CLAUSEWITZ'S TRINITY: DEAD OR ALIVE?

A Monograph

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Prussian Carl von Clausewitz's meta-theoretical concept known as the Trinity has the potential to serve as an analytical vehicle to understand war in both a historical and contemporary context. An inherent historical misconception, however, restrains the Trinity from reaching its full potential. One of the three elements, policy, refers directly to the form of government represented by the nation state. Thus, critics argue, the Trinity's only relevance exists in state on state warfare. Clausewitz possessed a highly sophisticated mind and it seems unlikely to many that he meant to constrain his theory to the nation-state model of governance. In fact, many scholars have argued for the relevance of his theory in non-state situations. Nevertheless, he lacked the ability to articulate his thoughts in a contemporarily acceptable way, leaving his theory open for criticism, particularly by specialists in irregular or guerilla war.

This monograph contemporizes Clausewitz's Trinity by replacing policy with the more general concept of ideology, thus demonstrating a clear means to establish the Trinity's relevance for twenty-first century warfare. To illustrate the argument, one case study each from the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first centuries illustrates the role of ideology's in each conflict, and shows how this term can replace "policy" in the traditional Clausewitzian trinity, broadening the theorist's own ideological view of nationalism and state policy to the more general concept of ideology and its various applications that serve essentially the same role as policy in practice.

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ABSTRACT

CLAUSEWITZ'S TRINITY: DEAD OR ALIVE? By Major Kenneth Algreen Starskov, Danish Army, 60 pages.

Prussian Carl von Clausewitz's meta-theoretical concept known as the Trinity has the potential to serve as an analytical vehicle to understand war in both a historical and contemporary context. An inherent historical misconception, however, restrains the Trinity from reaching its full potential. One of the three elements, policy, refers directly to the form of government represented by the nation state. Thus, critics argue, the Trinity's only relevance exists in state on state warfare. Clausewitz possessed a highly sophisticated mind and it seems unlikely to many that he meant to constrain his theory to the nation-state model of governance. In fact, many scholars have argued for the relevance of his theory in non-state situations. Nevertheless, he lacked the ability to articulate his thoughts in a contemporarily acceptable way, leaving his theory open for criticism, particularly by specialists in irregular or guerilla war.

This monograph contemporizes Clausewitz's Trinity by replacing policy with the more general concept of ideology, thus demonstrating a clear means to establish the Trinity's relevance for twenty-first century warfare. To illustrate the argument, one case study each from the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first centuries illustrates the role of ideology's in each conflict, and shows how this term can replace "policy" in the traditional Clausewitzian trinity, broadening the theorist's own ideological view of nationalism and state policy to the more general concept of ideology and its various applications that serve essentially the same role as policy in practice.

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> War is more than a true chameleon that slightly adapts its characteristics to the given case. As a total phenomenon its dominant tendencies always make war a remarkable trinity - composed of primordial violence, hatred, and enmity, which are to be regarded as a blind natural force; of the play of chance and probability within which the creative spirit is free to roam; and of its element of subordination, as an instrument of policy, which makes it subject to reason alone.
>
> —Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*

Introduction

Prussian Carl von Clausewitz's meta-theoretical concept known as the Trinity has the potential to serve as an analytical vehicle to understand war in both a historical and contemporary context. An inherent historical misconception, however, restrains the Trinity from reaching its full potential. One of the three elements, policy, refers directly to the form of government represented by the nation state.[1] Thus, critics argue, the Trinity's only relevance exists in state on state warfare. Clausewitz possessed a highly sophisticated mind and it seems unlikely to many that he meant to constrain his theory to the nation-state model of governance. In fact, many scholars have argued for the relevance of his theory in non-state situations. Nevertheless, he lacked the ability to articulate his thoughts in a contemporarily acceptable way, leaving his theory open for criticism, particularly by specialists in irregular or guerilla war.[2]

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[1]The Trinity's three elements are: (1) primordial violence and enmity, (2) chance and probability, and (3) an element of subordination, as an instrument of policy, which makes it subject to reason alone. Carl von Clausewitz, On War, edited and translated by Michael Howard and Peter Paret, 1984 ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976/1984), 89. See also figure 1, page 3.

