. In the spring of 2013, the IMF had $93 billion in outstanding loans held by eighty-six countries—$56 billion of which was lent to Ireland, Greece, and Portugal; these three countries normally contribute to the fund for others to borrow against.[42] As of 2017, the United States controlled 16.52 percent of the IMF's voting rights, giving it veto power over all major large loan decisions.[43] Numerous economically advancing countries were continually contesting this arrangement, arguing that US power was disproportionate to the size and status of the US economy in the context of the globalized world.

Countries, particularly developed countries, also faced many of the same challenges as the United States such as immigration issues, lower birth rates, aging population, unemployment/underemployment, economy sector shifts, income disparity, and shrinking defense and foreign assistance budgets. The aggregation of these and other complex interrelated problems tied to globalization led countries to be more domestic-centric in focus. Country relationship alignments were drifting away from the United States and more toward emerging powers such as China. China's economic significance and its no-strings-attached approach to conducting business was appealing to most. Yet countries such as China and Russia were progressively using their economic power to coerce and shape the behavior of other countries by controlling foreign access to their markets, goods, and resources.

Nearly universal accessibility of goods and services damaged the effectiveness of using economic sanctions as a tool to get a country to comply with acceptable international norms of conduct. Previously the United States often used economic sanctions because of its historically high international economic affluence. Today, there are too many second- and third-party workarounds for targeted countries to leverage in receiving the goods and resources necessary to function. Two good examples are Cuba and North Korea. Despite varying levels of sanctions waged against them over the past fifty years, both countries and their regimes continue to survive. It is troubling to the international community that North Korea is still able to aggressively pursue nuclear weapons capabilities with the assistance of other state actors, directly threatening international security.

Conclusion

Globalization's economic attributes have had a profound impact on the interplay within and between states. Developed countries like the United States have seen dramatic changes in the makeup of their economies that have resonated throughout the public and private sectors and adversely impacted many societal norms. As highlighted throughout this chapter, the United States and most other developed countries struggle in varying degrees to make necessary economic adjustments advantageous to their well-being. The United States in particular is losing its international competitive edge, authority, and sway as this process continues.

Because of debt coupled with an underemployed labor force, educational and societal challenges, labor wage compression, an unfavorable trade balance, and a vulnerable defense budget, the United States is in a particularly unenviable predicament when dealing with the international security environment and its long-term economic viability. As countries like China move their

economies into more complex, sophisticated, and high value-added areas that are in direct competition with the United States and other advanced countries, the economic challenge becomes more comprehensive in nature. Moreover, security concerns over global terrorism, the seizing of another state's sovereign territory through open acts of military aggression by other states, and the development of nuclear weapons by rogue states further amplify these problems. Taken together, these challenges do not bode well for any developed country.

The US ability to economically grow and prosper while addressing these systemic problems—problems ultimately rooted in lost competitiveness—requires a comprehensive approach. The United States will have to produce its first formal National Industrial Policy—a policy definitive enough to systematically develop plans that drive its efforts. Front and center must be a balanced budget and a long-term plan to draw down US debt without undermining the economy. Raising taxes is an inevitable component of a successful approach. A well-orchestrated and managed effort can ensure the desired outcome. Deficit reduction would also bode well for the strength of the US dollar, as well as its status as a reserve currency among nations and a preferred vehicle currency for conducting trade.

Debt reduction and a balanced budget are no small feats in light of all the competing budgetary priorities, the least of which is defense. The defense department must be prepared to play a notable role in the budget solution. Fiscal realities dictate reducing in the defense budget in spite of the need to modernize and restructure the force to be able to defeat a near-peer enemy. The challenge is made even more problematic since US partners in NATO and elsewhere are reducing their defense budgets for very similar fiscal circumstances. Leveraging diplomacy and partner military capabilities will have to be the norm going forward.

Multiple interrelated measures must be taken to regain US economic competitiveness. A good point of departure to determine their numbers, types, and depth is the past fifteen years of presidential state of the union addresses to Congress. Themes are quickly apparent. Certainly creating a more favorable business climate, incentives to invest in American businesses, and the revitalization of the US education system need to be major parts of any fix. Incentives to support industries and fields deemed critical to US future prosperity must be interwoven. The US educational system must better meet the needs of the public and private sectors, as well as foster individual drive, ambition, intellectual curiosity, creativity, and entrepreneurship. In order for this to work effectively, the educational system and the public and private sector must be interlinked in the educational process. Finally, the American people will have to adjust their future expectations of the federal government's role regarding social services (e.g., the extent of health care benefits and welfare).

These insights and recommendations are not a panacea for all US economic ills in a globalized world. However, they certainly can help steer the ship on a more positive course—a course that will avert the need for extreme directional adjustments when sailing beyond the horizon into the inevitable future.

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Chapter 3
Finding the Fix for American Reconstruction
and Stabilization Efforts Abroad

Patrick J. Wesner

"You are going to be the proud owner of 25 million people," [Secretary of State Colin Powell] told the president. "You will own all their hopes, aspirations, and problems. You'll own it all." Privately, Powell and Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage called this the Pottery Barn rule: You break it, you own it.[1]

—Bob Woodward, *Plan of Attack*

A winter 2017 *Interagency Journal* article by David A. Anderson illuminated the troubled history of the State Department's Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization (S/CRS) and its successor, the Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations (CSO).[2] The article gives a vivid blow-by-blow account of the creation and seeming failure of both entities. Anderson leaves the reader with the notion that while post-conflict reconstruction and stabilization (R&S) are extremely difficult in the best of scenarios, bureaucratic resistance, perceived and real duplication of effort, and lackluster leadership doomed these offices from the beginning.[3] With these failures in mind, it is entirely appropriate and timely to explore how the US government should plan for a potential future large-scale R&S effort in what appears will be a fiscally constrained environment.

In the article's conclusion, Anderson provides his own thoughts on this issue. He suggests, among other recommendations, that the government should leverage the collective expertise of government and non-government entities which played prominent roles in Iraq and Afghanistan, create more opportunities for structured and collaborative dialogue between stakeholders, and better articulate interagency roles and responsibilities based on comparative advantage.[4] While these efforts would likely lead to some modest improvements in American-led R&S operations, they alone would not fully address shortcomings in US policy.

With regard to R&S leadership, Anderson suggests that USAID's dual-hatted Director of Foreign Assistance (DFA) is the best perch from which to "coordinate planning and executing efforts among interagency entities needed in conducting stabilization and reconstruction type activities."[5] This position was referred to as being dual-hatted because, for several years in the latter part of the George W. Bush administration, the DFA also served as the USAID Administrator. However, the USAID Administrator has not also served simultaneously as the DFA (previously a Deputy Secretary of State equivalent) since Henrietta Fore left those positions in early 2009 at the end of the Bush administration.[6]

This author will argue for following the lead of the United Kingdom (UK), which has established a Stabilisation Unit (SU) at its National Security Council (NSC) with responsibility for "coordination of UK government activities in fragile states."[7] Establishing a similar-type SU based at the American NSC and staffing it with permanent federal employees from other departments

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and agencies would not add to the federal budget but would ensure the high-level political support needed to be successful. Just as important, it would allow for the continuous integration of R&S into war planning and implementation. An SU based at the NSC would also improve interagency coordination and communication, facilitate the mobilization of personnel from across the government required for prolonged R&S operations, and reduce bureaucratic roadblocks that have hampered recent efforts.

Current Policies

During a 21 August 2017 speech on US policy toward Afghanistan and South Asia, President Donald Trump stated, "We are not nation-building again. We are killing terrorists."[8] But, is it potentially naïve to believe that the US government will under no circumstance find itself conducting such operations sometime in the near to medium term? George W. Bush also initially shunned nation-building and said in a 2000 presidential debate, "Maybe I'm missing something here. I mean, we're going to have kind of a nation-building corps from America? Absolutely not."[9]

The 9/11 terrorist attacks, however, shifted that paradigm and ushered in the most ambitious American-sponsored R&S efforts overseas since Vietnam. In the aftermath of the Afghanistan and Iraq invasions and subsequent struggles with R&S, Secretary of State Colin Powell created CRS in 2004 then, later, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice formally launched the Civilian Response Corps (CRC).[10] Ironically, both of these entities could quite accurately be described as an American nation-building corps, to use Bush's dismissive terms. These efforts were championed by President Bush and his lieutenants, most passionately and most often by National Security Advisor and Secretary of State Rice.

President Bush signed National Security Presidential Directive (NSPD)-44 in 2005 to give the State Department a more consequential leadership role in R&S efforts. He reportedly did so because the Department of Defense (DoD) was "performing poorly" in its responsibilities to lead R&S efforts in Iraq and Afghanistan.[11] NSPD-44 gave the Secretary of State—through S/CRS—broad latitude to "coordinate and strengthen efforts of the United States Government to prepare, plan for, and conduct reconstruction and stabilization assistance."[12] NSPD-44 also enumerated the responsibilities of other executive departments and agencies, including the Department of Defense, to support and contribute to S/CRS's mission.[13] No administration has issued a new NSPD related to R&S since 2005 so, in theory, it is still current policy.

In the meantime, the DoD may have to shoulder more of future R&S leadership responsibilities despite its uneven performance in the early years of the Afghanistan and Iraq wars, especially if proposed 2018 budget cuts to the State Department and USAID take effect. Obviously, there is a prominent role for the military in R&S—especially as it pertains to providing security, which is paramount for effective stabilization in the early days of a campaign—but it should be a support role. The US Army has demonstrated increasing sophistication in this realm by continuously refining and updating Army Publishing Directorate (ADP) 3-07, *Stability,* which provides guidance on the Army's role in stability operations. ADP 3-07 is relatively silent on which US government organization has the overall lead during R&S efforts but routinely acknowledges the support role that the military should expect to play during stabilization operations.[14]

Past and Current Limitations at the State Department, USAID

The State Department has historically been the principal executive department that leads US government foreign policy and manages US international relations. The State Department aims

to "promote and demonstrate democratic values and advance a free, peaceful, and prosperous world."[15] USAID is the lead government agency for international development and seeks to "end extreme poverty and promote resilient, democratic societies while advancing our security and prosperity."[16] With these ambitious and internationally focused vision and mission statements in mind, it is logical to begin a discussion about the future of US stabilization efforts by considering the potential of these two institutions to lead and staff such efforts.[17]

Despite the wide-ranging authorities and the high-level backing for S/CRS, at least initially, the abilities of S/CRS and later CSO to manage interagency coordination over the last decade have been criticized as "marginal" at best.[18] The State Department's own inspector general claimed in a blistering report in 2014 that CSO "has diminished, rather than enhanced, a whole-of-government approach" to identifying "operational solutions for conflict and instability."[19] CSO has relatively recently transitioned to become more focused on planning and analysis within the State Department, which has "greatly weakened the unit's claim to lead the civilian response to stabilization challenges."[20] While in theory the 2010 Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review (QDDR) envisioned CSO to be the central actor and facilitator in stability operations, CSO has become more of an extra pair of hands to help US Embassy country teams focus on complex security challenges.[21] Congress handicapped CSO even further more recently by not allocating dedicated program funding for several years running.[22] Unless CSO's capabilities and authorities are substantially elevated as part of the State Department's reform efforts, it is untenable to depend on that office as currently structured for future leadership.

It is also useful to remember the State Department has worldwide presence with more than 200 embassies and dozens of consulates abroad; USAID has offices in approximately eighty countries and more limited presence in roughly twenty more. It is just not feasible for these institutions to send significant numbers of their workforce to large-scale stabilization missions while also expecting them to carry out their worldwide responsibilities. For example, when President Barack Obama called for a civilian surge in Afghanistan in 2010 and senior administration officials requested hundreds if not thousands of civilians to flow into that country to support the military surge, USAID didn't have the number of staff to meet that request.[23] With approximately 1,800 career or career-candidate foreign service officers available for worldwide placement, USAID would have likely had to send more than half of its available foreign service workforce to meet the administration's expectations for the civilian surge. That scenario would be akin to having the US military send a million or more of its soldiers to Afghanistan during the height of the surge. That, too, would have been completely unfeasible.

As a stopgap measure during the Afghan surge, both the State Department and USAID reverted to special hiring authorities to bring on a good number of limited-term employees.[24] While some of these limited-term hires had extraordinary expertise that enabled them to perform exceptionally well in Afghanistan, it was rarely the norm. Both State and USAID officials asserted, "The quality of temporary-hire personnel sent to Afghanistan during the surge was mixed."[25] In fact, one of these early limited-term employees commented:

> [The] program got a different quality of people [than the Foreign Service officers]. . . .
> They got some people with experience who did a good job, some who were well meaning,
> and some who were too old or just not a right fit. And the military would complain about
> this. They thought they were getting a civilian expert and they got an old guy or a kid who
> was too young. These people were also not part of the bureaucracy so they didn't have the

same connections and it was pretty variable how much the Ambassador or civilian leadership at the PRT [provincial reconstruction team] listened to them. The [limited-term hires] wouldn't have the same level of skill set as a diplomat would, and they probably wouldn't have any language skills, so those were some impediments.[26]

Then-Secretary of Defense Bob Gates fully supported the civilian surge but harbored deep doubts that departments and agencies could mobilize the required number of civilians needed for the surge. He even offered to provide and pay for several hundred DoD civilians and reserve personnel to bolster the civilian core.[27] Secretary Gates frequently argued for greater funding and hiring for diplomacy and development over subsequent years, referring to both agencies as "woefully underfunded."[28] He even went as far as to directly lobby the chairman of the Senate Budget Committee to provide higher allocations for the foreign affairs budget.[29] One of Secretary Gates's deputy commanders in Afghanistan, Gen. Ken Dahl, was not impressed when he heard from US Ambassador Karl Eikenberry that the civilian surge in Afghanistan was at its height in 2011; Dahl commented that he could feel the civilian surge "lapping at his ankles."[30]

However, the State Department, through S/CRS, had other means to staff the civilian surge—specifically through the civilian corps, or CRC. The CRC was a mechanism to have qualified and vetted groups of government and non-government civilians ready to quickly deploy to conflict areas to promote US priorities. As originally envisioned, the CRC would include a 250-member cadre of government employees who could deploy within forty-eight hours (CRC-A), a 2,000-member cadre of government employees who could deploy within thirty days (CRC-S), and a 2,000-member cadre of non-government employees from other public institutions or the private sector who could deploy within forty-five to sixty days (CRC-R).[31] In 2008, Congress codified S/CRS and appropriated funding for S/CRS to recruit for the CRC-A and CRC-S surge personnel cadres.[32]

The CRC was a proactive response to struggles in identifying the necessary number of civilians with the required expertise for service in Iraq and Afghanistan during the early years of those conflicts. However, despite critical manpower needs across the spectrum during the Afghanistan civilian surge—not to mention in Iraq and other crises—S/CRS and later CSO only deployed a total of 235 civilians to serve in the CRC across forty countries.[33] While the majority of those civilians were indeed sent to Afghanistan, the number was merely a drop in the proverbial bucket in relation to the actual staffing needs. The US government had spent billions and billions of dollars on reconstruction and stabilization efforts since S/CRS and CSO were created, and these offices could only muster 235 additional civilians to deploy in the CRC? No wonder the CRC was later disbanded.[34]

The State Department and USAID obviously have prominent roles to play in any future American stabilization effort. However, unless there is unforeseen strengthening of these agencies with greater staffing and authorities, it is prudent to look elsewhere for leadership of such an effort.

Finding Inspiration from America's "Special Partner"

As discussed earlier, neither USAID nor the Department of State were staffed to successfully meet the needs of a large-scale reconstruction program like those in Iraq and Afghanistan during various surge periods over the last ten years. Furthermore, CSO did not demonstrate the leadership needed to coordinate a large-scale reconstruction program, and the CRC is no longer an option to supply the needed personnel with the required expertise. Nor does there appear to be any appetite within the Donald Trump administration to increase staff at these agencies or delegate additional responsibilities related to national security to them.

However, completely abandoning the idea of developing a civilian surge capacity for fragile or failing states is not in the US government's interest. Fortunately, the US NSC directed the Department of State and USAID—with support from several DoD entities—to conduct a Stabilization Assistance Review (SAR). The SAR committee led an extensive literature review, conducted key informant interviews, and analyzed the data to determine how to advance US capacities to budget, sequence, and manage stabilization operations in complex environments.[35] At the time of this writing, the committee leading the review had not yet released anything publically regarding their recommendations.

In the interim, this author suggests the US government draw inspiration from its special partner, the UK. The UK succeeded where the US government could not by corralling—at least at a modest level—the expertise of its civilian federal workforce and non-government experts and specialists when responding to conflict or crises. The UK did so by creating the SU which reports directly to its NSC but also closely collaborates with its Ministry of Defense, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Department for International Development, Home Office, and other departments. The SU, initially called the Post-Conflict Reconstruction Unit, was created in 2004, around the same time that Secretary of State Colin Powell established CRS.[36] At its core, the SU seeks to "protect political actors, the political system, and the population; promote, consolidate, and strengthen political processes; and prepare for longer-term recovery."[37]

The SU serves as a "centre of expertise on conflict, stabilization, security and justice" and aims to coordinate UK government-wide activities in fragile and conflict-affected states by recruiting and training a cadre of civilian experts and deploying them on UK missions in fragile states or on multilateral missions. These civilian experts have a wide range of expertise and possess a wealth of technical skills and international experience working in fragile states. The SU also includes police officers and active-duty military personnel to round out its resident capability set.[38] The SU has approximately 100 dedicated SU staff and an active roster of approximately 800 interdisciplinary deployable civilian experts; since 2015, the organization has continuously deployed approximately 100 civilian experts to post-conflict zones.[39]

Establishing and Staffing a Stabilization Unit at the National Security Council

Building off the UK model, the US government should consider creating its own version of the SU housed at the American NSC. A small cadre of permanent or semi-permanent staff seconded from other departments and agencies—perhaps ten to twelve positions—should supervise the SU under the aegis of the Deputy National Security Advisor for National Security Strategy.[40] Utilizing staff from other federal agencies would limit the cost to establish the SU. The SU should be led by a civilian from the Senior Executive Service (SES) or Senior Foreign Service (SFS) and have at least one active-duty senior advisor from one of the military branches. Other SU members should include senior staff members from foreign affairs agencies as well as the military and law enforcement communities.

Having the SU situated at the NSC reporting directly to the Deputy National Security Advisor for National Security Strategy, and, ultimately, the Principals Committee—the cabinet-level coordinating group—would lend it the political weight to impress its mission on an otherwise inert and slow-moving federal bureaucracy. This is the same bureaucracy that created the financial and logistical barriers that sealed the CRC's fate. This structure, in theory, could mitigate interagency turf battles that have paralyzed staff-level coordination efforts in the past. Placing this civilian

stabilization cadre at the NSC would have the added benefit of making certain that it is fully enmeshed in the US national security establishment and knitted closely with topline national security discussions and priorities.

Furthermore, basing the SU at the NSC would help ensure that R&S activities would be integrated into war planning operations from the beginning, sequenced with military operations, and fully resourced as part of the war effort instead of being viewed as operations other than war. It may also help mitigate what the incumbent Deputy National Security Advisor for National Security Strategy, Nadia Schadlow, referred to as American Denial Syndrome. She used this label to describe the US government's penchant to continually reject that R&S efforts are "integral to war" and its failure to prepare for and resource postwar reconstruction.[41]

In order to sustain the benefits of this initiative, the SU should be a permanent office within the NSC and continuously staffed, regardless of current events around the world. The SU should seek personnel with expertise in planning large-scale diplomatic and/or military campaigns along with demonstrable civilian-military experience. In close coordination with the Principals Committee, the SU should have the authority to declare a Complex Emergency (CE) in the event of substantial international exigencies that threaten vital US interests and objectives. The declaration of a CE should trigger special authorities allowing the SU to tap expertise from across the US government. In times of relative peace when there is no need to coordinate large-scale stabilization activities overseas, the SU could perform other critical national security functions, maintain stabilization plans and capabilities, and serve as a research hub. These latter peacetime functions would be important to ensure that SU staff wouldn't try to justify the SU's existence by pushing for R&S operations in situations that more appropriately call for other measures.

In times of a declared CE, employees from other federal agencies should supplement the SU—doubling or even tripling its size for a limited time period. The SU should expand by recruiting from the Department of State, USAID, and both uniformed and civilian DoD staff. Additionally, the expanded SU should have adequate staff to address the nexus between security and stabilization. This entails identifying experienced and senior personnel from the intelligence and law enforcement communities—including the FBI, Department of Homeland Security, and Central Intelligence Agency—to supplement the SU's competencies. The expanded SU should also seek expertise from across the federal bureaucracy, to include personnel from the Departments of Commerce, Treasury, Labor, Energy, Justice, and Transportation, just to name a few. These departments have important expertise to lend to R&S efforts and will allow for what the British would call a "full-spectrum approach."[42] These members of the expanded SU would also play an important intermediary role between the NSC and their home institutions and facilitate communication, collaboration, and tasking.

In addition, the SU should require these agencies to identify a surge roster of experts over a wide-ranging area of competence who would be willing and able to quickly deploy to respond to a declared CE. These individuals should report to the SU leadership team when deployed in support of a SU mission rather than through their previous supervisory chain. The SU should proactively work with other department and agency security and human resource personnel to clear surge roster candidates in advance of a declared CE so the onboarding process for these surge staff would be more rapid and seamless than previously was the case. Unlike the UK SU, however, the US SU should lead R&S operations during a CE rather than only providing support to another government agency. Therefore, the SU—in consultation with the Principals Committee and the US ambassador

in the respective country (or otherwise authorized official in case of no ambassador) —should also have the authority to appoint an SES or SFS leadership team of two to three career officers to lead the US government's in-country CE response, coordinate with the Embassy's country team, and supervise interagency surge staff. This in-country SU team would fall under chief of mission authority and report directly to the ambassador.

In order to recruit non-government experts as well as maintain a revenue-neutral status, federal agencies and departments that have programming resources—or funds specifically meant to support activities—would likely have to set aside resources and forgo some activities to be able to recruit short- to medium-term non-government experts. This would be a trade-off of things and services for people and expertise and might not always be desirable. The SU should critically review past recruitment efforts such as the limited-term recruitment programs discussed earlier to identify successes and failures with an eye toward getting the right people with the right mix of qualifications at the right time.

Another resource to tap would be Association of Public and Land Grant Universities (APLU) universities. The APLU and its members have a long history of working with the US government on large-scale reconstruction programs dating back to after World War II, and several federal departments and agencies already have staffing and programmatic agreements with these institutions.[43] Faculty at these institutions often have experience living, travelling, and working in austere conditions in developing countries and would be a great resource. Coincidentally, the president of that association is Peter McPherson, who was USAID administrator during the Reagan administration and is widely regarded as one of the agency's most successful administrators.[44] He has long-established relationships with the US Congress and previously spearheaded successful partnerships between APLU member institutions and USAID.[45]

Conclusion

A change in the US administration is naturally a good time to reflect on federal government's structure and mandate. The turnover to the Trump administration appears to have provided a platform where radical changes to the federal bureaucracy may be contemplated. Thus, now is the time to consider how the US government should undertake large-scale reconstruction and stabilization programs in the future.

Even with a bureaucratic refashioning of its institutions, the US government is still highly unlikely to create a new department or agency to manage future reconstruction and stabilization efforts. Calls for the creation of a new department such as those by Thomas Barnett about a dozen years ago went unheeded then—even as the Bush administration contemplated wholesale changes to alleviate the deteriorating situation in Iraq—and are highly unlikely to be employed now.[46] However, despite those misgivings, there are opportunities to make smart, modest, and financially efficient changes now that will prepare the US government to be more successful the next time it finds itself knee-deep in a large-scale reconstruction effort. Absent any reform whatsoever, leadership of such efforts will likely follow the money, which in 2017 and for the foreseeable future was flowing to DoD. Does the US government really want a DoD that is responsible for breaking the china and then fixing it too?

Postscript

I recently re-read this essay after spending several months away from it. Perhaps I am unnecessarily critical and unsympathetic toward DoD, S/CRS, and CSO officials who did the best they

could with what was probably a bad hand dealt to them from the beginning. Yet, I remain convinced that absent major reforms, more advance planning, and enabling policies and procedures, the United States is prepared to again perform superbly during major combat operations and falter in the aftermath. This scenario would drain government coffers of valuable resources, degrade America's reputation with allies and adversaries alike, do no justice to the brave men and women who fight the nation's wars, and, ultimately, harm US national security. Given its penchant for using the rhetoric of freedom and justice to justify its wars, the United States needs to approach any future large-scale conflict with eyes wide open regarding the responsibilities it has to those who are left behind after combat operations cease.

Notes

1. Bob Woodward, *Plan of Attack* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004), 150.

2. Secretary of State Colin Powell created CRS in 2004. The first Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review transitioned CRS out of the secretary's office to become a part of a the new CSO Bureau in 2011 and changed its reporting structure to be supervised by the Under Secretary for Civilian Security, Democracy, and Human Rights rather than reporting directly to the secretary, as previously had been the case. See Ryan McCannell, "The Fate of the Civilian Surge in a Changing Environment," Peacekeeping & Stability Operations Institute paper (Carlisle Barracks, PA: US War College, 2016), 4, and US Department of State, *The First Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review: Leading through Civilian Power* (Washington, DC: 2010), 135.

3. David A. Anderson, "The Tumultuous Recent History of US Stabilization and Reconstruction Efforts: The Way Ahead?" *Interagency Journal* 8, no. 1 (Winter 2017).

4. Anderson, 32.

5. Anderson, 31–32.

6. "Henrietta H. Fore," Center for Strategic and International Studies, accessed 20 September 2017, https://www.csis.org/people/henrietta-h-fore.

7. Stabilization Unit, "About Us," gov.uk, accessed 20 September 2017, https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/stabilisation-unit/about.

8. Donald J. Trump, "Remarks by President Trump on the Strategy in Afghanistan and South Asia," 21 August 2017, https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-strategy-afghanistan-south-asia.

9. "The Second Gore-Bush Presidential Debate Transcript: October 11, 2000," Commission on Presidential Debates, http://www.debates.org/?page=october-11-2000-debate-transcript.

10. Nina M. Serafino, *Peacekeeping/Stabilization and Conflict Transitions: Background and Congressional Action on the Civilian Response/Reserve Corps and Other Civilian Stabilization and Reconstruction Capabilities* (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, 2012), 8, 14–15.

11. Anderson, "The Tumultuous Recent History of US Stabilization and Reconstruction Efforts," 28.

12. George W. Bush, National Security Presidential Directive/NSPD-44, "Management of Interagency Efforts Concerning Reconstruction and Stabilization," *Code of Federal Regulations*, 7 December 2005.

13. Bush, National Security Presidential Directive/NSPD-44.

14. Department of the Army, Army Publishing Directorate (ADP) 3-07, *Stability* (Washington, DC: 2014).

15. "About the U.S. Department of State," US Department of State, accessed 19 January 2018, https://www.state.gov/aboutstate/.

16. "Mission, Vision, and Values," USAID, accessed 28 September 2017, https://www.usaid.gov/who-we-are/mission-vision-values.

17. It should be noted that the mission statements of both of these institutions are currently under review and will likely be modified.

18. Todd Greentree, "Bureaucracy Does Its Thing: US Performance and the Institutional Dimension of Strategy in Afghanistan," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 36, no. 3 (26 March 2013): 341.

19. Office of Inspector General, "Inspection of the Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations" (Washington, DC: 2014), 3.

20. McCannell, "The Fate of the Civilian Surge in a Changing Environment," 10.

21. Office of Inspector General, "Inspection of the Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations," 3.

22. Office of Inspector General, 17. See also Renanah Miles, "The Foreign Policy Essay: The (Many) Hurdles to U.S. Stabilization Operations," *Lawfare* (2 February 2014), https://www.lawfareblog.com/foreign-policy-essay-many-hurdles-us-stabilization-operations.

23. Robert M. Gates, *Duty* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf Publishing, 2014), 343.

24. State utilized the "3161" mechanism while USAID relied on Foreign-Service Limited (FSL) hiring authority to recruit personnel to serve in Afghanistan; they generally served under non-career appointments of

no more than five years. USAID, at least, resorts to hiring FSLs when the agency establishes that career or career candidate foreign service officers don't have requisite skill sets or are not available in required numbers.

25. Peter Erickson, Muhsin Hassan, Leigh Ann Killian et al., "Lessons from the Civilian Surge in Afghanistan, 2009–2014" (Princeton: The Woodrow Wilson School of Public and international Affairs, 2016), 13.

26. "Lessons from the Civilian Surge in Afghanistan," 13.

27. Gates, *Duty*, 343–48

28. Jim Garamone, "Congress Must Adequately Fund Federal Partners, Gates Says," *Department of Defense News* (13 August 2010), http://archive.defense.gov/news/newsarticle.aspx?id=60424.

29. Susan P. Epstein, *Foreign Aid Reform, National Strategy, and the Quadrennial Review* (Washington DC: Congressional Research Service, 2010), 3.

30. Rajiv Chandrasekaran, *Little America: The War within the War for Afghanistan* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf Publishing, 2012), 308.

31. Nina M. Serafino, *Peacekeeping/Stabilization and Conflict Transitions: Background and Congressional Action on the Civilian Response/Reserve Corps and other Civilian Stabilization and Reconstruction Capabilities* (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, 2009), 14–15.

32. McCannell, "The Fate of the Civilian Surge in a Changing Environment," 7.

33. Prevention and Protection Working Group (PPWG): Friends Committee on National Legislation, "Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations," Fact Sheet, n.d.

34. McCannell, "The Fate of the Civilian Surge in a Changing Environment," 15.

35. Peter Quaranto et al., *Interim Report of the State-USAID Stabilization Assistance Review* (Washington, DC: Department of State/USAID, 2017), 1–2.

36. Jools Haigh, e-mail message to author, 5 October 2017.

37. "UK Approach to Stabilisation," United Kingdom Stabilisation Unit, accessed 5 October 2017, http://sclr.stabilisationunit.gov.uk/top-ten-reads/stabilisation/473-uk-approach-to-stabilisation.

38. "About Us," United Kingdom Stabilisation Unit, accessed 10 October 2017, https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/stabilisation-unit/about.

39. Haigh, email message to author.

40. Nadia Schadlow, Deputy National Security Advisor for National Security Strategy, *War and the Art of Governance* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2017). She makes a compelling argument that the US government has continually overlooked that reconstruction is a central part of war, often with disastrous results. However, Schadlow also makes the argument that the US Army is likely the only organization that has the resources and capabilities to lead "governance" activities during and soon after military operations.

41. Schadlow, 14–15.

42. Government of the United Kingdom, "National Security Strategy and Strategic Defence and Security Review" (London: 2015), 6, https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/555607/2015_Strategic_Defence_and_Security_Review.pdf.

43. David Ekbladh, "From Consensus to Crisis: The Postwar Career of Nation-Building in U.S. Foreign Relations" in *Nation-Building: Beyond Afghanistan and Iraq*, ed. Francis Fukuyama (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 25.

44. John Norris, "History of USAID," *DEVEX* (23 July 2014), https://pages.devex.com/ USAID-history.html.

45. Peter McPherson, "Letter to Sub-committee on State, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs," 19 October 2016, https://www.aplu.org/members/councils/governmental-affairs/CGA-library/aplu-letter-on-fy17-state-foreign-operartions-and-related-programs/file.

46. Barnett suggests creating a "Department of Everything Else" that would take responsibility for, among other tasks, R&S operations. The Department of Everything Else would be staffed by members from both civilian government departments and the military, and take advantage of expertise in the private sector, non-governmental organizations, and foreign governments. Thomas Barnett, "Let's Rethink America's Military Strategy," filmed February 2005, TED video, accessed 3 October 2017, https://www.ted.com/talks/thomas_barnett_draws_a_new_map_for_peace.

Chapter 4

Adrift in Asia: America's Test in the Face of a Determined Challenger

John H. Modinger

Based on the current trajectory, war between the United States and China in the decades ahead is not just possible, but much more likely than recognized at the moment. Indeed, judging by the historical record, war is more likely than not.[1]

—Graham Allison

China is now approaching *"peer competitor"* status with the United States in the Asia-Pacific region. It did not happen overnight. Instead, it evolved over decades, the result of singular focus and incredible determination by Beijing, with almost the exact opposite occurring in Washington. Hubris and the widespread, toxic notion America can disregard fiscal realities indefinitely—because the economic logic of the past is somehow outmoded for our exceptional experience—have created a strategic mess of things. Ultimately, this may usher in a transference of leadership power the world has not seen in nearly a century.[2] A change in the international system is definitely afoot, and nothing the United States does will materially alter that outcome. However, the pace and scope of the transition is very much a matter the United States can shape. But whether America will find the capacity to do so remains an open question.

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, America has been asleep at the wheel in several respects, indulging in a steady diet of self-serving rhetoric and delusion. Predictions like the one Francis Fukuyama advanced in *The End of History,* coupled with the absence of any peer competitors on the international scene, contributed to Washington's amazing lack of focus on true strategic challenges. And the emergence of a dastardly terrorist threat—but hardly an existential one—only exacerbated this pronounced distraction.[3] As China's political, economic, and military clout has mushroomed, America's relative power in all these areas has diminished. It has taken a distressingly long time for some decision-makers to wake up from a prolonged slumber and realize the furious pace of change and the clearly negative impact many of those changes are likely to have on America's might in the years to come. Other decision-makers remain transfixed on parochial issues which only detract from unity of purpose, further compromising America's power in the interim.

This chapter revolves around one strategic matter, specifically the growth of Chinese power in the Asia-Pacific region and the implications for America if this development is not addressed in a way supportive of American interests. China is on the move virtually everywhere. Despite Joseph Nye's insistence that the twenty-first century will be an American one like the twentieth century, it's easy to understand Chinese confidence that the future belongs to their nation.[4]

The Asia-Pacific region is the epicenter of the global economy, home to the world's three largest economies.[5] It only looks to become more central with the rise of India. If growth rates persist, China will displace the United States as the world's largest economy within a few years. While this is not entirely surprising for a nation with roughly four times as many people, the pace of the transformation is stunning.

In line with the growth of its economy and interests, China is now the second largest defense spender, though much of this growth is shrouded in secrecy.[6] Still, its expenditures are modest by comparison to the United States. But there is only so much value in a direct comparison of spending. Undoubtedly, China gets "more bang for the buck (or *yuan*)," given labor costs there. It

also has a regional military strategy versus America's global one. Consequently, while the United States spends roughly four times as much as China on defense, the differential is largely erased by the fact that China's spending is more concentrated. Not surprisingly, the two powers are roughly equivalent despite the funding difference—regionally speaking—for reasons to be explained later. In several areas, though, China enjoys key advantages. Some of those are due to funding priorities that target perceived American weaknesses; others accrue due to China's continental position and proximity to the areas under contest.

Attempt to Reshape the Environment, Reflecting China's Growing Power

China's multifaceted and increasingly aggressive effort represents a patient, long-term strategy to secure its regional goals without initiating a conflict that undermines its number one priority—stability—which undergirds its meteoric economic rise.

Their effort takes many forms, some highlighted here:

1. Beijing no longer stays in the shadows, biding its time and letting the United States take the lead on global initiatives. In conjunction with its increasing power and ambition, Xi Jinping aggressively advanced sovereignty/territorial claims, not content to leave them unresolved indefinitely. China's claims remained fairly muted until the first decade of the new century, even though the basis for its claims go back to the beginning of the Communist state with the so-called *"Nine-Dash Line"* that gobbles up roughly ninety percent of the South China Sea (SCS).[7] Driving the assertive posture are economic imperatives and a calculation on Beijing's part that America remains distracted and unfocused; hence, what better time to act?

2. China has gone further, taking physical possession of disputed islands claimed by other regional players or brazenly creating full-fledged artificial islands complete with naval and air force facilities and defenses, leaving no doubt as to its intentions. Though the international community does not recognize these manmade creations, Beijing hopes to create, in effect, "facts on the ground" (or in this case, the sea) that will eventually receive de facto recognition, thereby substantiating its dubious claims.

3. China does what it can to weaken the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), a fragile regional, multinational forum chartered to defend the collective interests of its members. In Beijing's eyes, ASEAN represents a potential diplomatic, if not military, obstacle to China's expansive claims in the SCS. China clearly prefers to resolve territorial disputes on a bilateral basis where possible to leverage its clout with smaller states, thereby short-circuiting collective momentum.

4. To achieve its two paramount goals—security and continued economic growth—it engages in what are known as *"salami slicing"* tactics. These behaviors are intended to accumulate small changes in the region. When looked at individually, none constitute a genuine crisis; but when considered holistically, they amount to notable strategic shifts in China's favor.

5. Alongside these slicing tactics, China is purposefully creating a more capable military with the aim of deterring adversaries from any notion of trying to rollback these accumulated, incremental gains.

What makes salami slicing so hard to oppose? It's simple: each of China's actions is designed to be perceived as too small and insignificant by itself to be worthy of another state drawing a red line or engaging in brinksmanship. In other words, offended states are likely to find it difficult to amass international support to thwart the action because observers view it as a rather trivial change

in affairs. This is precisely what Beijing is after—inertia on the part of other states that create, over time, de facto sovereignty over the disputed islands. If neighbors or the United States later wanted to reverse the effects of the salami slicing, they—not China—would be perceived as the ones introducing risk into the equation and possibly damaging ties and commerce with what soon may be the world's largest economy. This is not an enviable position, especially for smaller states with more to lose than gain from opposition to Beijing. As Beijing augments its claims and builds the military capacity to defend those claims, time is on its side.