[2]Mary Kaldor, *New and Old Wars* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999), 13-30; John Keegan, *A History of Warfare* (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1993), 23-28; Martin van Creveld, *The Transformation of War* (New York: The Free Press, 1991), 35-42; Bart Schuurman, "Clausewitz and the "New Wars" Scholars," *Parameters* XXXX, no. 2; Christopher Bassford, "Teaching the Clausewitzian Trinity,

A fairly simple solution exists that can solve this conundrum – although it has so far gone unnoticed by any of Clausewitz's modern-day interpreters or critics. By replacing the term "policy" with the more general concept of "ideology," one can update Clausewitz's Trinity so that it can reach its full potential. Ideology, as a more abstract and general concept than policy, can serve the purpose Clausewitz intended for that part of the Trinity while avoiding the problem of confining it to a specific era or form of warfare.

Clausewitz has acquired numerous personas since the publication in 1832 of *On War*, his masterwork of military theory: universal and timeless military genius; outdated and self-absorbed nineteenth century relic; father of modern military thinking and theory; or the main source of contemporary operational art. Historians, social scientists, strategists, and international relations theorists alike compete to distinguish themselves as a champion of translating, interpreting, and understanding Clausewitz. Some seek to prove his eternal relevance, while others attempt to deprive Clausewitz of his legendary status – that of a military theorist possessing timeless relevance to all aspects of the phenomenon of war. For twenty-first century military practitioners reading Clausewitz's magnum opus (*Vom Kriege* in the original German, or *On War* in English*)* the obvious issue is his theory's relevance for today's military operations.[3] It seems that the military practitioner must also choose to view Clausewitz either as a dinosaur, interesting merely with respect to his historical relevance, or alternatively to consider Clausewitz's theories as timeless gospel. The United States Army largely appears to have chosen the latter interpretation,

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"http://www.clausewitz.com/readings/Bassford/Trinity/TrinityTeachingNote.htm (accessed 4 November, 2012); Bassford, "Tip-Toe through the Trinity or the Strange Persistence of Trinitarian Warfare," http://www.clausewitz.com/readings/Bassford/Trinity/Trinity8.htm#Range (accessed 13 October 2012); Christopher Bassford and Edward J.Villacres, "Reclaiming the Clausewitzian Trinity," *Parameters*; Antulio J. Echevarria, *Clausewitz and Contemporary War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Andreas Herberg-Rothe, *Clausewitz's Puzzle* (Oxford: Oxford University Press,, 2007); Beatrice Heuser, *Reading Clausewitz* (London: Pimlico, 2002).

[3]Clausewitz, On War, 89; Carl von Clausewitz, "Vom Kriege," http://www.clausewitz.com/readings/VomKriege1832/TOC.htm (accessed 8 December, 2012).

inculcating Clausewitz and viewing his writings as a central element of the curriculum for field grade officers, operational level planners, commanders, and future general officers.[4] One observer, Assistant Professor Stephen L. Melton from U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, even credits Clausewitz with what Melton identifies as recent failures of the U.S. Army and U.S. Foreign policy in general.[5] Before him, others, like the British officers Captain and military thinker Basel Henry Liddell Hart, Major-General John Fredrick Charles Fuller, and historian John Keegan, have attributed the horrors of World War I to Clausewitzian thinking and concepts.[6]

Indeed, military practitioners experience the full effect of key Clausewitzian concepts and theories such as friction, uncertainty, military genius, center of gravity, chance, and danger. Those who serve in the military, particularly combat veterans, usually have a deep respect and appreciation for the historical and contextual origin of the military profession as they honor the sacrifices made by their predecessors. Inevitably, though, the irreversible effect and nature of combat tends to stimulate military practitioners to focus on theories and principles that possess relevance to the application of military force in their own time. Clausewitz did not attempt to derive a prescriptive theory of warfare; he sought to identify universal truths about the phenomenon of war even as he emphasized its ever-changing and unpredictable nature.[7] In his

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[4]Christopher Bassford, "John Keegan and the Grand Tradition of Trashing Clausewitz," *War and History* 1, no. 3.

[5]Stephen L. Melton, *The Clausewitz Delusion: How the American Army Screwed up the Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan* (Minneapolis, MN: Zenith Press, 2009), 3; For a critical review of Melton's book see John T. Kuehn, "Book Review: The Clausewitz Delusion: How the American Army Screwed up the Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan (a Way Forward)," *Joint Force Quarterly*, no. 64: 146.

[6]Keegan, *A History of Warfare*, 3-38; Sir Basel Henry Liddell Hart, *Strategy* (London: Penguin Group, 1967), 228-32; Major-General John Frederick Charles Fuller, *The Conduct of War 1789-1961* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1961), 59-61.

[7]Clausewitz, *On War*, 75-89, 140-41; Clausewitz critizied his contemporaries, Prussian

words, “the primary purpose of any theory is to clarify concepts and ideas that have become, as it were, confused and entangled.”[8] Clausewitz went on to explain that

Theory will have fulfilled its main task when it is used to analyze the constituent elements of war, to distinguish precisely what at first sight seems fused, to explain in full the properties of the means employed and to show their probable effects, to define clearly the nature of the ends in view, and to illuminate all phases of warfare in a thorough critical inquiry. Theory then becomes a guide to anyone who wants to learn about war from books; it will light his way, ease his progress, train his judgment, and help him to avoid pitfalls.[9]

Historian Christopher Bassford described the Trinity as the transcending meta-theory tying Clausewitz’s theories and concepts into a meaningful whole. Consequently, it remains one of the most debated elements of Clausewitz’s theory and, certainly, one element worthy of study for any contemporary military practitioner.[10] The Trinity consists of the three essential components that Clausewitz argued any complete military theory must account for. In essence, it represents Clausewitz’s meta-theory of war (see figure 1).

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theorist von Bulow and Swiss theorist Jomini, for such generalisations and entanglements. Clausewitz, *On War*, 134-36.

[8]Clausewitz, *On War*, 132.

[9]Ibid., 141.

[10]Schuurman, "Clausewitz and the “New Wars” Scholars," 92.

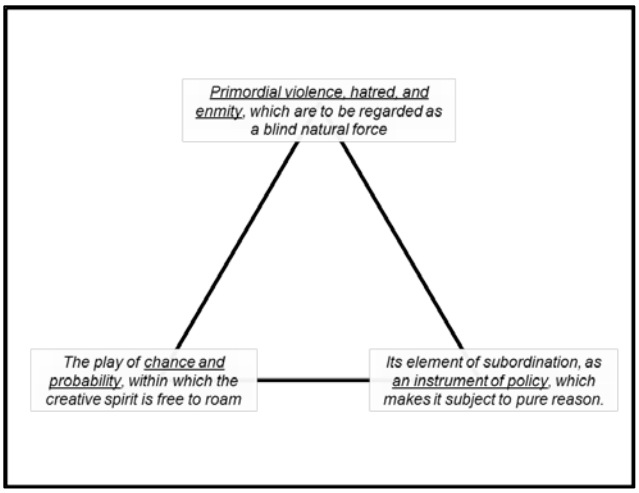

Figure 1. Clausewitz's Trinity.

Source: Figure by the author, adapted from On War, 89.

The above shown figure is also known as the "Primary Trinity" as it is the actual text from On War.[11] It is, however, not the most common quotation of the Trinity. Oftentimes, even scholars quote the so-called "Secondary Trinity" – the people, the government, and the Army – which is merely an example used by Clausewitz to illustrate his point.[12] Furthermore, a "Tertiary Trinity" exists composed of irrationality, rationality, and non-rationality, which better illustrates what Clausewitz actually meant with the Trinitarian construct (See figure 2).

[11]Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, edited and translated by Michael Howard and Peter Paret, 1984 ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976), 89.

[12]Creveld, *The Transformation of War*, 35-42; Keegan, *A History of Warfare*, 1-12.