What's behind China's long-lasting, double-digit defense increases? There are a number of catalysts, but these are primary ones:

1. Clearly, China was blown away by what it saw in 1991's Desert Storm: the efficacy of airpower, precision-guided munitions, and a command and control network enabled by timely and accurate intelligence. In comparison to the People's Liberation Army (PLA), American capabilities looked unstoppable. Beijing realized its military forces were in dire need of modernization.
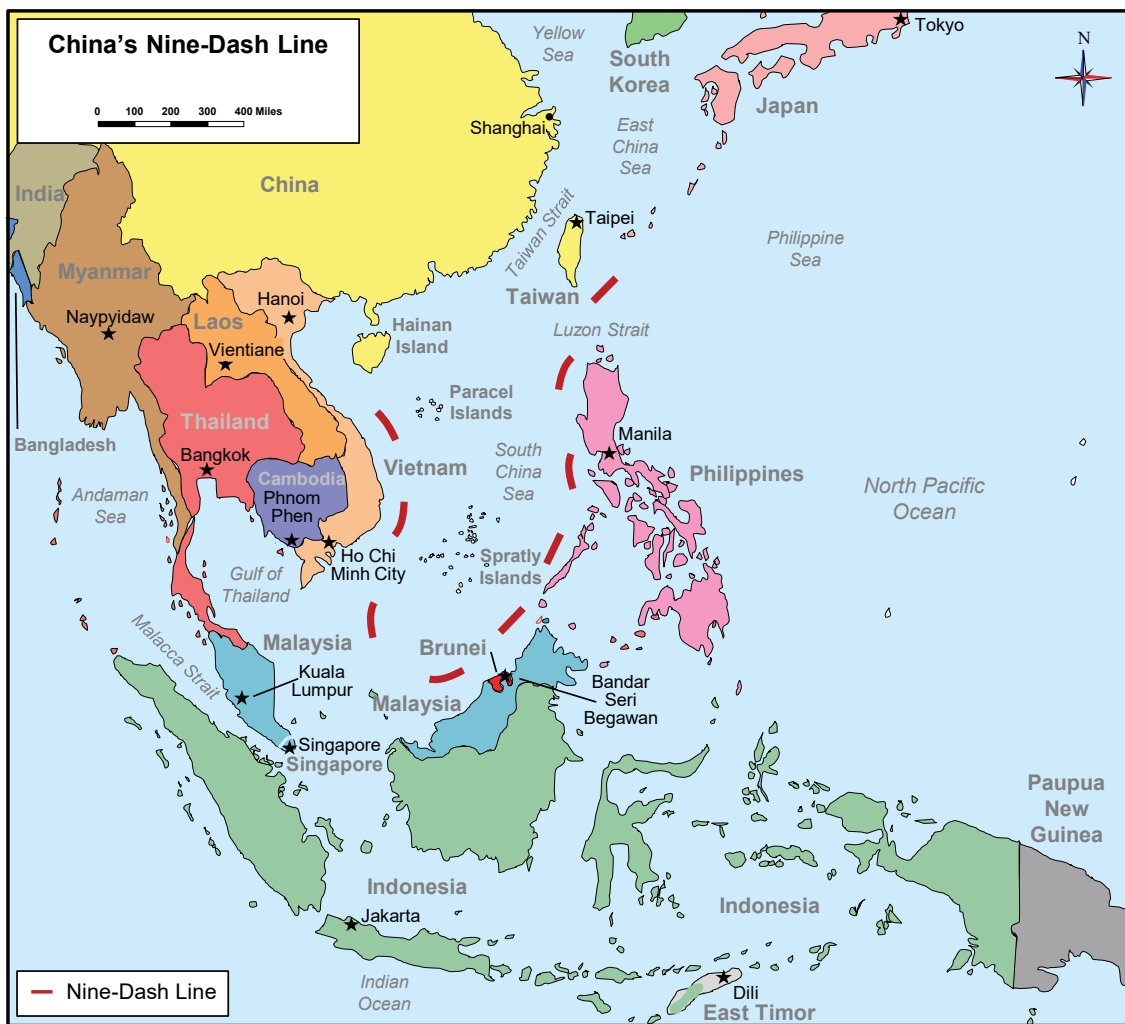

Figure 4.1. Map of the South China Sea and the "Nine-Dash Line." Created by Army University Press.

2. A few years later, a new Taiwan Strait Crisis (1995–96)—precipitated by China's overt attempts to influence the democratic elections there—energized the Bill Clinton administration to sail two different carrier strike groups into the strait. Beijing's feeble response embarrassed its leaders and further stoked the fires of change.

3. Mounting economic power and China's need to defend its expanding interests.

4. Technological developments and more discretionary funds available for defense.

5. A decision to reallocate defense spending toward naval and air forces, which are—generally speaking—more expensive enterprises; impressive industrial advances inside China that created an indigenous base to support military modernization; and revolutionary progress in missile and sensor technology that negates or minimizes many high-tech US advantages.[8]

China's emerging anti-access/area denial (A2/AD) strategy—designed to leverage asymmetric advantages and avoid head-to-head competition with the US military (unlike the Soviets)—has benefitted from having a specific future adversary in mind and a precise task to achieve. In that way, it is reminiscent of America's "Plan Orange" conceived during the interwar period, which envisioned a coming war against Japan. Plan Orange foresaw an operational environment that involved huge distances which meant opposing fleets would not see one another, only their air arms would. Additionally, there would be a great need for long-range, high-endurance aircraft, ships, and submarines; strong demand for amphibious operations to enable an island-hopping strategy; and, finally, a blockade strategy to choke off Japan's industrial capacity to continue the conflict. That forward-looking strategy drove reliance on aircraft carriers, submarines, and long-range bombers like the B-29. Similarly, China's A2/AD strategy has allowed the country to focus on doctrine and technology acquisitions that emphasize ballistic and cruise missiles; land-based, long-range aircraft; heavily armed coastal patrol craft; submarines; surface warships; mines; and an increasingly sophisticated command and control network.

This strategy is very Sun-Tzu-like, assiduously avoiding strength and seeking out weakness. In this way, China's approach is not so much a strategy for outright victory; instead, it "wins" by denying access to the expeditionary power or, should that fail, makes it very painful to enter and operate in the area. How? China overwhelms US forces primarily with missile barrages, thereby disallowing the freedom of passage that the United States has not had to concern itself with since the end of the Cold War. China's ability to disperse its extensive missile forces—coupled with a robust integrated air defense system—makes it very demanding and costly for the US military to suppress such a force. Ironically, neither the Russians nor the Americans possess missiles in the range of 500 to 5,500 kilometers; such weapons are prohibited by the 1987 Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) treaty, which is still in force.[9] One wonders if the INF treaty should be reconsidered in light of China's ongoing strategy and its asymmetric freedom from constraint.

In this denial strategy, China can plan on numerous air, naval, and missile bases; interior lines; and notable advantages in terms of dispersion, resiliency, redundancy, and endurance in any future conflict.[10] In terms of dispersion, China can spread its risk over many locations. By contrast, American basing is limited to about a half dozen locations throughout the region, all within missile range of the PLA. As for resiliency, China's land-based power can rely not only on terrestrial links but also buried fiber optic cable; American forces will be more dependent on satellite and radio links—links that can be threatened more easily. In terms of redundancy, China enjoys another marked advantage—more airfields, more ports, and a virtually infinite number of missile launch sites given their mobile launchers and proximity to production facilities. From an endurance stand-

point, China can launch more missiles and planes with heavier loads at possibly higher rates with its longer runways (save for the aforementioned six US bases), more extensive basing options, and greater missile ranges. Ultimately, the cost of US ships and missile defenses far exceed the cost of anti-ship missiles. For every ship America can sortie, the Chinese can throw up hundreds of missiles. When US stocks are expended—busy defending the fleet against waves of incoming shots—they have to resupply, either by leaving the area or replenishing underway, a risky process in this highly contested area.[11]

As noted in a February 2016 *Air Force Magazine* article: "Air superiority is the single most important factor in deciding the outcome of a modern conventional war."[12] With that in mind, China plans if not to achieve air superiority at least to deny it to US forces in the region by inundating the adversary with missile salvo after missile salvo and exploiting America's over-reliance on short-range tactical aircraft that is ill-suited to the long-range demands of operations in the Pacific theater. While new American fighter aircraft (the F-22 and F-35) boast some serious capabilities (and serious cost: $150 million and $85 million per airframe, respectively), those capabilities will matter little if they can't reach their intended targets.[13] Those aircraft will be based at half a dozen bases scattered throughout the region and on a few aircraft carriers—all within missile range of PLA forces. If those bases are eliminated or the carriers are disabled after successive strikes, those sophisticated machines may prove ineffectual.

History offers some insight here. In the waning years of the Cold War, the United States grew increasingly concerned about Soviet abilities to knock out forward NATO air bases during surprise attacks.[14] So, in 1985, the Air Force decided to scrutinize prevalent assumptions about air base reconstitution capabilities during a rigorous exercise, code-named "Salty Demo," which assessed the resiliency of an air base after just thirty to forty Soviet missile strikes.[15] The results astounded Air Force leaders. The study revealed even a modest number of strikes could effectively take a base out of operation. With such a small target set to focus on in Asia, one might suppose PLA forces could keep American bases down indefinitely. While attacking American forces on the soil of other nations could expand the crisis into something China wished to avoid, those countries could just as easily deny use of those facilities in the run-up to a conflict—shutting them down for all intents and purposes without a shot ever being fired. In short, those foreign bases could be both a deterrent and an unreliable asset for envisioned military operations.

Due to the vulnerability of the handful of bases available to US forces during any likely regional conflict, American tanker, early warning, and reconnaissance aircraft would be at significant risk, if positioned there. These are vital enablers for the United States. For instance, tanker aircraft are essential if tactical aircraft are to reach targets inside China in the event of a conflict.[16] Fifth-generation US fighters have a combat radius of 700 miles or less. Tanker aircraft could, in theory, extend those ranges indefinitely. However, physiological endurance and tactical threat envelopes presented by Chinese Su-27 Flankers mean it is reasonable to assume US fighters will have a devil of a time reaching targets before exhausting their fuel reserves. As Capt. (Retired) Jerry Hendrix observed:

After learning at great cost the need to equip aircraft carriers with long-range aircraft to attack targets before the carriers come within range of enemy firepower, the US Navy has, through a series of miscalculations, stripped itself of the ability to project air power at great distances. Today, to hit a target, American aircraft carriers must first run a gauntlet of anti-access/area denial (A2AD) defenses, sailing perhaps hundreds of miles . . . under an umbrella of anti-ship missile fire before they can launch a single strike. Worse, "upgrad-

ing" carriers with new F-35 stealth fighters . . . fails to fix this . . . "retreat from range." In fact, it may make the problem worse.[17]

Put simply, China's land-based fighters—in light of the PLA's extensive missile coverage—have a decided range advantage over most US fighters, since the threat environment curtails refueling options. This range issue will only worsen once China's J-20 comes online, with an estimated combat radius of 1,250 miles.[18] This will have the effect of pushing back refueling points. In essence, if the Chinese can effectively eliminate a half dozen air bases and push American operations farther to the east, the United States will be left with sea-launched Tomahawk cruise missiles and long-range bomber aircraft for offensive action.

The United States currently has 157 bombers (twenty B-2s, sixty-two B-1s, and seventy-five ancient B-52s). A new long-range strike bomber, the B-21, is slated to enter the force in the mid-2020s as a replacement for the B-2 and the B-1, with a forecasted purchase of 100.[19] Alas, if history is any guide, the actual number purchased will be significantly less (due to cost overruns) and they will arrive later than planned. Even if 100 B-21s are actually bought, the total number of bomber airframes is projected to go down to about 120.[20] Against this force, the PLA could field roughly 400 Flankers, and maybe the most sophisticated integrated air defense system anywhere on the planet.[21] While the Tomahawks are still a valuable tool in the US arsenal, the number available to a commander would likely be insufficient to handle the plethora of targets in China.

The missile revolution has compelled US surface forces to reconsider their operating range. This revolution has allowed China to build a cost-effective, ever-thickening mass of anti-ship cruise missiles that will likely savage any American fleet opting to come in closer before launching attacks. And it is not just the range of China's anti-ship missiles and Flanker aircraft that is concerning. The advances in missile target acquisition, stealth, and precision mean US fleets will have to defend against a range of threats approaching from multiple directions. Fleet defense missile batteries would likely expend their loads and have to retire for retrofit before re-engaging.[22] Relative to the threat posed by the Soviet Navy, the Chinese one is much more significant in terms of the number of platforms, sophistication of those platforms, and its ability to produce them in large numbers—all without breaking the bank.

Those least concerned with the growing Chinese threat in the region are quick to point out the United States spends roughly four times as much on defense and has far more relevant and recent combat experience.[23] While a side-by-side comparison has the United States ahead in most areas, it is in the areas germane to an A2/AD strategy where comparisons matter most. Yes, America has far more fighter aircraft and more capable ships. But again, those assets are globally dispersed; also, those assigned to Pacific Command (PACOM) are based in a very small number of places, vulnerable to attacks that could immobilize them and effectively dash comparative American advantages. Even though the United States enjoys certain comparative advantages, China is continually assessing shortcomings in American strategy and constructing a force capable of exploiting those weaknesses. In an all-out sea battle, the United States would likely prevail, given its superiority in key areas. However, that's not the fight the Chinese are going to give America.[24]

All Is Not Lost

Indeed, the United States has some notable advantages:

1. The United States has an unrivaled global network of bases and allies. By contrast, China suffers from a pronounced lack of friends and allies in the region.[25]

2. China's increasingly assertive behavior has been accompanied by a wariness on the part of neighbors about China's intentions. Islands owned by Japan, Taiwan, and the Philippines could host American sensors and systems, thereby complicating China's strategy.

3. The Chinese lack any combat experience since their 1979 debacle against Vietnam. That said, the PLA of 1979 is but a pale shadow of the smaller but more professional PLA of 2018.

4. The integrity of Beijing's internal control and whether that could be leveraged during a crisis remains an unknown. This could go either way, but it's worth considering.[26]

So what's America to do? How can it deal with China's surge in "a fiscally constrained environment"? It can start by devising a sound strategy with wide appeal. At present, American lacks a muscular strategy to deal with China's increasingly assertive posture. A realistic strategy, centered on prudent goals and aspirations, must include sensible programs, policies, and funding.

The Components of an Effective Strategy

To start, an effective strategy is based on a thorough analysis of both the operational environment and the capabilities of the organization(s) charged with carrying it out. Second, the strategy—once articulated—must be understood and embraced by the stakeholders. Third, the strategy must allow for considerable flexibility so the organization can change direction, as necessary, to meet the challenge of changing circumstances. Fourth, the strategy must be repeatedly scrutinized by a diverse group of critical thinkers who questions the underlying assumptions inherent in the strategy. Finally, the strategy should identify competitive advantages that can be used to exploit fissures in the opponent's approach.[27]

First and foremost, America will need to grow and fortify its extensive alliance system and partnerships in the region. As Japanese Vice Adm. Yoji Koda notes, "What has helped to make US forces a global power is the large number of overseas bases that are provided by various alliance networks. This framework has been a real enabler for US forces' global operational reach."[28] The United States must fashion a strategy that boosts the confidence of allies and partners concerned about possible American retrenchment in the new century. Any viable strategy for dealing with China's rise will be predicated on engaging and/or confronting it as part of a coalition. China's "salami slicing" tactics will likely only end because of a concerted effort on the part of a resilient coalition determined to uphold rule of law and multilateralism. Regional partners must no longer hide in the shadows, shirk tough choices about defense spending, or simply ride coattails. Fostering this change will require candid and persistent dialogue among participants. That candor must extend to basing requirements. It does little good to formulate a strategy with creaky legs. Partners must know our commitment to certain principles; likewise, the United States must have sturdy commitments from them. Reciprocity will be the name of the game.

Politically speaking, America must accept the enduring nature of this challenge. It must harness the wherewithal to see it for what it is—and what it is not—lest it metastasize into a conflict no one really wants. As Graham Allison points out:

More than 2,400 years ago, the Athenian historian Thucydides offered a powerful insight: "It was the rise of Athens, and the fear that this inspired in Sparta, that made war inevitable." Others identified an array of contributing causes of the Peloponnesian War. But Thucydides went to the heart of the matter, focusing on the inexorable, structural stress caused by a rapid shift in the balance of power between two rivals. [He] identified two key drivers

of this dynamic: the rising power's growing entitlement, sense of its importance, and demand for greater say and sway, on the one hand, and the fear, insecurity, and determination to defend the status quo this engenders in the established power, on the other.[29]

America must begin briskly transforming its force structure to meet the challenges of a peer competitor in a region defined by tremendous distances. The country must present a formidable deterrent. Should that fail, it must be capable of winning alongside its allies and partners. This will involve focusing on the proper platforms and weapons well-suited to the characteristics of the Pacific theater of operations. The Chinese government is highly capable and increasingly innovative. In response, the United States must be more innovative to offset several key military advantages China derives simply as a result of location. America has the capacity to do this but must develop a routine willingness to encourage, foster, and feed this game-changing potential.

A winning strategy must give Beijing pause, if not heartburn. It should change the dynamic and make China's leaders sweat more.

Finally, a competent grand strategy should help decrease America's dependence on China, rein in deficit spending, and demonstrate sincerity about getting our house in order. This will, among other things, affect People's Republic of China (PRC) calculations regarding America's Comprehensive National Power (CNP) value, something Beijing weighs heavily in deliberations about how to proceed on particular interstate issues.[30]

Michael Pillsbury, a former Assistant Under-Secretary of Defense for Policy Planning and Special Assistant for Asian Affairs inside the Pentagon's Office of Net Assessment, identified several potential Chinese strategic vulnerabilities the United States could target: Beijing's fear of internal instability, blockade, and Taiwanese independence, for instance, putting at risk things the PRC needs or values in its bilateral relationship with the United States.[31] But critics argue the Chinese have levers they can pull in retaliation. The relationship boils down to relative dependency. It is difficult to assess which state is more dependent on the other. Pillsbury's argument advocates using US leverage to effect changes in Chinese behavior. From this writer's perspective, though, the degree of leverage available to Washington is murky at best since each actor is so intertwined with the other's future.

How will the United States organize resources to achieve its lofty goals? At the risk of sounding cliché, success will require unity of effort—on a scale rivaling World War II or the Cold War—among diplomatic, informational, military, and economic entities. At times, the United States should afford Beijing minimal or no advance warning to negate any possible adaptive moves on their part. This runs counter to America's normal transparency and there will likely be great hesitancy to do so. The United States must beat China at its own game using a degree of unpredictability—nothing so obtuse as to fuel war but sufficient to keep Beijing respectful. Some will contend this ferments a strategic competition where none existed before. But such assertions ignore what has been transpiring for quite some time.

China is at war with the United States as this is being written. Not in any kinetic sense but in subtle and insidious ways, China is waging an unrelenting war against the United States.[32] The Chinese government has a far more expansive conception of war than the United States, which tends to see war as a deviation from the norm, peace.[33] America has been agonizingly slow in realizing this, but that reality is now dawning in more minds with each passing year. The risk is not so much creating a self-fulfilling prophecy; instead, the risk is that America will not awake from its debilitating slumber in time to realize what China is doing to undermine our leadership role.

A "failure to face the problem" is a hallmark of poor strategy.[34] For too long, the United States has struggled to articulate a consistent message about China and the threat it poses to continued American leadership.

Bad strategy is also synonymous with choosing impractical or unattainable objectives. Consider for a moment the oft-touted Global War on Terror (GWOT). Terrorism has been around for millennia. It is not going away. In many ways, it is akin to criminality in general. One can try to eradicate it—at great expense—and fail because it can't be eradicated; it will always be an enticing weapon of choice for the weak against the strong. Had the GWOT been executed from the perspective of criminal behavior versus an existential threat to democracy that must be defeated (as opposed to managed), it would have cost governments far less, for sure. You deter, suppress, and manage it, but you cannot eradicate it. Terrorism is a symptom of an underlying disease (or problem).

Richard Rumelt, a renowned professor of strategy, declares: "A good strategy does more than urge us forward toward a goal or vision; it honestly acknowledges the challenges we face and provides an approach to overcoming them."[35] Often when American administrations promulgate the latest iteration of a national security strategy, they are long on aspirations but woefully short in terms of direction. Critics will say that direction comes through other policy documents, but those other documents rarely deliver more than a flurry of esoteric passages. What the United States needs is something bold like Kennan's "Long Telegram" and/or Nitze's National Security Council Report 68 (NSC-68), which clearly identifies the challenge, codifies worthy long-term goals and objectives, and provides a comprehensive roadmap for US policy and programs, intrepidly articulating both the hurdles we face and how to achieve those goals in ways reminiscent of the Cold War. If a good strategy does a lot more than simply rally us toward a vision,

> [A] bad strategy [by comparison] ignores the power of choice and focus, trying instead to accommodate a multitude of conflicting demands and interests. . . . [It] covers up its failure to guide by embracing the language of broad goals, ambition, vision, and values . . . an important part of human life [but] by themselves . . . are not substitutes for the hard work of strategy.[36]

America is in sore need of clarity, not further recitals full of frustrating ambiguity typical of US political pronouncements over the last quarter century.

Setting goals is easy. The tougher jobs involve isolating the very few critical objectives that can be reasonably accomplished given adequate resources; convincing the bureaucracies to adopt and implement the design; and creating a rigorous process that can weather the flux of leadership changes—a process that becomes an enduring part of organizational culture and embraces the need for continuous adaptation and improvement.

A Real Challenge, But Doable

Theodore Roosevelt, one of the most quoted men in history, had a penchant for getting to the heart of the matter. He observed: "Nothing in this world is worth having or worth doing unless it means effort, pain, difficulty. . . . I have never in my life envied a human being who led an easy life; I have envied a great many people who led difficult lives and led them well."[37] His comment rings true as it applies to the task before America in the age of China's rise or, more accurately, its re-emergence.

If any of this were easy, organizations would never fall behind or go out of business. The fact is, changing the culture of an organization (be it Washington or the Pentagon, in particular) is, more often than not, a Herculean task. It is also a necessary one if the United States hopes to successfully navigate a rapidly changing world and come out on top. To make comprehensive and, hopefully, lasting changes to not only the strategy process but also the acquisition process, winners and losers will have to be identified and the latter will have to be pitched. In short, what America requires is a disruption—a lasting disruption—to the way things are done to break the spell of, at best, mediocre decision-making that will lead only to disaster. America has endured more than two decades of meandering, politically expeditious, and, at times, vacuous decision-making. This has been fueled, in part, by a pervasive failure throughout government (to include the Department of Defense) to speak truth to power regarding what the true, existential threats to the country's future are and how best to address them. This distasteful concoction has left the United States in a stupor.

Similarly, US military leaders, collectively speaking, have been engaged in the tranquil business-as-usual for far too long, often adverse to truly innovative thinking and initiatives, despite using all the right buzzwords and rhetoric. One need look no further than what the United States is doing and spending. America is not getting much for all its spending as measured by time, talent, and treasure. A few examples illustrate the point: exorbitant spending in both Iraq and Afghanistan with next to nothing to show for it; incomprehensible fiscal negligence on a host of defense projects always delivering fewer numbers along with more limited capabilities than was promised (especially in regard to the Pacific region, given the immense distances); a long and unhealthy fixation on or obsession with high technology leading the United States astray—planes that while highly capable in some regards cannot reach their targets without going inside the missile ranges of China's considerable A2/AD umbrella; submarines that are prohibitively expensive; aircraft carriers that are symbols of pride and prestige but increasingly vulnerable to asymmetric threats. Put bluntly, the US military needs to be a whole lot more strategic, cost-conscious, and fiscally responsible; the Department of Defense does a lousy job on the latter two fronts, and has for a long time. Contrary to popular belief, a fiscally constrained environment can be a setting for innovation.[38] The US government can take an array of actions to energize innovation with little or no additional spending.[39] Conversely, when the spigot is routinely turned on (or left on), strategic laziness sets in. The so-called Air-Sea Battle Concept is one such example—long on rhetoric; short on specifics.[40]

The time for the United States to get its budgetary process turned around and make the politically tough choices required to put the nation on a solid financial footing is long overdue. Ultimately, a nation's military strength resides in its economic strength; so, without a doubt, this is a national security issue. America is rapidly approaching a tipping point in terms of its ability to finance its debt and convince others of its continuing creditworthiness.[41] At some point in the not-too-distant future, America will be compelled to pay higher interest rates to attract future investors to buy its debt. That will only rob the country of funds needed to revitalize. In other words, the United States risks falling further behind in terms of infrastructure, research, and development as well as other vital investments to secure its future. A greater portion of its receipts will need to be spent simply paying the interest on America's accumulated debt overindulgence.

America can—and must—step up to the growing military challenge posed by China in and around the South China Sea. Without a credible response, the United States invites more adventurism by Beijing and increases the likelihood that a clash will occur. China deserves respect and the power that comes with its accomplishments. But it should be made crystal clear to Xi Jinping that with that acknowledgement come the duties and responsibilities of a great power. While China

didn't have a hand in creating the system that enabled its rise, it should accept working within that system given its enormous promise for China. Simultaneously, America must make clear that bucking the system is not acceptable. China can thrive among the great centers of power, but any attempt to dominate will be met pragmatically, at great cost to China's own prosperity.

None of this portends the demise of the United States. It simply reflects the changes taking place in terms of relative power—a return to the historical norm in international relations. America will be fine if it unambiguously demonstrates to China that it has no intention of fading. Beijing respects power. The best way to fortify that respect resides in a no-nonsense strategy powered by a robust and sturdy economy, defended by an agile military with a suite of capabilities well-suited to the environment. Together, those components—a sound strategy, a healthy economy, and a deft military—will secure American interests and those of its allies, while making space for the new arrival. At present, the United States lacks an effective strategy; its economy is laboring under enormous drag and its military lacks the requisite capabilities to deter and if not defeat China's envisioned strategy.

Doing what is required will not be cheap; but compared with letting things slide further, stepping up to the challenge will be a bargain of sorts. But the crux of the American dilemma resides internally. The United States can thrive alongside a powerful China. However, it needs to address internal systemic dysfunction and eliminate extravagant spending. Plain and simple, America must do what it has failed to do for a long time—live within its means—if it is to thrive going forward. Slashing defense budgets, or crafting a budget-driven strategy, is not a winning formula. Instead, the military must alter its preferences as well as devise aggressive, thrifty approaches that will increase numbers without disproportionately weakening capabilities. There are flickers of activity that point to embryonic changes being made, but the changes must be wholesale and swift.

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The Role of Foreign Direct Investment in Promoting Stability and Economic Development in Africa's Fiscally Constrained Environment

David A. Anderson

Countries that embrace free enterprise are more likely to experience greater economic prosperity among their people.[1] These economic gains lead to poverty reduction, a higher standard of living, and better quality of life, as well as a decrease in the likelihood of civil conflict. Conflict scholar Paul Collier notes that countries with an annual gross domestic product (GDP) per capita below $700 have a fourteen percent likelihood of falling into civil conflict within the next five years.[2] The 2017 Heritage Foundation Index of Economic Freedom clearly reflects this idea.[3] Countries with lower trade freedom scores are generally the most challenged economically and the least stable. This particularly applies to countries that restrict business freedom, doing the greatest harm to the economic viability of their nation. To further emphasize this point, the globalization of commerce has led to a corresponding global GDP rise from US $1.367 trillion in 1960 to $74.189 trillion in 2015.[4] This is an increase in sum of 5,427 percent! In a world that has seen trade as a percent of GDP rise from approximately twenty-five percent in 1960 to approximately fifty-eight percent by the end of 2015, limitations in conducting international business will prove problematic to the well-being of countries that restrict their activity.[5] This is particularly true among developing countries that struggle with instability rooted in economic stagnation, poverty, and political strife; their attractiveness to business investment is muted and fragile.

Foreign Direct Investment as Economic Development Facilitator

One of the greatest facilitators of business and trade activities is foreign direct investment (FDI). Economic theory and a wealth of empirical data indicate developing countries derive many benefits from FDI.[6] For example, Borensztein et al. (1998), Nair-Reichert and Weinhold (2000), and Ercakar and Yilgor (2008) all identified positive relationships between FDI invested in developing countries and their economic growth.[7] FDI generates a cash infusion into the host country economy that cannot readily be duplicated domestically. It provides foreign currency for government reserves, or income to buy foreign capital not available domestically. FDI can also make the host country less dependent on foreign loans to make purchases in the international marketplace. These investment dollars further employ local workers, enhance domestic consumption from the disposable income they generate, create local secondary and tertiary businesses, and lead to greater corporate and personal tax revenue.

FDI is a means to diversify country economies, develop worker skills, and engender technology transfer that helps other facets of the local economy. Often, it leads to an upward movement in the foreign and local production value chain, and participation in the global supply chain. FDI frequently results in infrastructure development, particularly when associated with accessing natural resources that otherwise would not be retrievable due to host country capacity constraints. This newly created infrastructure capacity can be leveraged to facilitate other economic activities. Finally, FDI can lead to a positive economic spillover on the local economy, infuse domestic financial institutions with cash, and increase the multiplier effect (turnover of money in the economy).[8] Research conducted by Bosworth and Collins (1999) indicated that for every two dollars of foreign capital invested in a de-

veloping country, one dollar of local investment is generated.[9] In other words, FDI sharply increases local business investment activities.

The Globalization of Investment

Over the years, global FDI among countries has grown by leaps and bounds. In 1980, $54.1 billion was invested worldwide; by 1990, that figure rose to $200.7 billion; and in 2000, it rose to $1,401.5 billion before peaking in 2007 before the "great recession" at $2,100 billion.[10] By 2015, forty-five percent—some $800 billion—of the United States' $1.762 trillion of total global FDI was invested in developing countries.[11]

The preponderance of the investment was in Asia, with only $54 billion invested in Africa; this equates to merely 6.75 percent of the total FDI invested in all developing countries for 2015.[12] However, this figure is much greater than in the past: 2.6 percent in the 1980s, 1.9 percent in the 1990s, and 3.2 percent for the period 2000 to 2009.[13] Since 1990, Asia has consistently received 500 to 700 percent more FDI than Africa.[14] Most direct investment to Africa is made in the oil and gas industries.[15] Sub-Saharan African countries, generally the poorest and the neediest on the continent, are the recipients of just $23 billion of the $54 billion invested in Africa as of 2015.[16]

FDI Successes in Developing Countries

China has received well over a trillion dollars in FDI from primarily developed countries such as the United States and Japan since joining the World Trade Organization (WTO) in December 2001. In 2015 alone, China received $249 billion in FDI from foreign country entities.[17] Initially the cheap labor environment prompted huge FDI in China's manufacturing sector, but more recent investments have been in China's service industry. As China's manufacturing costs rise, foreign investors and China itself are investing outside its borders, seeking lower cost markets. As China grows, its net outflow is increasingly becoming equal to its net inflow of FDI.[18] Notable recipients of China's FDI outflow include Indonesia, Cambodia, Vietnam, Laos, and numerous African countries.[19]

China's investment into Africa went from $7 billion in 2008 to $23 billion in 2013, a staggering increase in merely six years.[20] However, China has sixty-one percent of its FDI in the region going to four countries.[21] During a December 2015 economic summit in Johannesburg, South Africa, China's President Xi Jinping committed to invest $60 billion in Africa to develop economic capacity.[22] Financial services, construction, manufacturing, and "infrastructure-related business activities" now account for fifty percent of Chinese FDI in Africa.[23] This outward flow of FDI is a strong signal that China is rising from a developing country to a developed country. Since 2005, China has invested $66.4 billion in Africa—leading to the creation of 130,750 jobs.[24] From 2000 to 2015, Chinese state/private commercial enterprises loaned $94.4 billion to African country governments and state-owned enterprises.[25] Driven by FDI, China is a major economic success story for other developing countries to emulate.

Other success stories of developing countries leveraging FDI as a component of their development plan include Singapore and South Korea. Both put measures in place that made their respective countries appealing to foreign investors. Initiatives to create a positive business climate included joining international trade and financial institutions (e.g. the World Trade Organization, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank Group), promoting the rule of law and good governance, adopting sound monetary and fiscal policies, offering tax incentives as well as financial loans to investors, building infrastructure conducive to trade, and providing educational

opportunities in needed fields. This enduring effort led to an FDI boom in the 1990s that helped catapult Singapore and South Korea to a highly developed status among all nations.[26] In fact, Singapore's gross domestic product (GDP) per capita now ranks seventh in the world, while South Korea's GDP is twelfth in the world.[27]

What Investors Look For in Developing Countries

Business entities invest in developing countries for a number of reasons. They are often seeking market access to potential customers. Forecasts indicate that by 2050, twenty-five percent of the world's population will live in Africa.[28] Other notable reasons include the pursuit of natural resources, production economies of scale and scope, lower labor costs, higher productivity, trade openness, an educated workforce, favorable tax laws and incentives, infrastructure availability, legal/regulatory friendliness toward business, sound macroeconomic policy, low political risk and corruption, and little likelihood of expropriation.[29] A 2008 Demirhan and Masca study using cross-sectional analysis of thirty-eight developing countries further indicates that investors prefer growing economies over large established ones.[30] Fifty-seven percent of companies looking to invest in Africa cite the continent's growth potential. However, FDI made throughout Africa remains primarily in resource-generating businesses, particularly those producing fossil fuels. Seventy-nine percent of Economic Union (EU) FDI in Sub-Saharan Africa goes to three resource rich countries. One-third of the total FDI in Africa is still in the pursuit of oil and gas. Real estate accounts for approximately twelve percent, and communications-related activities are six percent.[31]

Lack of Investment Diversity Issue in Africa

African countries must leverage FDI to diversify their economies to meet the needs of their growing populations. Subsistence agriculture accounts for approximately sixty-five percent of Africa's labor force but merely twenty percent of its GDP.[32] This underutilized/misallocated labor force is a detriment to economic development. Coupled with being largely mono-exporters of primarily fossil fuels, or industrial-focused natural resources, many African countries are vulnerable to demand and commodity price fluctuations associated with economic cycle ebbs and flows, technological innovation, resource substitution, and global competition.

A prime example of this was the dramatic depreciation of oil prices between 2014 and 2017. The price of a barrel of oil fell from approximately $100 per barrel in 2014 to approximately $43 per barrel in 2017.[33] African oil exporters derive seventy to ninety-five percent of their government operating budget from oil sales. Budgets are based off the projected price for oil. These nations grossly overestimated prevailing oil prices by anywhere from seventy-five percent to 125 percent when establishing their government budgets, leaving them all with budget deficits.[34] Plunging oil prices forced them to default on foreign loans, cut spending programs and government employees, and/or print more money to avoid runaway inflation and a lower international credit rating. The deteriorating situation also escalated their high debt-to-GDP ratios. Most of their debt was in foreign-derived loans in US dollars, the currency universal used to buy and sell oil. This situation left them with little to no cash resources to make payments on their debt. Many of these loans were for desperately needed infrastructure projects funded in sequence payments based on project progression and timely payments on the funding already provided. As a result, many projects may remain unfinished and of little to no use.

Other mono-exporting African countries face similar budgetary problems stemming from their reliance on a singular outside source for state revenue. For example, some rely heavily on cobalt exports for the state's budget outlay. Cobalt prices are vulnerable to supply and demand; if demand

rises, prices go up. Over time, buyers look to become more efficient users and/or find a substitute for cobalt. As a result, demand for cobalt contracts and supply levels become greater than what is needed. With excess supply, cobalt prices decline. More cobalt must then be sold at a lower price to service government budget obligations. This can lead to a downward financial spiral with devastating economic consequences that can destabilize the country.

Foreign Investment Attractiveness

The Milken Institute has put together a global opportunity index designed to determine the foreign investment attractiveness of a country. The index produces a composite score derived from each country's aggregate scores on four assessment variables:

1. Economic fundamentals

    a. Macro-performance

    b. Openness to trade and FDI

    c. Quality and structure of the labor force

    d. Physical infrastructure

2. Ease of doing business

    a. Accounting and disclosure requirements

    b. Costs of terrorism and crime

    c. Tax burden

    d. Costs of starting a business

    e. Costs of enforcing contracts

    f. Costs of resolving insolvency

3. Quality of regulations/regulatory barriers to investment

    a. Extent and burden of regulation

    b. Corruption

    c. Transparency

    d. Extent of controls on capital

4. Rule of law

    a. Legal infrastructure

    b. Protection of property rights

    c. Protection of investor rights[35]

Of the thirty-six countries with the lowest composite scores, twenty-two are in Africa.[36] This is a very problematic situation for these low-scoring African nations. Many of them are retarding business activities—FDI or otherwise—due to chronic political instability and/or out of a conscious fear of losing political power and control. It is hard enough to attract FDI with so many global options available to investors, and yet so easy for a country to undermine/retard its chances of being an investment recipient.

The Competition For Investment Dollars

There is ever-growing competition for both public and private sector investment dollars. The United Nations suggests there is a sustainable development gap of $3.3 to $4.3 trillion annually required by developing countries to meet their needs for the period 2015 to 2030. According to forecasts, investment (public and private) will be approximately $1.4 trillion annually, leaving an investment shortage of approximately $2.5 trillion.[37] In an ironic twist of fortune, FDI begets FDI. If investment conditions seem right, companies may line up like people at the edge of a pool—all wanting to jump in but not wanting to be first to test whether the water is too cold or too deep. Once one investor dives in, others follow.

The Way Ahead For Enticing FDI to Africa

To encourage FDI, countries can make obvious efforts, such promoting political stability, good governance, rule of law, sound fiscal/monetary policies, and privatization of the economy as well as getting rid of corruption. Beyond that, African countries need to leverage international/regional trade and financial institutions to help build economic capacity to draw on FDI and diversify their economies. For example, Africa has no less than eighteen economic trade and/or development focused organizations that work solely with the country's businesses, along with the African Development bank (ADF) located in Africa. Empirical evidence has repeatedly shown that education, medical services, and infrastructure aid that facilitates exports has the highest economic payoff. Borensztein, DeGregorio, and Lee's research indicates that the higher the education level of the host country, the greater the economic effect of the FDI.[38] The ADF advertises that it funds some 1,309 projects.[39] The World Bank Group—more specifically its International Development Association (IDA)—provides very favorable lending terms for infrastructure projects. Some of these are forty-year loans at one percent interest. Oftentimes if a country is making good on its project and loan payments, a loan will be turned into a grant.

The Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA) of the World Bank Group "promotes foreign direct investment into developing countries to help support economic growth, reduce poverty, and improve people's lives."[40] The agency's focus remains on the poorest countries, particularly those drawing financial support from the IDA for infrastructure projects. MIGA provides insurance guarantees against political risk that private insurers will not—insuring against currency inconvertibility and transfer restrictions; expropriation; war, terrorism, and civil disturbance; breach of contract; and failure to honor financial obligations.[41] The single shortcoming of this agency is its funding level. Over the past five years, MIGA's new insure outlays have averaged $3.16 billion a year.[42] This is far short of what is needed around the world on an annualized basis.

Private sector investment is critical to development. The International Finance Corporation (IFC) is a private sector-focused organization that assists developing country businesses in "raising capital and providing expertise to help partners overcome financial, operational, and political challenges."[43] The IFC also brokers third-party resources to help business ventures.[44] The International Monetary Fund (IMF) can provide a loan source for its members, particularly to address temporary balance of payments issues. The organization also is a great source for fiscal and monetary technical assistance and additionally can provide an outside opinion/assessment of a country's economic policies and fiscal/monetary practices and their impact on its financial health and welfare.