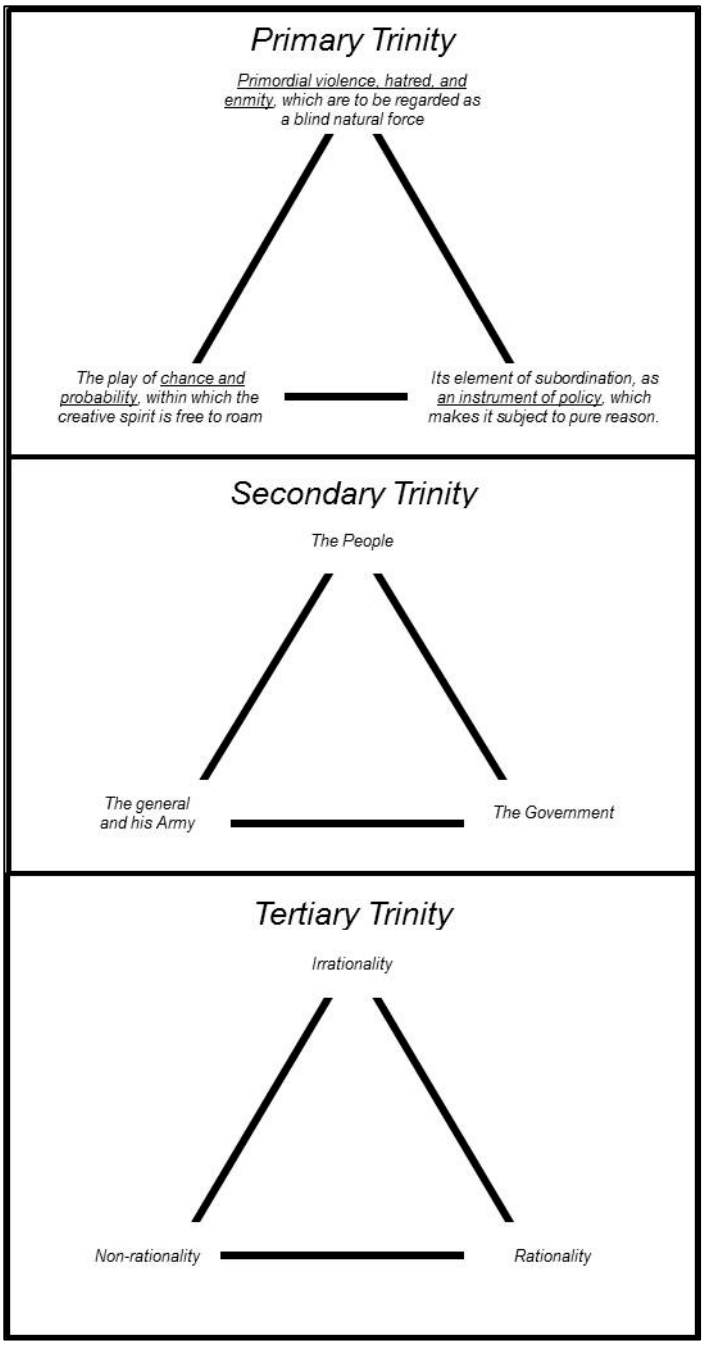

Figure 2. Clausewitz's primary, secondary, and tertiary Trinity.

Source: Figure by the author, adapted from *On War*, 89.

As an example of the debate over translation of *On War*, various interpreters of the text have translated the German word "*wunderliche"* – the adjective that modifies the term "Trinity" – to at least seven different English words. In his 1873 translation, historian John J. Graham used the most seemingly direct translation "wonderful," whereas in his 1943 translation the doctor of philosophy Otto Jolle Matthijs Jolles' used "strange."[13] Michael Howard and Peter Paret produced today's most widely used English edition of *On War* – first available in 1976 and reprinted in a revised edition in 1984. In 1976, Howard and Paret translated *"wunderliche"* to "remarkable," but they changed the translation to "paradoxical" in the 1984 edition. In a 2007 book introduction, however, Howard discussed the choice of word eventually settling on "amazing."[14] Two other historians who have read *Vom Kriege* and commented in books and articles on various problems they see in its translation to English, Antulio Echevarria and Christopher Bassford, offered other alternatives to the term "paradoxical" as a descriptor for the Trinity. Echevarria preferred "wondrous," while Bassford used "fascinating" as the translation for "*wunderliche."*[15]

These semantic exercises may seem insignificant to the casual observer, but given the complexity and widespread influence of Clausewitz's theory, they remain matters of heated debate among those who study *On War*. To the military practitioner at least, the aspect of war that

[13]According to Bassford, the Jolles translation is excellent—indeed, better in many key respects than the current standard Howard/Paret translation. The main problem with this edition is simply that it is not the standard version. See Christopher Bassford, "Which Version of On War Do You Have?," http://www.clausewitz.com/bibl/WhichTrans.htm (accessed 8 December 2012).

[14]Hew Strachan and Andreas Herberg-Rothe, eds., *Clausewitz in the Twenty-First Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press,2007), v-vii.