The 164-member World Trade Organization is the mother of all international trade organizations. Members can take advantage of its nondiscrimination principle, which ensures identical trade opportunities among member states. The WTO has a most favored nation component which prohibits government trade policies that provide preferential treatment to some member countries at the expense of others. The WTO's general system preferences (GSP) program allows developed countries to lower tariffs on imports from developing countries (former colonial colonies) compared with similar goods from developed countries. Finally, its infant industry protection provision assists developing countries that seek trade protection for industries in which they seek to develop a competitive capacity but could not otherwise succeed against established market competitive producers.[45]

In the spirit of GSP, the United States established the African Growth Opportunity Act in May 2000. In order to qualify for trade preference, countries must meet a set of conditions. They must endorse "a market-based economy that protects private property rights; minimize government interference in the economy through such measures as price control, subsidies, and government ownership of economic assets;" and remove "barriers to US trade and investment."[46] The program has been primarily utilized by energy-exporting countries to export oil to the United States, a direction that has generated much criticism for the program. Although the United States does provide the most FDI to Sub-Saharan Africa, the amount only represents 0.7 percent of its global FDI; ninety-two percent of the total goes to five oil-exporting countries. However because it is less reliant on African oil, the United States is able to nurture other aspects of the act, such as 6,000 other identified duty-free and quota-free items.[47]

Finally, African countries must regionally/collectively leverage each other to incentivize investments in their respective countries.[48] They must establish more bilateral investment treaties (BITs)—agreements establishing the terms and conditions for private investment between countries—to promote FDI, particularly with FDI outflow giants such as the United States, China, Japan, and EU countries. African countries also must prioritize the development of agribusiness and the industrial value chain, particularly in semi-processing and final product production. These value-added components are ripe, providing more revenue than raw production alone. Therefore, more revenue is generated, which lends itself to other employment options. For example, the excess labor pool in subsistence farming can be better utilized. To fully capitalize on this approach, developed countries will need to get rid of stifling agriculture subsidies that undermine competition and the economic development of many African countries. In promoting country security, stability, and a safe investment environment, they must cultivate security cooperation arrangements with like-minded countries. International trade and financial institutions—and individual countries as a whole—must incentivize diverse industry investment in Africa, including expansion of risk insurance programs such as MIGA.

Conclusion

To advance their economies, developing countries must nurture an environment that lends itself to FDI. They must take steps so they stand out among the many other countries competing for investment dollars. No small task, addressing the aforementioned issues must include leveraging international trade and financial institutions; bilateral/multilateral security and economic arrangements; and creative economic policy, diplomacy, and shear tenacity to achieve a successful way ahead. Creativity is the mother of all invention. Much can be learned from the successes of the likes of South Korea and Singapore. As discussed throughout this chapter, African countries face many challenges with

stability and economic viability in a highly competitive global economy—among them low GDP per capita, small market size and market capitalization, and minimal discretionary income among their populations. They must compete for financial resources with emerging markets that have achieved favor among developed country investors, as well as with mature capitalized markets such as the United States. The total world FDI inflow to the United States alone is six times larger than that of Africa.[49] African countries that fail to embrace the value of FDI will suffer economically. Costs related to lost investment opportunities can quickly pile up and have dire consequences not readily overcome in today's highly competitive global marketplace.

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Chapter 6
Case Studies on Water

Jeffrey D. Vordermark

The English language derives the word "rival" from the Latin word "rivalis," meaning persons who live on opposite banks of a river used for irrigation.[1]

Discerning the Future

During the US Army's 1990 Long-Range Planners' Conference, the Library of Congress prepared a paper titled "International Security Environment to the Year 2020: Global Trends Analysis." The analysis was replete with a host of topics pertinent to analysts and strategists today.[2] It singled out Mexico as a case study to illustrate problems endemic in Latin America, including population growth, unequal distribution of land and wealth, illiteracy, drugs, and lack of infrastructure. The analysis also focused on countries like China and Russia (or more properly the Soviet Union, as the breakup had yet to occur) and reviewed regional issues for Europe and the Middle East. The challenges of urbanization, energy resources and technology, ethnic and religious tensions, and economic woes were ubiquitous. The lack of any reference to water issues, much less a substantive discussion about dwindling water supplies and growing competition, is what remained most telling about this analysis even though water issues were common across the globe.

More recently, a 2014 *60 Minutes* program about water cited a 2012 Director of National Intelligence report warning that within ten years "many countries important to the United States will experience water problems . . . that will risk instability and state failure;" the report also predicted the possible "use of water as a weapon or to further terrorist objectives."[3]

The purpose of this chapter is to familiarize practitioners of military operational art with global water security issues that are relevant in the current operating environment. Although water-related issues have been only an afterthought in documents such as the National Security and National Military Strategy, US military missions today involve a much wider spectrum of conflict and in the long run will likely include action in direct response to water-related issues. Because of this, military planners must understand the potential issues and challenges related to water in an era of persistent conflict. This chapter will present a variety of case studies linked to water insecurity in order to highlight some of the extant water issues and impacts pertinent to the military operating environment.

Issues related to water can no longer be ignored by military planners or strategists. Because of rapid global population growth, environmental issues, and increasing global competition for resources, water insecurity is now a constant.

The Peace Dam: Mitigating an Upstream Threat

Water, even though a finite resource and source of concern due to competition between rivals, is also a potential weapon which can be used as either real or perceived leverage. This remains an issue despite United Nations (UN) conventions dating back to 1947 that were discussed in *Through the Joint, Interagency, and Multinational Lens: Perspectives on the Operational Environment* Volume 1.[4] Completion in 2003 of the paradoxically named "Peace Dam" provided South Korea some measure of protection from the threat of a malicious upstream water release by North Korea. The

omnipresent tension between the two Koreas shows no sign of abating under the current regime of Kim Jong Un; as long as North Korea remains an unpredictable nuclear-capable dictatorship, there is reason for concern. The two nations constantly maneuver for advantage, with North Korea often responsible for unanticipated and deadly attacks. The 26 March 2010 attack on a South Korean naval vessel that resulted in forty-six dead is symptomatic of larger issues, and demonstrates just one of many avenues the North can take to gain leverage or distract from other issues.[5]

Uncertainty about the timing or target of such potential threats prompted South Korea to build the "Peace Dam" in order to mitigate the effects of any release of flood waters by North Korea, and illustrates one way in which water may be an important factor role for military planners to consider.[6] This action was in response to North Korea's 1986 construction of a dam north of the demilitarized zone between the two countries; the apparent goal was to weaponize the water to be contained behind it. The South quickly took action to address concerns about this potential "water-bomb" threat.[7]

After spending more than $400 million and eighteen years in completing the project, South Korea appears satisfied that they have taken the necessary measures to mitigate such an unconventional attack. Neither country seems to lack water, so this sideshow in the larger set of issues surrounding tension on the Korean Peninsula may ultimately have little bearing if conflict were to arise. However, the issue of water being weaponized—or used as leverage—has very real political, security, and economic implications and, as we will see, the threats may come in many forms. This particular case study highlights some of the economic as well as military risks of water conflict issues for areas with endemic conflict. It also helps introduce broader concerns relevant to regional military planners.

The Nile River Basin: Practical Use Versus Historical Precedent

Egypt is the gift of the Nile.

—Herodotus

In Africa, preeminent among major regional concerns over water conflict are the long-standing and increasingly problematic issues regarding the Nile River. Egypt maintains that it owns the Nile waters, even though it is the final country through which the Nile flows before spilling into the Mediterranean. By virtue of its arid climate, Egypt has no tributaries that supplement the Nile and relies on historically guaranteed flows from upstream to meet its water needs. All of the water originates in ten other Nile basin countries; South Sudan was added only in 2008.

The most populous Arab country, Egypt has long been a significant player in regional security and stability. The 1978 signing of the Camp David Accords allowed Egypt to shift some attention from its contested borders with Israel over the Sinai to other, from a domestic standpoint, equally important locations. The late George Lenczowski, an eminent Middle East historian, stated "Egypt maintained that she could never feel completely secure as long as her water supply was controlled by a foreign nation."[8] While more than just one country has that control, the comment likely focuses on the 1959 Egypt-Sudan treaty, which is the only recognized treaty over use of Nile waters.[9] Egypt's longstanding linkage with the Nile coupled with dated bilateral treaties are what bolsters the country's increasingly tenuous claims to what amounts to more than its fair share of Nile waters. Because of Egypt's population and industrial growth, the country's current allotment of Nile waters is already insufficient. As needs continue to grow, Egypt will view threats to its share of

the water as a casus belli. Adam Morrow and Khaled Moussa Al-Omrani made this comment in a 2009 article:

> For Egypt, a threat to the Nile constitutes a threat to national security. In the 1970s, when Ethiopia prepared to embark on river projects that infringed on Egypt's share of water, (late president Anwar) Sadat threatened to declare war in response.[10]

Over time it appears this hardline approach has moderated and that there is grudging acceptance of the need to negotiate a new agreement under the 1999 Nile Basin Initiative. Morrow and Al-Omrani continued:

> [U]pstream countries complain that the previous agreements—signed while they were under colonial occupation by European powers—fail to secure their legitimate rights. Along with Egypt, eight other African countries share the river: Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Ethiopia, Kenya, Rwanda, Sudan, Tanzania and Uganda. Because the 1929 and 1959 agreements were both signed before their national independence, upstream countries are keen to see a new treaty formulated.[11]

However, this same message has not become instilled as policy in other parts of the Egyptian government. Mohammed Allam, who was Egypt's minister of water resources and irrigation, offered this assessment of the situation in 2010:

> Egypt reserves the right to take whatever course it sees suitable to safeguard its share. If the Nile basin countries unilaterally signed the agreement, it would be considered a death announcement of the Nile Basin Initiative. Egypt's share of the Nile's water is a historic right that Egypt has defended throughout its history.[12]

Note: Allam was replaced in 2011 following the overthrow of the Mubarak government.

The real challenge for the Nile basin countries is the inexorable modernization and industrialization of these emerging nations who, during the colonial era, were unable to express a voice or negotiate sovereign issues as late as 1959, and are today held to what to them are terms of a very disadvantageous agreement that affects their own development and economic potential.

With the outbreak of revolution in January 2011, Egypt's picture of domestic stability was thrown out of focus; in the months following the overthrow of the Mubarak regime, an Islamist political party seized the reins of power for a short period before being replaced. While the current domestic situation may forestall any precipitous action beyond its borders, Islamist leaders cast doubt on the continued efficacy of the longstanding Camp David Accords and their effect on Israel and prospects for long-term peace in the Middle East. Conversely, the original Nile basin agreements, which highly favored Egypt and Sudan, are increasingly contested by the upstream riparian nations; these countries desire more equitable sharing arrangements that would enable them to initiate meaningful economic development programs utilizing the Nile. The unsettled situation may embolden the current Egyptian government, headed by a former military leader, to resort to saber rattling in an effort to gain domestic ratings, vice continuing down the path to compromise over Nile water use.

Even in this instance, it is doubtful that the threat of Egyptian military action would forestall additional upstream development. Indeed, domestic uncertainty wrought by the lingering effects of the Arab Spring—and new president al Sisi's focus on consolidating domestic power—could convince upstream riparian nations whose economic growth is closely tied to the Nile to proceed with their plans. If efforts to realize domestic development and industrialization goals are frustrated by

non-representative treaties, can Nile basin countries be reasonably expected to limit such efforts? It would appear that instability due to water competition and scarcity should be a top concern for the regional combatant command headquarters involved.

In a related development concerning the Nile, the UN's evolving stance must also be taken into account. According to Article 7 of the UN Watercourses Convention:

> 1. Watercourse states shall, in utilizing an international watercourse in their territories, take all appropriate measures to prevent the causing of significant harm to other watercourse states.

> 2. Where significant harm nevertheless is caused to another watercourse state, the states whose use causes such harm shall, in the absence of agreement to such use, take all appropriate measures, having due regard for the provisions of Article 5 and Article 6, in consultation with the affected state, to eliminate or mitigate such harm and, where appropriate, to discuss the question of compensation.[13]

Can Egypt—faced with what some would term an existential threat concerning water scarcity—rely on international convention to guarantee historical treaty-supported flows when faced with upstream development by other riparian countries, or will leaders be forced to relinquish historical claims when it can be shown that efforts to maintain the status quo will cause measurable harm to others?

From the example of the Nile basin and regional security, it is evident that water sharing and economic development importune a very real prospect for regional conflict. Existing water sharing treaties do not address current realities, and continued regional population and industrial growth may exacerbate the issue. Recent events including the Arab Spring in Egypt and secession of South Sudan have only added to the complexity in this particular operating environment and provide a clear case for policy attention that must relate specifically to these water concerns.

The Biggest Island in the Middle East

Water is a weapon.[14]

—Ataturk Dam site supervisor

The "land between the two rivers" of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, the area familiar to westerners as the "Cradle of Civilization," is considered by some to be the largest "island" in the Middle East. It is also a potential lightning rod for conflict. The Government of Turkey originally envisioned the Southeastern Anatolia Project (*Guneydogu Anadolu Projesi* in Turkish, or GAP), as a way to harness the headwaters of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers for irrigation and hydroelectric power, thus spurring economic growth in the region (see figure 6.1). According to Frederick Lorenz and Edward Erickson in "The Euphrates Triangle," the project would include "thirteen major irrigation and hydropower schemes that involve the construction of twenty-two dams and nineteen hydroelectric power plants . . . expected to generate twenty-two billion kilowatt hours" as well as irrigate twenty percent of Turkey's arable land.[15] The primary beneficiaries of this ambitious project would be southeastern Turkey's Kurds, as the project would not only vastly improve the agribusiness prospects for the region but also provide jobs, induce business growth, and improve the overall quality of life.

The project has managed to do this, but not on the scale envisioned and not without other challenges along the way; among the challenges: strains on relations with downstream riparian coun-

tries Iraq and Syria but most importantly the growth of the Kurdish Workers' Party (PKK) terrorist organization.[16] Instead of welcoming investment and opportunity, this group has acted against the interests of most Turkish citizens of Kurdish descent by destabilizing the southeast and waging a form of economic warfare. The PKK has specifically targeted GAP project sites, which were attacked in an attempt to gain recognition for the organization and help foster a separate Kurdish nation. That the PKK had substantive Iraqi and Syrian backing is evident by the group's ability to persist over the span of three decades. Iraqi and Syrian interests saw the development of GAP projects as a long-term threat to their own water requirements. Additionally, Turkey's growth as a result of economic benefits or internal stability would, in turn, impact the manner in which Iraq and Syria dealt with their resident Kurdish populations; their citizens might end up demanding similar efforts and thus represent a destabilizing factor.
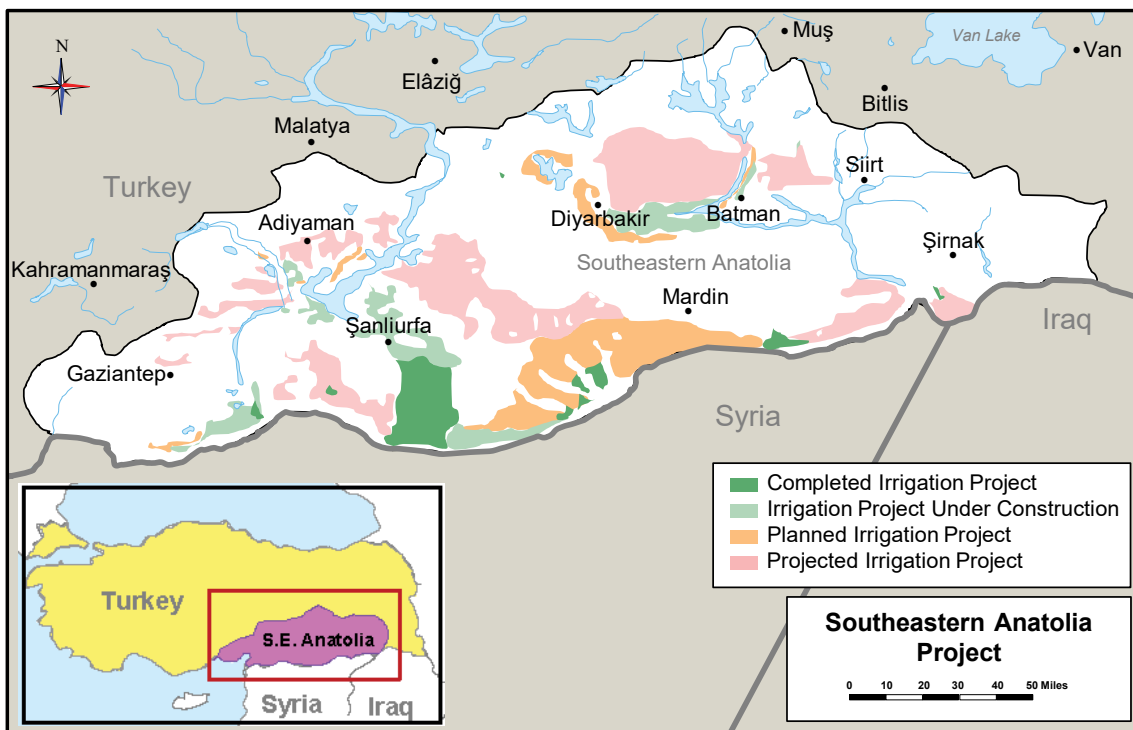

Figure 6.1. Southeastern Anatolia Project Map. Created by Army University Press.

The main tributaries for both the Tigris and the Euphrates originate in Turkey (figure 6.2). Syria and Iraq have historically relied heavily on these two major rivers to support their agricultural and other domestic needs, but were powerless to stop any GAP projects in Turkey. Of course Turkish intentions were suspect in these two Arab countries—despite assurances that daily flow would actually be better regulated and would be maintained above seasonal lows once Turkish dams were filled. In regard to this, there remains a latent concern regarding potential conflict between Turkey and Syria over use of the Euphrates. Turkish government efforts to address the "Kurdish Issue" by improving the quality of life for their restive Kurdish population have had an impact on neighboring Syria and Iraq. This is, indeed, an area where conflict could arise—with water as a key

contributing factor if not the proximate cause. The need of all domestic governments to manage expectations over time, as well as historical perceptions of "flow rights" versus current reality based on development, could lead to instability. For its part, the non-state PKK continues to play a huge role in instability.

Figure 6.2. Map of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. The main tributaries originate in the Turkish highlands. Created by Army University Press.

Of constant concern is the extant threat from non-state actors like the PKK, which conduct deliberate acts to destabilize the region and gain attention to their cause. When considered in conjunction with the current Syrian instability related to the Arab Spring, the scenario that *Resource*

Wars author Michael Klare highlights concerning the use of non-state actors as agitators is very plausible, with perhaps the PKK being used as a proxy to threaten or attack Turkish interests.[17] The group is already on record for a large number of strikes on oil pipelines, despite the ecological and economic impact such attacks generate. Any major dam located in an area vulnerable to PKK attacks must be considered a target, and as such the logical military role would be to defend such a structure.

In response to a similar situation, US Special Operations Forces (SOF) were employed to seize and protect the Haditha Dam from potential destruction by Iraqi Army elements during Operation Iraqi Freedom.[18] According to the August 2017 *Threat Report: Iraq and Syria Update,* "the Haditha complex provided fully one-third of the Iraqi electrical grid load in 2003 . . . the great fear among CENTCOM planners: that Saddam would order the lock gates open or the dam destroyed, and flood the entire central part of the Euphrates/Tigris River Valley, creating an ecological and humanitarian disaster around Baghdad, Karbala, and other populated areas."[19] That a sovereign military force might pose a threat to such a structure only expands the potential set of concerns in a region as unstable as the Middle East.

This report then demonstrates that watersheds can be under threat not only from terror groups, but also regional governments acting unilaterally in order to coerce or destabilize various religious or ethnic groups within their own borders. Threats to water supplies and water infrastructure are thus an increasing factor in regional conflict and instability, and as water continues to become an even more constrained resource, the risks will undoubtedly grow.