[15]Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, trans. James John Graham (London: N. Trübner and Company, 1873); Clausewitz, *On War*, 89; Clausewitz, *On War*, 89; Strachan and Herberg-Rothe, eds., *Clausewitz in the Twenty-First Century*, v-vii; Echevarria, *Clausewitz and Contemporary War*, 69-70; Bassford, "Teaching the Clausewitzian Trinity," http://www.clausewitz.com/readings/Bassford/Trinity/TrinityTeachingNote.htm (accessed 4 November, 2012); Bassford, *Clausewitz in English* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

Clausewitz referred to as the "Trinity" – meta-theory, or those things that one should consider when theorizing about war – represents such a broad concept that all of the aforementioned translations have some utility and some flaws. One could even add synonyms such as "astounding," "astonishing," or "shocking" to the list. It might seem that Bassford's "fascinating" best captures the essence of a purely theoretical approach to studying the meta-theory of war, and would therefore best serve the purposes of this study. To the military practitioner, though, it is often necessary to approach war with a more unemotional and critical view. Therefore, regarding the argument presented here, which of the Trinity's many prefixes one might choose has no significant bearing on the final analysis and conclusion.

The intensity of the debate over just this one point illustrates the amount of intellectual energy that experts tend to expend on analysis of Clausewitz's Trinity. On one hand, it attracts much negative attention and is one of the elements of his theory most often criticized by experts. Specifically, these critics point out the role of policy in the Trinity as a weakness. Policy, they argue, relates directly and exclusively to nation states, which therefore renders the Trinity irrelevant in modern, often irregular, wars that involve both non-state and state actors.[16] Studying the Trinity, the military practitioner also encounters the criticism leveled by both historians and social scientists that Clausewitz's identification of war, "… as an instrument of policy" does not sufficiently describe the wide-ranging source of motivation fueling twenty-first century actors in their areas of operation. Terrorists, partisans, rebels, pirates, criminals, tribes, civilian contractors, non-governmental organizations, and other non-state actors do not seem satisfactorily incorporated in the term "policy," which largely refers to nation-state actors. The problem, then, is to identify from what abstract idea such non-state actors derive their motivation and, hence, find a logical means to analyze their actions.

[16]Kaldor, *New and Old Wars*, 13-30; Keegan, *A History of Warfare*, 23-28; Creveld, *The Transformation of War*, 35-42.

Clausewitz, even though he wrote an empirically relevant and abstract theory of war, fell victim to a personal bias that he could not completely overcome in his lifetime.[17] His worldview sat squarely within the frame of nationalism, as he lived during the height of the Westphalian state system. Furthermore, Clausewitz's nationalist tendency originated from his desire to see Prussia regain its former status as a major power after its embarrassing defeat by Napoleon at Jena and Auerstadt, his own subsequent capture by the French, and Napoleon's subsequent dismantling of the Prussian government and imposition of French rule.[18] Thus, Clausewitz – as well as his contemporary military theorists – viewed all warfare through the lens of nationalism. This worldview prevented Clausewitz from reaching genuine universality and abstractness as reflected in his use of the term "policy," which he linked to the state.[19] Thus, his attempt to provide, via the Trinity, a generalized construct for the three key factors a universal theory of war must take into account appears irrelevant outside the context of state on state warfare.[20] Clausewitz, a keen student of history, understood that systems, including the state system, would

[17]Empirical relevance and abstractness are desirable characteristics of theory. Empirical relevance refers to the possibility of comparing the theory with empirical research. Abstractness means that a theory is independent of time and place.Paul Davidson Reynolds, *A Primer in Theory Construction* (Needhan Heights, MA: Allyn and Bacon, 1971), 13-19.

[18]Azar Gat, *A History of Military Thought. From the Enlightenment to the Cold War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 174; Peter Paret, *Clausewitz and the State* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985), 98-119, 23-36.

[19]Echevarria argues that Clausewitz's thinking even tended political determinism. As such all other factors, such as social, cultural, and other conditions was a result of political necessity and political purpose, and, thus, a result of policy. See Echevarria, *Clausewitz and Contemporary War*, 84.

[20]Echevarria, *Clausewitz and Contemporary War*, 84-101; Mary Caldor as quoted in Schuurman, "Clausewitz and the "New Wars" Scholars," 90; Paret, *Clausewitz and the State*, 369-70.

rise and fall. He simply lacked knowledge of a credible construct that could replace the state as the future embodiment of the rational element of his meta-theory.[21]

For a more general concept is to replace "policy," thereby making the Trinity relevant for the contemporary military practitioner analyzing warfare in the twenty-first century, that concept must account for the source of actors' basic ideas. People usually derive fundamental convictions from one (or a combination) of three concepts – culture, religion, and ideology.