Middle East Peace: Ownership Is Nine-Tenths of the Law

Perhaps the most vexing and problematic of all potential scenarios facing the military planner is associated with the Middle East peace process.

The Nation of Israel's attempts to exercise sovereign rights in their struggle with the Palestinians include more than just an argument over borders. A major but largely underappreciated aspect of the issue is water rights and simple access to subsurface water sources.

According to Scott Peterson's 1999 article in *The Christian Science Monitor*, securing access to water has been a major consideration of Israeli actions for decades. The goal has been to secure not only viable river sources but areas necessary to control aquifers as well:

Among the first to recognize that water and its sources were strategic assets to fight for— or target—were the Zionist Jews. . . . As early as 1919, they claimed that the "minimum requirements" for a viable Jewish state were "dependent" on controlling the headwaters of the Jordan River, Mt. Hermon on the Golan Heights, and Lebanon's Litani River. . . . Israel for decades has been pumping eighty percent of the water from the aquifer that was mostly under the occupied West Bank, and Palestinians have been prohibited from drilling any new wells themselves. Today fully half of Israel's water supply comes from territory captured in 1967.[20]

Anyone familiar with the Israeli expansion of illegal settlements would not be surprised to learn that an underlying constant regarding location of the settlements is the existence of ground water suitable to sustain projected needs of the settlement. This is a zero sum game for either side. Palestinians are cut off from access to needed water for agriculture and subsistence, while the Israeli settlements increasingly encroach on available resources. There is also growing frustration,

as noted in Martin Asher's 2010 *BBC* article: "Palestinians say they are prevented from using their own water resources by a belligerent military power, forcing hundreds of thousands of people to buy water from their occupiers at inflated prices."[21] The truly finite aspect of water becomes acute from this perspective and, in the end, could become the proximate cause of renewed conflict as there are no easy solutions to this problem.

However, in the case of Israel, it is not just the Palestinians who are affected. The Golan Heights, currently under Israeli occupation, contain important water resources for Syria as well. According to Asher's *BBC* article, "Stalled negotiations on Syria's dispute with Israel over the Golan Heights—occupied by Israel in 1967 and annexed in 1980—also foundered on water-related issues. Syria wants an Israeli withdrawal to 5 June 1967 borders, allowing Syria access to the Jordan and Yarmouk rivers."[22] While this is a dangerous game, it is clear that—whether as a lever or a cudgel—use of access and control to manipulate another nation's policy must be acknowledged.

For the military planner, failure to appreciate such critical underlying issues in both a historical and policy context could lead to unanticipated issues if US forces were ever called in for a mission of any kind. Because US national level documents do not emphasize water, some may believe that water has little or no overall impact in the conduct of operations. However, in regions that do not enjoy a wealth of it and experience significant and protracted ethnic or regional strife, water becomes a foremost concern. Indeed, it becomes a dangerous issue if there is anger over water deprivation as in Gaza, or domestic and policy fears over upstream development as we have seen regarding the Tigris, Euphrates, and Nile rivers.

Yemen: Khat and Conflict

Yemen's internecine conflict has stretched into its fourteenth year, and the national shortage of water there has only added to the plight of the average Yemeni. According to 2015 estimates, ordinary citizens pay thirty percent of their income to obtain fresh water, which is the highest rate in the world.[23] Yemen is an agrarian economy with the unfortunate distinction that its primary crop is khat, a water-intensive and very lucrative mildly narcotic leaf. In water-starved Yemen, the challenge of human water consumption will be the important lingering post-civil war issue. Water consumption stands at 169 percent of the replenishment rate, and khat production is a major piece of this figure.[24] In a country where the rule of law does not hold sway, local khat farmers see no issues with pumping wells dry or exceeding their irrigation quotas in order to turn a profit. Water use and misuse will drive the Yemeni economy in the years to come.

The water situation is problematic for Yemen. Some reports estimated the country would have already run out of water by 2017, while more optimistic reports give them another decade.[25] In the midst of the civil war, the daily struggle for water is acute, and the effects cascade. Education for girls is disrupted because they must stand in line daily for water; and in the midst of tribal warfare, conflict in rural areas increasingly stems from water disputes, many of which turn deadly.[26]

Yemen's issues are ultimately not about riparian sharing issues, or weaponized water. Instead, they relate to the much more basic aspect of individual survival. It will not get better, absent an end to their civil war, significant infrastructure development, and collective water management improvement. Resolving the issues will require time and money that Yemen does not have, meaning that a root cause of instability related to water will persist. Since Yemen flanks the key international shipping chokepoint of the Bab al Mandeb, the unstable situation is relevant for US

national interests relative to trade and regional security. Yemen's issues relative to persistent water instability must be addressed, or stability is moot.

Cyber Threats

Last January [2013], hackers gained access to US Army Corps of Engineers computers and downloaded an entire non-public database of information about the nation's 85,000 dams—including sensitive information about each dam's condition, the potential for fatalities if breached, location, and nearest city.[27]

—"The Federal Government's Track Record on
Cybersecurity and Critical Infrastructure Report"

National infrastructure of many countries related to dams, hydroelectric power generation, and watershed management are linked to computer networks. The associated control networks are connected to the internet, revealing a very important cyber vulnerability. In a recent article about cyber threats to the environment, author Jan Kallberg highlighted issues which could result from a covert state actor attempting to launch a cyber-attack "to cripple our society, embarrass the political leadership, change policy, and project to the world that we cannot defend ourselves."[28]

Of course the threat is not restricted to state actors but also includes transnational non-state actors, Al Qaeda among them. What is clear is that the effective ends of any such attack will be to demonstrate to targeted peoples that they are not only vulnerable, but that their leaders cannot protect them. Such an outcome clearly plays in to the hands of terrorist groups seeking a low-cost and low-risk method to gain media attention and credibility. Thus the cyber threat to water-related infrastructure looms as a serious, potentially destabilizing threat.

Cyber threats to infrastructure are growing in terms of both incidence and potential severity. Because cyber vulnerabilities can be exploited by terrorist or even criminal non-state entities, traditional sovereign state monopolies over their public services are increasingly at risk. Consequently, the risk of cyber-attack against water-related infrastructure represents yet another form of potential leverage against a people or a government and must be considered as a viable threat in today's operating environment.

Conclusion

As highlighted in this chapter, many factors contribute to growing concern about water insecurity. Resource and economic competition, population growth, and industrialization all contribute to an emerging era where water resource issues between nations are no longer easily manageable.

Also, and importantly, the case studies discussed in this chapter encompass only a handful of the many water conflict concerns across the globe. Tensions between nuclear powers India and Pakistan over water introduce another set of concerns entirely. On the other end of the spectrum, deforestation and the resulting competition between companies looking to take advantage of abundant Amazon River basin natural resources and native tribes have created a brewing humanitarian and ecological disaster that, left unchecked, may have far-reaching impacts.

The potential for water conflict stemming from economic development issues is clearly on the rise, as evidenced by the examples of the Nile Basin and Tigris-Euphrates riparian issues. Burgeoning populations and the need to guarantee domestic potential implies that, like normal politics, water politics will be "local" as well. While understanding country-specific histories will continue

to be important, assessing political, social, and economic impacts will be key if a lasting solution to these regional issues—absent the use of military force—is to hold.

The weaponization of water—as seen in the case studies from North and South Korea, Gaza, and the Tigris and Euphrates basin—represents another troubling development in the manner in which water and water-related infrastructure must be addressed in the current operating environment. The potential use of proxy forces to threaten this infrastructure is also an increasingly cogent concern, highlighting the potential for instability due to water conflict.

At what point do military forces become the arbiters of water distribution or act as the buffer between warring factions intent on hegemony of water resources? As noted with the Haditha Dam or concerns of conflict between the two Koreas, there has been employment of forces at the tactical level for the former, or time and money available to address a strategic threat for the latter. It is evident at all levels that, globally, water issues are becoming ever more acute. Will military forces be aware of the parameters of water issues, or equipped to deal with them? In their 1990 discussions noted at the beginning of this chapter, long-range planners clearly missed a key emerging threat consideration. The risk of armed conflict related to water has come sharply into focus in the interim. Military planners need to arm themselves with a better working knowledge of the facts on the ground if they are to deal successfully with ever-increasing numbers of regional water rivals.

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Chapter 7

Money and Trust: the Real Cost of Insider Threats

Heather R. Karambelas

Insider Threat: One or more individuals with the access or inside knowledge of a company, organization, or enterprise, that would allow them to exploit the vulnerabilities of that entity's security, systems, services, products, or facilities with the intent to cause harm.[1]

Malicious insiders tear at the fabric of organizations and may be the greatest threat to both money and trust. It may be comforting to consider an organization free from insider threats, but studies repeatedly conclude that no organization is really safe. Insiders are trusted members of the unit and present a number of challenges to the security of an organization. Although it may be possible to identify and remove malicious insiders, the actual reason no organization is safe from insider threats is because unintentional harm costs as much in mitigation and recovery as intentional attacks.

Some costs can be measured: The time it takes to clean a network following a spillage incident, the time the network is down and those on it become unproductive, the physical cost of systems that must be reimaged, and hours it takes technicians to divert network databases all have costs in billable hours. Others are harder to tally, such as incalculable costs when a teammate turns against the team. The shock, pain, and disbelief that occurs when someone who trained, fought, and shared as a member of the group turns their access inward to cause harm cannot be undone.

Insider threats are divided into three categories by the Department of Homeland Security: cybersecurity, workplace violence, and terrorism.[2] Sometimes the indicators for these varied attacks are the same but with insiders there is the coexisting challenge of convincing people that those with whom they work might pose a threat. Compelling people to look at coworkers as a potential threat is a challenge against human nature; however, this type of training and understanding is critical in order to reduce the potential damage of insider attacks.

The Department of Defense (DoD) is responsible to deter war and ensure national security for the United States. As noted on the DoD website, "The foundational strength of the Department of Defense is the men and women who volunteer to serve our country and protect our freedoms."[3] That statement is correct and yet is exactly why the thought of an insider threat seems inconceivable. The threat is real, though, and costs more than money in the organization tasked to physically fight and win the nation's wars.

For each category of insider threats, examples demonstrate the costs—often calculated in time to recover but always calculated in lost money and trust. This chapter will provide explanations and case studies for each category of insider threats with estimates of the associated costs. The intent is to demonstrate that critical efforts to prevent insider attacks cannot be overemphasized. At every level, training and vigilance must be watchwords. Our national security depends on it.

Cybersecurity

Cybersecurity: The risks presented to an organization either by a "malicious insider" or by any insider who mishandles technology.[4]

Cybersecurity is the most studied of insider threats, likely because cybersecurity breaches have a quantifiable cost in hours to recover. In 2018, the Ponemon Institute released some interesting conclusions from an insider threat study involving 717 organizations. The researchers concluded the mean cost of cybersecurity breaches by insiders was $8.7 million for the twelve months reviewed.[5] The maximum cost of a breach was $26.5 million and even the minimum cost was $489,100.[6] The survey determined sixty-four percent of the insider attacks were created by negligent behavior or ineffective processes for controlling digital information.[7] The report went on to assess that organizations took an average of seventy-three days to contain insider-related incidents and only sixteen percent of the studied incidents were contained within one month.[8]

It is important to recognize these costs and appreciate the level of damage created by unintentional mishandling of information. Seven factors are used to calculate costs for cybersecurity incidents:

• Monitoring and surveillance to detect incidents or threats

• Investigation

• Escalation activities to organize initial response

• Incident response groups to form a response plan

• Containment activities

• Ex-post response activities focus on forming plans to prevent future incidents

• Remediation to restore systems to full functionality[9]

Cybersecurity is an even greater threat to the DoD, because the organization deals with national security information on a daily basis. This information is used to inform decision-making at the highest level of politics and defense, or potentially military plans to defend the sovereignty of the United States. The very lives of DOD members can be compromised by breaches in cybersecurity, whether intentional or unintentional.

Unintentional Information Spillage

Unintentional or negligent breaches are the primary cybersecurity risks. To help minimize this threat, the Department of Defense has an internal organization primarily responsible for the daily security and maintenance of its networks: the Department of Defense Information Network, or DoDIN. Much of how DoDIN operates is transparent to users, who get training in processes developed to secure the network. Primarily DoDIN relies on what is called two-factor identification to access the network: "something you touch, and something you know," specifically a public key infrastructure (PKI) or chip-enabled access token and a personal identification number (PIN).

Intentional Information Spillage

The majority of Americans believe that preserving the rights of US citizens is more important than preventing terrorist attacks. Since the NSA revelations, Americans have become more opposed to government surveillance that infringes on civil liberties.[10]

—*The Guardian*

While the Department of Defense works to limit unintentional spillage, protecting against intentional release of information is more problematic. One challenge is investigating and prosecuting cases in which a person releases information that many would consider covered under whistleblowing protections. Edward Snowden and Chelsea Manning both fall in this category.

In 2013, Edward Snowden provided classified national defense information from the National Security Agency (NSA) to *WikiLeaks* for public release. He shared information about systems, methods, and information gained through NSA surveillance against counterterrorism. Many people are sympathetic to Snowden because they are suspicions about government surveillance, fear government overreach, and do not trust the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA) classified courts or legislative overwatch. The public also does not trust private companies that provide personal information to US intelligence organizations under Corporate Partner Access programs.

The official perspective is that NSA activities provide vital information to the United States, allied forces, and partner nations; defend the country against cyber-attacks; identify drug cartel operations; and help break up international gangs involved in credit card theft. The NSA argues that if current surveillance programs had been in place before 11 September 2001, the terrorist attacks that killed nearly 3,000 might have been prevented.[11] While the veracity of such claims is disputed, Snowden's release of information definitely damaged public trust and the ability of defense organizations to conduct surveillance through the methods and techniques developed for that purpose. Losing access to information acquired through surveillance could create vulnerability like 9/11 where each agency had individual parts of information but was unable to see the whole picture. Such issues were starting to be resolved through digital information sharing, but Snowden's release of NSA information generated a huge policy development and legal battle. In the unsettled aftermath, a public relations campaign is needed to help the public understand why passive surveillance is valuable to all of our security.

Although many Americans are happy to provide personal information through social media sites or have their shopping habits tracked by stores they frequent, surveys indicate they are suspicious of government overreach. When the DoD is acting overseas against an adversary, the public is generally supportive, but actions to monitor and prevent domestic attacks cause more of a debate.

The results of Snowden's release are far-reaching and still not resolved. Will public pressure remove the NSA ability to operate as they had, or will the desire for security override civil liberty concerns? One thing for certain is that decision-makers for defense of the nation are no longer making these decisions alone.

> *When people lack a sense of belonging, they instinctively seek it in unhealthy ways that may be destructive to your organization.*[12]
>
> —Ori Brafman

Similar to the Snowden case, the public is sympathetic to information released in 2010 by Chelsea Manning and distrustful of the classified systems in which defense information is stored. Then-Pfc. Bradley Manning was a US Army intelligence analyst, a position that placed him in control of multiple classified systems and provided him access to hundreds of thousands of classified documents which he released through *WikiLeaks*. Many believe that Manning, a transgender soldier, was mistreated while in the military and simply revealed perceived military abuses in operations overseas.

Through the Information Sharing Act, disparate government agencies are tasked to share information to help decision-makers in other agencies gain a whole-of-government understanding. The greatest challenge with Manning's release of information was that agencies no longer trusted the DoD to control such whole-of-government information. Following 9/11, agencies had begun digital information sharing, but after Manning's 2010 actions, the Department of State and other agencies

began replacing firewalls on their system to control information release. Trust between agencies is difficult to build.

In October 2011, President Obama signed Executive Order (EO) 13587 to change the structure of classified oversight and help restore some level of trust between agencies. The order established an entirely new organization to oversee sharing of classified information: the Classified Information Sharing and Safeguarding Office (CISSO).[13] There are costs in developing such programs and systems. Mentally, there is a cost in lost trust and faith between partner agencies. As grievous as the Snowden and Manning leaks were, defense organizations face even more dangerous insiders.

Although fewer in terms of incidents, espionage cases pose the greatest insider threat to cybersecurity. *Merriam-Webster* defines espionage as "the practice of spying or using spies to obtain information about the plans and activities especially of a foreign government or a competing company."[14] While the DoD is concerned with loss of technology, this chapter focuses on costs related to insiders who directly work against the United States. Ana Montes is the first example.

I've always wanted to play a spy, because it is the ultimate acting exercise. You are never what you seem.[15]

—Benedict Cumberbatch

Ana Montes was a true believer. An analyst for the Defense Intelligence Agency, Cuba recruited her to spy before she even graduated from college. When someone enters an organization with the intent to do harm from within, the indicators are often difficult to detect. Hardworking and smart, Montes worked to gain more and more access to information about Cuba while demonstrating positive attributes desired in a driven employee. Instead, she was a committed spy who sympathized with the Cuban perspective that the United States is a regional bully. One biographer noted that some of Ana's issues stemmed from being the eldest child of a domineering father she felt powerless against. Feeling guilty that she was unable to protect her younger siblings, Montes sympathized with the Cuban perspective against the United States.

To release critical defense information, Montes joined the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) to have access to classified information. She memorized key points out of reports then went home and typed the details. Every two to four weeks she provided encrypted disks to her handlers in addition to oral debriefings. Montes worked hard to achieve high levels of access to information in order to provide the most to Cuba and also help influence DC policy toward Cuba.[16] Cuba also had an insider working at the Department of State, Kendall Myers. These two high-level government spies helped ensure that national level strategies and policies were decided in favor of Cuba and potentially against the interests of the United States.[17]

This type of attack is costly both in trust and training. Trust is difficult to rebuild following a spy case like this. The risk is that analyst teams will not be as cohesive. A lack of cross talk and in-depth analysis can create tunnel vision and biased understandings/recommendations. It is difficult to quantify this challenge but easy to understand that cohesive teams provide better analysis to decision-makers. Training can help make organization members aware of behavior patterns which may indicate a threat; however, mandatory training can become a burden on organizations and adds costs to develop and conduct training. These programs can be successful in identifying insider threats. A counterintelligence awareness briefing prompted a coworker to come forward with suspicions about Montes.

While education and awareness are positives, there are negatives to viewing those with whom you work as a threat. Convincing people to report on coworkers is always a challenge. Training to explain the indicators of insider threats as well as how these attacks impact national security are essential. Periodic clearance reinvestigation may also identify someone selling classified information. Although Montes did not accept money or live above her means, coworkers did observe indicators that she was especially sympathetic to Cuba, which helped bring attention to the fact that she was spying.[18]

Treason was the ultimate mid-life crisis.[19]

—David Ignatius

The next two cases are often discussed together as they occurred at the same time and both supported the goals of the Soviet Union and Russia against the United States. Aldrich Hazen Ames was a Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) analyst who spied for the Soviet Union and Russia over the course of thirty-five years. He shared classified defense information about more than 100 ongoing operations and details about thirty CIA and Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) assets, ten of whom were killed after they were revealed.[20]

Although he was paid $4.6 million total, Ames's motivations seem to be more intrinsic to his ego and desire to prove he was smarter than others around him. He demonstrated every indicator of espionage but was not seriously investigated until a number of CIA sources were killed within a short period of time. With Ames, indicators included unexplainable affluence, extramarital affairs, and a financial threat from bankruptcy or divorce that suddenly disappeared. Although he made an annual income of $60,000 from the CIA, Ames drove a new Jaguar and paid $540,000 cash to buy his house. Despite performance issues chronically identified by his superiors, he continued to be placed in positions of increased access and responsibility.