Historian John Keegan pointed out that war often more directly serves as an expression of culture than politics, since culture as a concept encompasses far more than policy or politics. Specifically, Keegan asserted that:

> Clausewitz was a man of his times, a child of the Enlightenment, a contemporary of the German Romantics, an intellectual, a practical reformer, a man of action, a critic of his society and a passionate believer in the necessity for it to change. He was a keen observer of the present and a devotee of the future. Where he failed was in seeing how deeply rooted he was in his own past, the past of the professional officer class of a centralized European state. Had his mind been furnished with just one extra intellectual dimension – and it was already a very sophisticated mind indeed – he might have been able to perceive that war embraces much more than politics: that it is always an expression of culture, often a determinant of cultural forms, in some societies the culture itself.[22]

One could argue, then, that culture, rather than ideology, should replace policy in Clausewitz's Trinity.

The Merriam-Webster Dictionary lists two relevant definitions of culture: (1) the integrated pattern of human knowledge, belief, and behavior that depends upon the capacity for learning and transmitting knowledge to succeeding generations, and (2) the customary beliefs, social forms, and material traits of a racial, religious, or social group.[23] As both definitions

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[21]Paret, *Clausewitz and the State*, 1-5; Reynolds calls this concept intersubjectivity, which refers to concepts with shared agreement among relevant experts.Reynolds, *A Primer in Theory Construction*, 13-19.

[22]Keegan, *A History of Warfare*, 12.

[23]Merriam-Webster, "Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English

indicate, a society can encompass several cultures. Although it can be difficult to join and assimilate in a culture, members of one can leave it for various reasons. The definitions also indicate the temporal aspect of cultural affinity. It takes time to create a culture, and culture tends to transcend time – even though ideas one might consider relatively incompatible with the prevailing local culture can dominate a society's belief system for a period given certain conditions.[24]

The anthropologist Clifford Geertz takes a general and interpretive approach to culture, when he defines it using a metaphor: "…as man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore one in search of meaning. It is explanation I am after, constructing social expression on their surface enigmatical."[25] Thus, although culture provides insight into the study of warfare and the conduct of war, culture does not necessarily provide all warring parties' motivation for initiating, continuing, and settling wars. The picture, if taking the point of origin in culture as the third element in Clausewitz's Trinity, easily gets too distorted and complex, and the basic rationale of the parties engaged in warfare consequently becomes unclear. Further, as the definitions above demonstrate, culture reflects contextually specific traits of individual groups at particular periods; therefore, it lacks the abstract nature to serve as a general characteristic of war. Instead, culture always represents a specific characteristic of not just a form of warfare, but each specific war one might wish to study. Historian John A. Lynn took that approach as he studied war and combat from a cultural perspective. His characterization of culture as the determining factor for the

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Language," in *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language*, ed. Philio Babcock Gove (Springfield, MA: Merriam-Webster Inc., 1981), 552.

[24]Violent behavior, for example, is a result of personal experience and deliberate choices, which can vary from person to person in the same situation. See Richard Rhodes, *Masters of Death*, ed. ` (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002), 19-27.

[25]Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1973), 5.

conduct of war, though, belongs to all elements of the Trinity, not specifically the rational.[26] Components of a specific group or country's culture, can relate to the primordial violence, hatred, enmity, like an urban legend about the neighboring villages' atrocities toward the group hundreds of years ago can be ingrained in the culture. Similarly, the way a group is governed can result from centuries of tradition. Thus, the policy does not necessarily reflect subordination to reason like contemporary division of actual power, size of population or ethnic groups etc. Hence, the military practitioner must recognize culture's relevance when analyzing warfare, either in detail or more generally – but given its contextual specificity, culture cannot serve as a more general replacement for policy in Clausewitz's Trinity.

In many conflicts throughout history, religion served as either the cause or the justification for going to war. The Arab conquests in the seventh and eighth century stemmed chiefly from a desire to expand the Islamic Caliphate. Likewise, the Crusades of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries shared the common goal of restoring Christian access to the holy city of Jerusalem and other key religious sites in the region. The eighty year-long Dutch rebellion against the Spanish crown began in 1566 as a clash between the protestant Dutch and the catholic Spaniards. The Thirty Years War (1618-1648), a series of the most devastating wars in European history, also consisted generally of a series of conflicts between Protestants and Catholics.[27] Nevertheless, religion, however important for individual countries and actors, does not account for the cause of all conflicts and wars. In both World War I and II, for example, religion only played a minor – even insignificant – role. In addition, many wars have involved actors or coalitions that fought together despite the varying religious beliefs of cooperating groups. Again,

[26]John A. Lynn, *Battle. A History of Combat and Culture* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 2008), xiii-xxvi.