Robert Hanssen is considered the most damaging insider threat to national security. An FBI agent, he passed documents to handlers for the Soviet Union and the Russia Federation for twenty-two years. Hanssen's information served to corroborate the information released by Ames. In addition, he was assigned to the "mole hunt" investigation to find Ames, which resulted in both spies being able to continue their espionage for much longer. In this case, Hanssen may have been suspected much earlier because of a procedure change. Because Hanssen was assigned to look for the Soviet/Russian mole, he was able to cover his own tracks as well as divert attention away from Ames. Hanssen is another reason that spying indicators are now listed in security regulations. Many of his actions should have resulted in at least a loss of access to classified information, such as hacking into the FBI system at a higher level than required and repeated security breaches. Hanssen's motivations were similar to Ames. He committed espionage for the money—$1.4 million—but also because tradecraft and spying boosted his ego. Like Ames, Hanssen revealed codenames and identities of individuals who worked as sources for the United States and, as a result, was responsible for at least two deaths.[21]

Because Ames spied at the CIA and Hanssen was a mole within the FBI at the same time, investigating the cases was complicated because all of the information did not clearly align with just one agency. When Ames was arrested, there were still some questions about sources that he did not have access to, but his arrest helped divert attention from Hanssen for a long time. The movie *Breach* tells the Hanssen story in dramatic detail.

The Ames and Hanssen cases sparked significant changes to the way the DoD and other US organizations conduct security clearance applications and reviews (such as greater emphasis on histories of drinking) as well as commander's actions prompted by negative behaviors (suspension

of access to classified information and recommendations to revoke clearances). Agencies have also developed indicator lists to help individuals with clearances identify strange behaviors that may be indicative of someone selling classified information.

The cases of espionage for the Soviet Union and then the Russian Federation may create the impression that this type of spying is strictly a Cold War remnant. That could not be further from the truth. In reality, nations have a vested and ongoing interest in understanding their competitors and potential adversaries. Countries benefit tremendously when they use sources beyond state-sponsored media to gain different perspectives on the inner workings of other nations. All nations seek alternate sources, so it is imperative to compel trusted agents within organizations that they should not commit espionage. However, it is equally important for trusted agents to not reveal the names of sources who supply information to the United States on our competitors. Since 2010, more than a dozen informants have been killed in China because they provided information about the inner workings of this insular nation.[22] Human sources are invaluable in nation-state dealings, and an informant's death can set an operation back years to rebuild trusted sources. Ames and Hanssen were responsible for the deaths of sources within the Soviet Union and Russia. Continuing investigations reveal there are still trusted agents within US organizations who currently provide informant details to our adversaries. This cost to intelligence operations is difficult to quantify but cannot be underestimated. National security information, the security of intelligence operations, lives of sources, and the strength of relationships with national competitors are all put at risk by espionage.

Figure 7.1. Workplace violence examples. From Occupational Safety and Health Administration, "Workplace Violence Prevention" (presentation, US Department of Labor, n.d.), 4.

Workplace Violence

Workplace violence: An employee (or customer) that leverages inside knowledge or an organization to exploit that organization's vulnerabilities and commit violence against its employees.[23]

The next insider threat, workplace violence, is complex for a number of reasons. First, radicalization indicators that are typical of terrorism cases may not exist. Next, it's a challenge to determine when someone is displaying normal "venting" about legitimate or perceived grievances, versus be-

coming an actual threat to the workplace. An added challenge within DoD is that work colleagues often work closely, live together, or are even deployed so that normal work/home lines may be blurred.

Workplace violence occurs more than most realize. Costs of a distracted workforce and decreased production are hard to quantify, especially when reported assaults and threats of violence number almost 2 million each year.[24] One study concluded that 500,000 employees lost 1,175,000 work days for a total of $55 million in wages due to workplace violence. The burden for employers includes lost productivity, legal expenses, property damage, diminished public trust, and increased security training and additional security measures—costing billions each year.[25]

> *People who have been to battle know that the most dangerous attacks don't announce their arrival. The most lethal attack is the one that catches us by surprise.*[26]
> —Gen. (Retired) Martin Dempsey

Three workplace shootings demonstrate particular issues for the DoD: Sgt. William J. Kreutzer Jr. at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, during 1995 physical fitness training; Aaron Alexis at the Navy Yard in Washington, DC, in 2013; and Specialist Ivan Lopez at Fort Hood, Texas, in 2014.

As troops across Fort Bragg gathered for a 27 October 1995 brigade run, Kreutzer fired into his unit formation, killing one officer and wounding another eighteen. He pleaded guilty to premeditated murder, attempted premeditated murder, and more than a dozen aggravated assault charges. Before he opened fire, Kreutzer had reported to both mental health professionals and his command that he had an overwhelming urge to commit violence against his colleagues. "I feel a great deal of anger and hatred and I am preoccupied with violent feelings/thoughts," he told them.[27] He also warned a fellow soldier and even sought help from a chaplain and other mental health professionals the night before but was unable to speak with professional counselors at that time.

Kreutzer's case highlights the challenges for military units when a soldier is frequently disgruntled. Though he had a history of seeking mental health support and having issues with other soldiers, Kreutzer was placed in a squad leader position because of his rank and experience. While he warned others specifically of his intentions, the people he told believed Kreutzer was just exaggerating his frustrations with the organization, or joking about his intentions. No one believed this leader would actually perpetuate violence against his unit. In reality, the brave actions of several members from adjacent units helped prevent more bloodshed. Kreutzer himself had no intention to stop firing on his teammates and leaders.

So, what actions should a unit take when faced with a disgruntled junior leader? How do you train an organization's members to differentiate legitimate complaints from a genuine threat? Then when members recognize a genuine threat, how do you compel them to report it? What is the best response to the threat? Several cases of military fragging resulted after commanders acted to remove threats from within their formations. What is the tipping point for someone who wishes to do harm? The challenges are amplified for DoD organizations in which most members are proficient and have access to guns and ammunition.

The Lopez shooting at Fort Hood brings up even more challenges faced by the military specifically. On 2 April 2014, he killed three soldiers and wounded twelve others before killing himself. For Lopez, there was no single stressor; the issues in his life seemed to just become overwhelming to him. Recent deaths of two family members, financial strain, and high turnover in his unit created stress that apparently left Lopez unable to cope.[28] DoD organizations face unique challenges in really knowing and having the time to counsel every soldier in a unit.

In the third example, Alexis killed twelve and wounded eight before he was also killed during a workplace shooting on 16 September 2013. Although he had a history of trouble and multiple infractions, Alexis received an honorable discharge when he left the Navy.[29] Since he had a clean record of service, Alexis was hired by a contractor to work on a federal facility with specific access requirements. This case highlights several challenges, including compelling parents to report on knowledge of a child's mental health issues and commanders to follow through on mental health concerns even when there is a faster way to remove a troublesome unit member.

These examples illustrate the variety of challenges faced when dealing with insider threats within a unit. Each case had specific concerns, indicators, motivations, and challenges as well as related costs such as to treat mental health problems, remove someone from a unit without replacement, retain an ineffective soldier in order to provide treatment for mental health concerns, and ultimately to recover trust within a unit following an attack from someone within the organization.

Terrorism

Terrorism: When a member of the community plots, develops, and attempts to undertake an attack on civilians for a political cause.[30]

Consider the case of Omar Hammami, also known as Abu Mansoor Al-Amriki. This seemingly normal youth who grew up in suburban Daphne, Alabama, went on to lead al-Shabaab, the Somali Islamist militant group. President of his high school sophomore class and a member of the advanced placement program, Hammami was a passionate learner. He was raised Baptist by his Irish-American mother, who practiced Muslim culture in the home that was learned from his Syrian Muslim father. After traveling to Iraq and Syria to meet extended family as a teenager, Hammami's views became more Salafist in nature. These extreme views divided him from his parents and alienated him from his primarily Christian classmates. Although he did not join al-Shabaab until years after he first traveled overseas, the wheels were set in motion when Hammami was still in high school.

As a charismatic American teenager, Hammami was able to relate to the disenfranchised youth growing up in the countries of the West. Following 9/11, Muslim youth in the United States were pushed away from the mainstream because of fear and suspicion. In Hammami, children of Muslim parents who fled from conflict areas in extremist countries had someone who spoke English and Arabic and was passionate about Jihad. The insular communities which hosted Somali families, primarily in Minnesota, were the perfect place for an insider to radicalize a generation of youth. Hammami appeared in videos used to recruit youth from Somali diaspora communities to join al-Shabaab, raise funds for the terrorist organization, and gain support for Islamic terrorist organizations fighting overseas. He became a major al-Shabaab leader and was indicted in US courts for terrorism counts stemming from traveling to Somalia to join a terrorism organization and facilitating the movements of others to do the same.

Hammami was ultimately killed by a rival al-Shabaab group in a dispute about Sharia, but his life is an example of how one person with the understanding of American culture and the ability to persuade others can influence a generation to fight against US interests. This insider convinced American youth to leave the United States, fight, and die overseas for a terrorist organization. Hammami is linked to other Americans who died in 2008 suicide attacks against the United Nations compound, the Ethiopian Consulate, and the presidential palace in Hargeisa, Somalia.[31] How much worse could the damage have been if he had encouraged attacks within the United States?

Another well-publicized terrorism example was an insider attack by Maj. Nidal Malik Hasan, a US Army psychiatrist. He killed thirteen people and wounded thirty-two others in a 5 November 2009 mass shooting at Fort Hood.[32]

Soldiers face specific challenges because of their high-demand jobs. Commanders know that if they choose not take the soldier on a deployment, they will not get a replacement. There is also the challenge of internal denial that a member of the team would violently attack their own organization. Academic institutions, even in the military, support academic freedom and diverse opinions that challenge existing plans and military operations. Additionally, information sharing can be difficult between organizations responsible for prosecuting crimes and those that help protect the rights of soldiers. Obviously, commanders face many challenges with disciplining soldiers in their command. No one really believes that a member of their unit would kill them, even when threats are made. This is one of the challenges with insider threats; soldiers inherently trust and bond with each other and, even when angry, resist the idea that one would intentionally hurt a comrade.

Hasan was influenced by Hasan Akbar, a US Army sergeant who killed two soldiers in Kuwait in 2003.[33] Nidal Hasan went on to influence others to attack military targets in the United States. John Thomas Booker sought to join the Army to attack from within but was denied enlistment. That did not stop his desire to attack the military. Booker is now serving thirty years for a planned attack against Fort Riley, Kansas, in 2015.[34] Pfc. Naser Jason Abdo was also influenced by the actions of Nidal Hasan. He was stopped before he could execute a planned 2011 attack on Fort Hood; Abdo defiantly shouted "Nidal Hasan Fort Hood 2009" as he was removed from the courtroom following his arrest on a weapons charge.[35] Although Abdo's attack was prevented, other sympathizers potentially could commit similar attacks.

In addition to these direct action attacks and plots, others have joined the military in order to receive training that will support their anti-US organizations. Gangs, white-supremacists, and terrorists all value military-provided training to increase the overall capability of their organizations. Recent examples include Eric Harroun, who fought for Syria following his enlistment in the US Army, and cousins Hasan Edmonds and Jonas Edmonds, one of who intended to use Army training and access to Joliet Armory to conduct an attack there, while the other planned to travel to Syria to fight against the United States.[36] Although significant, these cases are best left to future research.

Conclusion

The lesson from these various examples is that people should look objectively at the those within their organizations and ask questions when threats are made. Investigators must assess if someone is just blowing off steam, or if there is an actual threat. Also, many actions are available to commanders if they are concerned with a person's ability to deploy or an individual who may pose a threat. Training for deployments should include specific courses for organizational leaders. Topics could include how to treat soldiers who have disciplinary issues. How do you identify if a soldier is overly stressed and at risk to do harm to himself or others? How do units balance deployment requirements with the need to leave non-performers behind? How do National Guard units, in particular, get rid of bad performers? Should such actions be handled differently than Active units? Better training is a start but most important is a holistic realization that insiders who would do us harm threaten organizations at every level. These threats erode trust in our teams at the lowest level and create risks to national security strategies. These are the true costs of insider threats which should not be ignored.

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Chapter 8

A Leadership Model to Meet the Challenges of the Joint, Interagency, Intergovernmental, and Multinational (JIIM) Environment

William J. Davis Jr.

I went into what I presumed was exile for sixteen months, unaccompanied, working for a tough, smart Marine named Charlie Wilhelm at SOUTHCOM [US Southern Command]. General Wilhelm was one of the most admirable men with whom I've been associated, and that experience was an education beyond what I could have imagined. That's where I learned to work in complex, joint, interagency, multi-national, and multicultural environments.[1]

—Gen. Charles Jacoby

In this age, I don't care how tactically or operationally brilliant you are, if you cannot create harmony—even vicious harmony—on the battlefield based on trust across service lines, across coalition and national lines, and across civilian/military lines, you need to go home, because your leadership is obsolete. We have got to have officers who can create harmony across all those lines.[2]

—Gen. James Mattis

The willingness to disobey specific orders to achieve the intended purpose, the willingness to take risks to meet the intent, the acceptance of failure and practice in order to learn from experimentation: these are all going to have to be elevated in the pantheon of leader traits.[3]

—Chief of Staff of the Army Gen. Mark Milley

The reader of the above three quotes is challenged to not view each one as detailing a major flaw in US military leadership models. In the first, General Jacoby had to wait until he was an 0-6 (equivalent of US Army colonel) to learn how to operate in the joint, interagency, intergovernmental, and multinational (JIIM) operating environment.[4] In the second, General Mattis purports that although developing harmony among partners is a necessary leadership competency, it is not an intrinsic trait developed by every officer. Moreover, in the third, General Milley seems to imply that the organization does not value a spirit of risk and innovation in order to accomplish the mission. The thesis of this chapter is that in austere times, the US government will not resource redundant capabilities among disparate agencies. Thus, a single agency that at one time might have had the funding to support multiple competencies required to address complex problems will now have to look to other agencies to make up for the proficiencies that might not be funded. A single organization will be unable to exclusively solve problems, therefore requiring an organizational leader to be able to work with multiple outside agencies in order to successfully solve complex problems. However, most military leader development models—because of a narrow focus on direct leadership traits and positivist and authoritarian underpinnings—are insufficient to ready military officers to perform adequately in a complex JIIM operating environment where coordination, consensus, and cooperation are paramount.[5] Military leader development models and the conditions under which leaders are developed need to change in order to develop leaders who are competent in complex, joint, interagency, multinational, multi-organizational, and multicultural environments. Spe-

cifically, the models need to incorporate three components: the contextual intricacies of the JIIM environment, the cultural values underpinning the organization's concept of a leader, and traits of a successful JIIM leader.

A New Perspective

Most national security professionals have learned how to lead within the explicit contextual confines of their organizations. For example, military members rely on direct leadership principles exercised in an authoritarian construct, diplomats on a consensus-driven collaborative approach, teachers on a knowledge-seeking Socratic approach; and law enforcement officers on a law or principle-based approach. However, the problem with using one approach—no matter how adept the person—is that context and culture are intricate determinants of the success of any given approach. For example, while most military personnel succeed at leading in a military environment, they quit the teaching profession at the same rate as non-military teachers and for the mostly the same reason: frustration with failure to manage the classroom.[6] Two prime examples of this are President Donald Trump's administration and Donald Rumsfeld's reign as Secretary of Defense. Both had a stated aim to bring business thinking and leadership to policymaking within their domain. The results are exemplary of the angst an organization manifests when an approach from a particular cultural background is applied to a different one. Both of these are examples of failing to recognize that context matters. Unfortunately, military leadership models often give the impression that they are universal and will apply regardless of the context.

Models also neglect the cultural aspect of leadership. Most definitions of a culture include some degree of shared values. Models of leadership are inherently value-intrinsic. The way in which families are viewed, wars are waged, and processes are used to make decisions are all culturally based and biased; so are leadership traits and competencies. To suggest to an Army officer that integrity (as defined in the western tradition) is not very important would be so foreign that the idea would be rejected outright as ridiculous. Author Ronald A. Heifetz notes that not all leadership in other cultures is necessarily moral leadership.[7] To be successful, a leadership model's cultural assumptions need to be openly addressed; then when in a different context, the leader will be able to reflect on how culture affected his or her development as a leader.

The final aspect of a leadership model to consider is the annotation of traits and competencies that are usually its center of gravity. However, unfortunately, those traits are normally very positivist in their underpinning and mostly rely on direct leadership traits. The previous Army leadership model of "Be, Know, Do" is a shining example of such an outlook. Most leadership models list traits in a cookbook fashion: a pinch of integrity, a cup of motivation, and a heaping spoonful of justice will a leader make. Unfortunately, leadership for the most part is taught using an objectivist epistemic outlook; it is primarily a social construction that requires significant reflection to be a good leader in a complex environment.

Reflection in Action

Research has found that teachers make 1,200 to 1,500 education-related decisions a day, or about four per minute of instruction.[8] Based on the premise that those decisions will determine education quality, a body of research and theory supports that a teacher should be making those decisions in a state of reflection. That is, those decisions should not be instinctual but should be

the result of "reflection in action" or "reflective practice." In their book *Leadership on the Line: Staying Alive Through the Dangers of Leading*, authors Heifetz and Marty Linsky describe reflection in action metaphorically: able to not only be on the dance floor but at the same time to view the dance floor from the balcony.[9] From the balcony, you can see what you're doing while concurrently observing the overall environment as well as interaction between and among self, participants, and the environment. This insight would produce better decisions than a pure instinctual action.[10] Thus, a leader must make decisions that include the whole dance floor and will result in a well-choreographed and integrated result rather than a temporary change that will become moot because of goings-on in the greater environment. Reflective practice should be inherent in any leadership model. The figure below shows the three elements of the JIIM leader model as contextual understanding, culture underpinnings, and skills—all considered and developed within the framework of reflective practice.
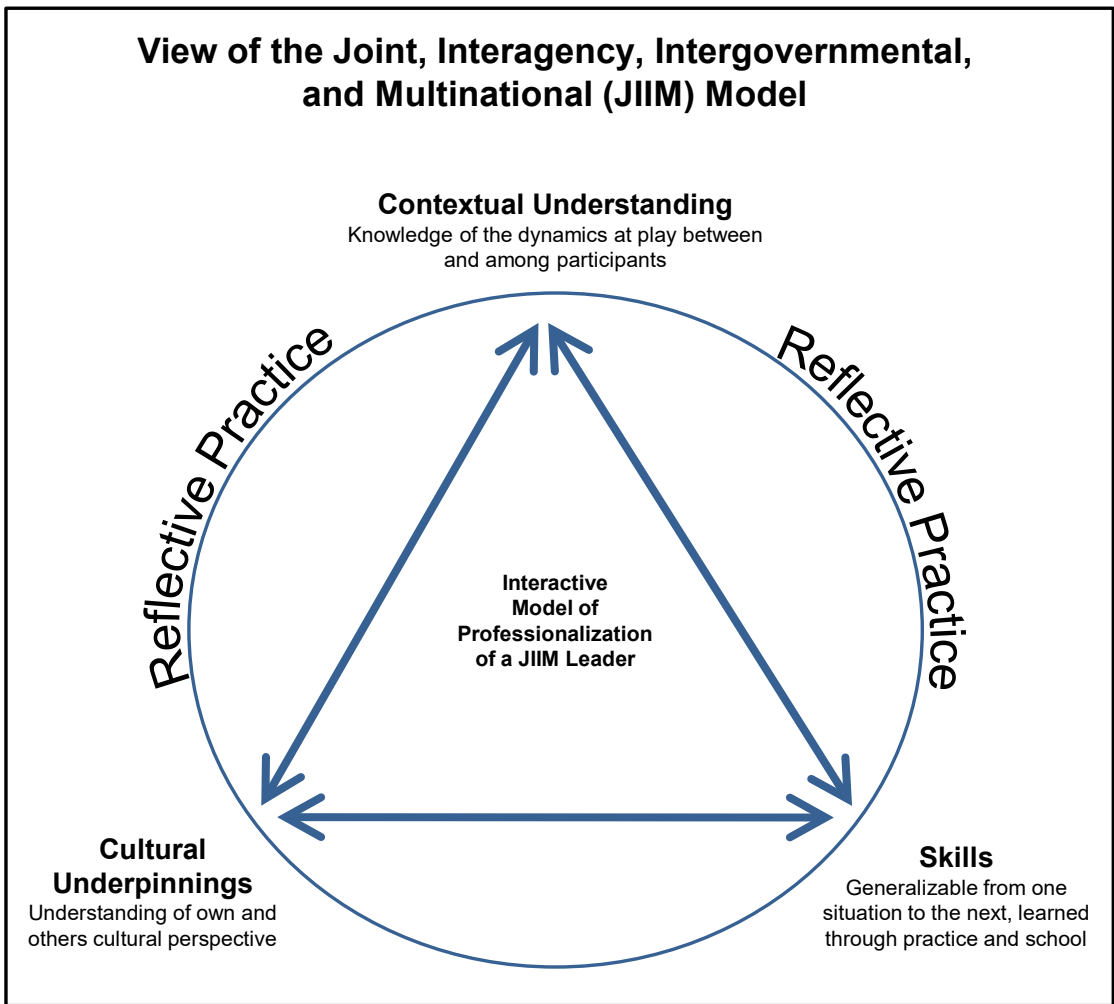

View of the Joint, Interagency, Intergovernmental, and Multinational (JIIM) Model

Contextual Understanding
Knowledge of the dynamics at play between and among participants

Reflective Practice

Reflective Practice

Interactive Model of Professionalization of a JIIM Leader

Cultural Underpinnings
Understanding of own and others cultural perspective

Skills
Generalizable from one situation to the next, learned through practice and school

Figure 8.1. View of the joint, interagency, intergovernmental, and multinational (JIIM) model. Created by Army University Press from author's diagram.