[27]Robert M. Citino, *The German Way of War* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2005), 4-5.

as with culture, this does not diminish religion's significance as a key component of warfare. Especially at the individual level, soldiers often derive much of their personal motivation and courage from their faith. Similarly, religion continues to emerge as a causal factor in twenty-first century conflicts. Nevertheless, religion does not possess the general applicability or universality necessary to make it a complete and satisfactory replacement for policy in Clausewitz's Trinity.

By contrast, the concept of ideology takes on a more fundamental, time-specific yet general character. To humans, ideologies map the political and social world. Different ideologies offer competing interpretations of the perceived reality and construct a pattern or structure that humans use to interpret events.[28] Every human being needs such structures, regardless whether they are consciously aware of them. The Merriam-Webster Dictionary defines ideology as (1) a branch of knowledge concerned with the origin and nature of ideas, (2) a manner or the content of thinking characteristic of an individual group, or culture, or (3) the integrated assertions, theories, and aims that constitute a sociopolitical program.[29]

The term originates from philosopher Antoine Destutt de Tracy, who, after the French revolution, sought to establish a branch of knowledge focused on the disciplined study of ideas. In this effort, de Tracy pursued a specific form of knowledge very much in line with the Enlightenment ideals of precise, scientific inquiries into every aspect of human activity.[30] Thus, ideology serves as the fundamental origin of the ideas that drive a specific group or society. It follows, then, that a group or society's basic ideas derive from many sources – including, for example, both culture and religion. Hitler's particular interpretation of history and his deep-seated racial biases, for example, served as the foundation of Nazi ideology, which dominated the

[28]Michael Freeden, *Ideology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 2-3.

[29]Merriam-Webster, " Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language," 1123.

[30]Freeden, *Ideology*, 3-4.

actions, and in some cases the beliefs of an entire population for more than a decade.[31] Yet, neither German culture nor German religion can satisfactorily explain the growth and dominance of Nazism. Ideology, then, can take on a suitable abstract and general character to replace policy in Clausewitz's Trinity, but at the same time one can situate ideology to a specific time and thereby establish contextual specificity for its source and implications. Similarly, ideology can explain why people of different religious and cultural backgrounds can find common ground from which to fight together for a common purpose. Such different people find their common ground in an ideology, a basic narrative composed of several different sources of original ideas, which provide both the objective and motivation for going to war. Culture and religion, conversely, tend to be more specific concepts, which easier relates to the secondary Trinity. The concepts lack the generality needed to establish themselves in the primary Trinity and they relates more to the elements of primordial violence, hatred, and enmity (people in the secondary trinity), than to reason (government in the secondary Trinity). Ideology, on the other hand, not only relates to primordial violence, hatred, and enmity; it is a more general concept for the main source of a person or group's basic ideas – their worldview. Hence, ideology qualifies as an element in the primary Trinity as one can trace ideas/worldviews in a given context to the ideology they originate from.

Supporting this line of argument, the Dutch historian Bart Shuurman in commenting on the Trinity's practical application on the twenty-first century global war on terrorism, suggests:

> …the primary trinity might entice a researcher to look beyond terrorism's violent aspect toward the perpetrator's rational or instrumental motives. Combined, these approaches to the problem of international terrorism may contribute significantly to a more nuanced understanding of asymmetric opponents, foregoing the unhelpful tendency

[31]History primarily refers to German Romanticism, Prussian defeats by Napoleon, and World War I. For Hitler's racial and anti-Semetic ideas see Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, trans. Murphy James (London: Hurst and Blanckett Ldt., 1925/1939), Vol. II, ch. I. All in all Nazi ideology dominated Germany for less that 25 years.

> to portray such groups as irrational fanatics and looking instead toward what factors drive people to such extremes.[32]

Ideology affects the way belligerents carry out war. It sets the boundaries for right and wrong, defines what serves the ideal, and allows individuals to decide whether achieving a desired end justifies applying a specific means. Therefore, by replacing policy with the more general concept of ideology, one can update Clausewitz's Trinity so that it can serve as a useful tool for theorizing on warfare throughout the full spectrum, ranging from state on state warfare to irregular war and terrorism.[33] Further, it seems reasonable to make this adjustment, considering that nationalism merely served as the specific form of ideology that held sway as the dominating ideology during Clausewitz's lifetime.