The New Model: The Contextual Intricacies of the JIIM

An important part of the model is to have awareness of the context in which the leader is operating. The JIIM environment is complex at its most simple and, as such, requires study and familiarity. The following are key characteristics of the JIIM that a leader or operator needs to appreciate in order to be able to operate with a modicum of success. Note that the critical JIIM attributes are antithetical to the cultural expectation of those in the military. The military considers unity of effort to be the lowest acceptable outcome when working within the JIIM. It is defined as a cooperative concept that refers to coordination, synchronization, and communication among US government agencies toward common goals for mission accomplishment. In order to achieve unity of effort, it is not necessary for all agencies to be controlled under a single leader, but each agency's efforts must to be in harmony with the mission's short- and long-term goals.[11] This definition is unrealistic and serves as a utopic indicator that the military organization's vision of a successful leader is focused on mission accomplishment with the assumption that all involved share a common objective. The enduring characteristics of the JIIM, annotated as follows, generally do not support the military's positivist "team captain" leadership model.

There is no doctrine to which every participant adheres. While many organizations have doctrine written about the manner in which they will operate in the JIIM, there is no overarching doctrine to which every stakeholder subscribes. Do not expect knowledge of or acquiescence to your way of doing things in the JIIM.

Your goals and objectives will not be congruent with others' goals and objectives. While your organization may be participating in an international disaster relief effort to alleviate immediate suffering, others may be there to develop long-term capacity, build political capital for future unrelated efforts, or promote an agenda like human rights.

There is no such thing as an order among the participants. You will not have positional authority over other participants in the JIIM. Even in a multinational military effort, the idea of an "order" is tenuous at best. Individual participants in the JIIM most often will act solely in pursuit of their national or organizational interests.

Your organization may not be liked or wanted in the JIIM by all participants. Most leadership models speak of operating as a team and often aspire to ensure everyone is on the same sheet of music, etc.; however, in the JIIM you may not even be wanted as a member of the team. US military capabilities are overwhelming, and many participants view you as an 800-pound gorilla that clumsily talks about collaboration and cooperation but does what it wants to do with little input from others. As one Department of State employee said, "Multinational relations are not about pushing around Iraqis and Afghans like we have done for the past fifteen years."[12] A JIIM leader must be acutely aware of fragile relations among the participants.

Language will be difficult. There will be two types of language difficulties: national and acronym-ese. National language can be somewhat ameliorated with translators, both human and technological. However, acronym-ese is usually more difficult to overcome. Though terms like TPFDD [time-phased force deployment data], JPP [joint planning process], or COCOM [combatant command] are second nature to the military, they will sound foreign to the non-indoctrinated. In addition, different terms mean different things to people from various organizations; metaphors familiar to one culture have zero meaning to those from another. A good JIIM leader will definitely have to self-reflect concerning communication style. This author recently witnessed a joint task force-level

exercise wherein the commander used terms that were not only foreign to multinational participants but also confusing to non-Army and non-military participants. When this faux pas was brought to the attention of the commander's staff, they suggested the other participants should get used to it since the "US military is in the lead, and things would be done our way."[13] Officers who respond in this manner will most likely be the same ones who will eventually disparage other organizations that do not appear to be in congruence with the effort leader's wants and needs. They do not understand that the term "leader" is loosely codified in the JIIM.

Expect no adaptability and flexibility. Often, leaders enter a situation expecting others involved to adhere to the way things are accomplished in the leader's organization (hence the previous example). Most government bureaucracies do not value innovation.[14] Military members, who commonly espouse adaptability as a military officer leadership trait, often spotlight the great joint warfighting advances in recent years as proof of leader adaptability. However, they are often embarrassed when reminded that the progress in great part was because of legislation like the Department of Defense Re-organization Act of 1986 and not some intrinsic value in the spirit of cooperation among military leaders.[15] In other words, JIIM participants need to develop couplers that facilitate cooperation among cultures rather than expecting cultures to change.

They won't be like you. This is the bottom line. While it seems like a bottom line straight out of the "Captain Obvious" playbook, this issue remains a significant dynamic throughout. While social identity theory informs this dynamic, it manifests in a situation that ends with "they aren't like us; therefore, they must be bad." This happens quite a bit in the JIIM. Some Department of State personnel have unfavorable impressions of their Department of Defense counterparts. Even more distressing is that those within Department of Defense entities mistrust each other because of cultural differences. This author recently heard a US Army general officer disparage Navy aviators and Air Force officers because they were culturally different from Army officers. However, on a positive note, the general did say that everyone must learn to work with other cultures and not expect them to change. It was very wise advice indeed; unfortunately, it appears not to be an institutionalized value.

Cultural Underpinnings

JIIM leaders must appreciate the two components that underpin most leadership models: one, cultural values that are intrinsic to the organization and two, understanding of other cultural viewpoints during the application of the model. However, discerning the values that are intrinsic to the organization is not easy for the military in general and the Army in particular. Authors Chris Argyris and Donald A. Schön found that in a majority of organizations, there is significant incongruence between values-in-use (the reasons people do what they do) and espoused values (the reasons people *say* they do what they do). In addition, they found that cultural incongruence manifests problems of inefficiency, discord, low morale, and lack of commitment to the organization.[16] JIIM leaders need to be open to conducting the critical thinking necessary to determine the values-in-use of their organization. In other words, before leaders can effectively appreciate the intrinsic values of their organization, they need to be able to discern exactly what those values are. A primary example of an organization espousing a value but actually cherishing a different value can be noted in the use of the term "broadening assignment." Broadening assignment is used to describe a situation when an army officer works with an outside agency in an assignment that is not focal to the officer's development and is somehow aberrant to his or her organization's cultural core. Indeed, an officer is generally advised to return to the regular army as soon as possible, which in reality demonstrates

that the broadening assignment really is not valued but is seen as unavoidable and a block-checking event. The quotes at the beginning of this chapter provide further evidence of this cultural value incongruence; if development of leaders who can perform in the JIIM were truly valued, perhaps officers would not have to wait until twenty-plus years of service before being exposed to those principles. Donald E. Vandergriff highlights another aspect of cultural incongruence. He notes that though the US Army instituted an entire critical thinking course at its bedrock educational institution, the US Army Command and General Staff College, "[t]o succeed, Army leaders must stop regarding criticism (if it is based on sound principles and research) as disloyal, and must actively encourage critical thinking."[17] Indeed, I have heard Army generals tell mid-grade officers that they do not need to be critical thinkers but rather must be able to do what they are told.[18] A critical attribute that JIIM leaders should develop is the ability to carefully regard when values-in-use are incongruent with espoused values.

The type of deep reflection required to ascertain cultural incongruence is called double-loop learning, which is much deeper than single-loop learning. In single-loop learning, one conducts an action based on a value, and then examines the results of that action. If the results are lacking, then a new action is tried. In double-loop learning, after the action is taken and if the result is left wanting, the person examines the very value that is the catalyst for the action and questions that value to determine its validity. An example of this might be an Army colonel who just finished brigade command, where 5,000 individuals valued the colonel's orders without much question. The officer now must lead an organization that is flatter and contains a large percentage of Army civilians. The colonel will set policy upon policy seeking compliance from his or her charges, only to meet with failure at the execution of the policy. What the colonel is failing to do is double-loop learn. The leader needs to ask what value is the catalyst for bestowing policy dissemination in the same manner on senior Army civilians and junior soldiers. The answer will often be surprising when a leader practices double-loop learning and questions the underlying values of his or her actions.

As a matter of routine, a significant portion of a military leader's legitimate authority is positional and hierarchical. This authoritarian component of military organizational structure is critical to the success of most military leaders. Even those leaders who have significant charisma and personal power benefit from the overwhelming values of hierarchy and mission accomplishment.[19] The JIIM leader must reflect on and understand the impact that underlying values might have had on his or her leadership success. Individual leaders in the JIIM must understand the extent to which other military organizational values such as conformity, equity, and tradition impacted his or her leader development. This aspect of the JIIM leadership model is key to ensuring that the JIIM leader does not rely solely on leader techniques that work exceptionally well in a certain value environment but are not conducive to success in the JIIM. These leaders must view the traits developed through the cultural lens of others in the JIIM. The JIIM leader needs to have a feel for how others view the JIIM leader's role. Failing to consider this will result in a significant misstep as in the previous example of the colonel who treated senior Army civilians with the same techniques that succeeded when dealing with noncommissioned officers.

Skills

Leadership models are replete with skills, attributes, and competencies. Most leaders bring their existing paradigm of techniques when trying to lead in the JIIM; however, they soon learn some modifications are needed to be successful. Leading in the JIIM is much more like being a member of an improvisational jazz band; because the timing and tempo are fluid, the leader must

change based on the piece being improvised and understand how to intrinsically optimize all instruments depending on the situation. Although many leaders like to use the dominant metaphor of conducting an orchestra (a very favored metaphor within the military), remember that others in the JIIM are not required to follow your lead or subscribe to your music selection. So in reality, leading in the JIIM is an exercise in improvisation, and it is incumbent upon the leader to fluidly move the improvised non-standard event into something that is harmonious. The music of improvisational jazz is no less beautiful than that of a practiced symphony, and even adept musicians who have never played together can successfully improvise a wonderful tune. The JIIM leader must be a master of improvisation—framing and reframing the environment while working with talented musicians who each play a part but have no desire to be a part of a scripted and inflexible symphony.

Being a successful jazz leader in the JIIM requires myriad skills. George C. Marshall was attributed as saying:

> It became clear to me that at the age of fifty-eight I would have to learn new tricks that were not taught in the military manuals or on the battlefield. In this position, I am a political soldier and will have to put my training in rapping-out orders and making snap decisions on the back burner, and have to learn the arts of persuasion and guile. I must become an expert in a whole new set of skills.[20]

Potential skills required are building true consensus; communicating the environment and options for actions; coordinating harmoniously; cooperating in compliance with a previously negotiated consensus; and, most important, comprehending each other's roles, limitations, and capabilities.[21] In addition, one might add skill in negotiation, building trust, understanding the difference between tradable and shared interests, and above all listening. While some of the previously mentioned skills are sometimes incorporated into more traditional military leadership models, they are there mostly as espoused values and are rarely incorporated as values-in-use. Anecdotally, I once spoke to a major general who was having a difficult time leading a diverse organization. When I brought up the subject of how to build consensus, he felt he was an expert at it. He mentioned that when he was a brigade commander, he created consensus among his battalion commanders all the time. When I reminded him that what most likely occurred was that he said something and they agreed based on hierarchical values, he renounced my thesis in an authoritarian manner. When I asked if his remark had just built "consensus" with me, he replied that "consensus is overrated." This anecdote demonstrates that the cultural values which underpin the Army most likely affect battalion commanders, resulting in some sort of pseudo-consensus rather than true consensus. JIIM leaders need to look toward Marshall's quote as an example of humility, self-reflection, and an uncanny critical introspection that should be the goal of every JIIM leader.

A New Normal

> *The problems you face are novel; otherwise they are not really problems. Novelty requires unusual ways of framing. Our organizationally accepted, technical competencies which we pride ourselves as what makes us professionals are not going to work to frame and solve novel situations. We need to develop methods of leading that are critically reflective of the ways we have been taught to act in familiar situations and seek ways which are unfamiliar. There are perils in leading through such reflective practices and you should not be naïve if you choose to take the tough path of adaptive leadership.*[22]
>
> —C. R. Paparone

When the US Army published Field Manual (FM) 3-24, *Counterinsurgency,* in 2006, some were amazed at the paradoxical nature of counterinsurgency operations. What most had been taught as the norms of conventional warfare were detrimental to success in counterinsurgency operations. It is the same way with leadership in the JIIM. Things such as building consensus, letting others lead, and compromising some aspects of your mission in order to achieve a portion of it is counter-intuitive with experience in a singular organization such as the military. The JIIM leadership model—which incorporates contextual understanding, cultural underpinnings, and unique skills—will be counterintuitive and paradoxical, but valid and necessary nonetheless. Let me end with another anecdote. I mentioned I was writing this paper to a group of 0-6s from the Marine Corps and Navy. One snickered and said that there was no leadership in JIIM. That is wrong. There is leadership; it just is not paradigmatic to the familiar military model. The US military needs to realize that leadership in the JIIM is the PhD level of leadership; the Army must start educating its members on how to be successful before they become 0-6s.

Notes

1. Gen. Charles Jacoby, "I Loved Being a Soldier," *War on the Rocks* (15 October 2015), https://warontherocks.com/2015/10/i-loved-being-a-soldier; quote was made concerning his 0-6 command tour.

2. Michael Ledeen, "Mattis Provides the Bottom Line," *National Review* (23 June 2010), https://www.nationalreview.com/corner/mattis-provides-bottom-line-michael-ledeen/.

3. Todd Lopez, "Milley: Army on Cusp of Profound, Fundamental Change," *Army News* (6 October 2016), https://www.army.mil/article/176231.

4. At tthis writing, there were forty-six federal departments and agencies worldwide involved in the national security on a classified level. That does not include the nations, UN agencies, non-governmental organizations, private industry, individuals, and other non-state actors present during an international crisis. Military writings refer to them as the Joint, Interagency, Intergovernmental, and Multinational (JIIM) environment, but even that burdensome title does not include all likely participants. Rather than try to account for every actor with a letter, the author uses JIMM to refer to the operating environment discussed here.

5. William J. Davis Jr., "The Challenge of Leadership in the Interagency Environment," *Military Review* 90, no. 5 (September–October 2010): 94–96.

6. W. Owings et al., "Troops to Teachers Grant Study 4" (technical report, Old Dominion University, 7 March 2014), 56, https://www.odu.edu/content/dam/odu/offices/tcep/docs/troops-to-teach-eval-2012-13-tech-rprt.pdf.

7. Ronald A. Heifetz, *Leadership without Easy Answers* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994), chap. 1.

8. TeachThought Staff, "A Teacher Makes 1500 Decisions a Day," *TeachThought*, 28 March 2016, https://www.teachthought.com/pedagogy/teacher-makes-1500-decisions-a-day,

9. Ronald Heifetz and Marty Linsky, "A Survival Guide for Leaders," *Harvard Business Review* (June 2002), https://hbr.org/2002/06/a-survival-guide-for-leaders/ar/1.

10. TeachThought Staff, "A Teacher Makes 1500 Educational Decisions a Day."

11. Joint Chiefs of Staff, Joint Publication (JP) 5-0, *Joint Planning* (Washington, DC: 2017), II-8.

12. The author has numerous personal anecdotes to support this. For example, a Department of State representative working in a planning cell made this comment about his supervisor: "He keeps saying he wants everyone's input, but he cuts me off every time I speak." Another example was when a team was planning how to deliver relief items to a country and that country's representative was in the next room. The coordinator said, "He doesn't speak English very well and it would just take us longer to do this if we invited him in."

13. Based on comments heard by the author.

14. W. J. Davis and C. R. Paparone, "Departments of State and Defense Relations: Are Perceptions Important?" *Interagency Journal* 3, no. 1 (Winter 2012): 33–37.

15. "30 Years of Goldwater Nichols Reform: Hearing before the Committee on Armed Services," US Senate, 114th Cong. (10 November 2015), https://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/CHRG-114shrg20924/html/CHRG-114shrg20924.htm.

16. Chris Argyris and Donald A. Schön, *Theory in Practice: Increasing Organizational Effectiveness* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1974), chap. 1.

17. Donald E. Vandergriff, *Raising the Bar: Creating and Nurturing Adaptability to Deal with the Changing Face of War* (Washington, DC: World Security Institute's Center for Defense Information, 2006), 75.

18. The author heard these comments on three separate occasions from general officers speaking at the Command and General Staff College. Policy of non-attribution prohibits further details.

19. Stephen J. Gerras, Leonard Wong, and Charles D. Allen, "Organizational Culture: Applying a Hybrid Model to the US Army" (paper, US Army War College, November 2008), 4, https://ssl.armywarcollege.edu/DCLM/pubs/Organizational%20Culture%20Applying%20a%20Hybrid%20Model%20to%20the%20U.S.%20Army%20Nov%2008.pdf.

20. Stephen A. Shambach, ed., *Strategic Leadership Primer*, 2nd ed. (Carlisle Barracks, PA: US Army War College, 2004), 1.

21. Davis, "The Challenge of Leadership in the Interagency Environment," 94–96.

22. C. R. Paparone, "National Security Leadership as Reflective Practice" (unpublished chapter, 2017).

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A retired Navy officer, William J. Davis Jr. has been teaching professional military education for twenty-one years. In 2006, he joined the CGSC faculty and is a professor of strategic studies. Previously he was a curriculum director and associate professor at the Joint Forces Staff College. He authored *A Practitioner's Handbook for Interagency Leadership* (Fort Leavenworth, KS: CGSC Foundation Press, 2018) and also flew fourteen years as a US Navy F-14 (TOPGUN graduate) radar intercept officer, making two combat deployments. Davis has a PhD in academic leadership and a certificate of advanced studies in educational supervision and administration from Old Dominion University, a master's in military studies from Marine Corps University, and a bachelor of arts in economics from Harvard University. Additionally, he is a graduate of the esteemed Boston Latin School.

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