One should consider the possibility that Clausewitz himself knew and accepted this assertion as true, only lacking the language to express the ideas clearly in *On War*. The German historian Carl Schmitt, in deliberating on the concept of the partisan, points out that only the political character of the party (the word *partisan* derives from *party*) as opposed to the state, can integrate active combatants totally.[34] Additionally, Schmitt points out that Clausewitz was aware of the dynamics involved in revolutions. Indeed, Clausewitz wrote an anonymous letter in 1809 commenting on an article on Machiavelli. In the letter he stated that today "one achieves much more through the continuous revival of individual forces that through aesthetic form.[35]

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[32]Schuurman, "Clausewitz and the "New Wars" Scholars," 98.

[33]Blainey briefly touches upon the notion of natioalism or ideology as one of seven factors, which strongly influence national leaders when they decide for war or peace. Geoffrey Blainey, *The Causes of War* (New York, NY: The Free Press, 1988), 293.

[34]Carl Schmitt, *Theory of the Partisan* (New York, NY: Telos Press Publishing, 2007), 14-16.

[35]Ibid., 45.

It seems clear that Clausewitz did not mean the uncontrollable forces of primordial violence, hatred, and enmity, but rather referred to a more governable force. Clausewitz went on to state" the courage of the individuals facing imminent battle is decisive, especially in the best of all wars, when a people on its own soil are led to fight for freedom and independence."[36] Again, the notion of leadership and organization for a higher purpose leads one to question the idea that Clausewitz exclusively referred to the irrational element of the trinity. On the other hand, the concept of policy lacks sufficient explanatory power to define clearly the motivation driving a nation to defend itself. It seems peculiar, then, that Clausewitz did not expand the concept of policy into a more inclusive and general one. Perhaps Clausewitz did in fact understand that the rational element of the trinity went beyond policy, but that contemporary scholars would simply reject such a notion as inconceivable, given the all-encompassing grip of nationalism on the people of his era. Even had he tried, Clausewitz probably could not have convinced his fellow scholars and military practitioners that the nation state was not the only source of policy regarding decisions about waging war, or motivation for fighting wars. Thus, even if he understood its excessive specificity, Clausewitz would have understood that policy was the concept most likely to gain the approval of the community of experts reflecting on military theory.[37] Ideology, or a similar concept, simply did not exist as objective, classifiable knowledge in early nineteenth century – and among academics, the ability to classify knowledge and associate it with a specific branch of academia held great sway.[38] Therefore, even though Clausewitz could have offered a material line of argument, no logical and conceptual arguments

[36] Schmitt, *Theory of the Partisan*, 45.

[37]According to Reynolds, Intersubjectivity is on aspect of genuine scientific knowledge. Reynolds, *A Primer in Theory Construction*, 12-16.

[38]According to Echevarria, objective knowledge was what Clausewitz attempted to capture in On War. Echevarria, Clausewitz and Contemporary War, 3.

existed that he could have drawn on to support it. In fact, as Schuurman points out, Clausewitz's Trinity does not imply anything about the sociopolitical entity waging war, and the secondary Trinity is merely a set of examples that support the meta-theoretical framework presented by Clausewitz.[39]

This dialectical method of enquiry was an important part of Clausewitz's way of constructing *On War*. Clausewitz would discuss the logical, extreme, and pure concept before describing the reality as observed in actual warfare. The reality always fell somewhere between the extremes Clausewitz described. This dialectic method often confuses modern readers, but it was standard practice among theorists and philosophers in Clausewitz's day. Once modern readers understand Clausewitz's dialectic approach, it adds much explanatory power to his work.[40] Further, as Echevarria pointed out, for nineteenth century scholars to consider any concept valid, the person proposing it had to situate it within the established hierarchy of other known concepts.[41] Schuurman remarked, "Different manifestations of war do not necessarily herald a truly new age or generation in the historical development of armed conflict. Instead, they reflect contextual specifics and the current configuration of war's underlying and unchanging elements."[42] To describe these contextual specifics in the historical development of war or theory, one must have the necessary recognized language and concepts available. At this point, a brief exploration of the concept of theory to frame the discussion satisfactorily seems appropriate.

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[39]Schuurman, "Clausewitz and the "New Wars" Scholars," 94; Clausewitz, *On War*, 89.

[40]Raymond Aron, *Clausewitz Philosopher of War*, trans. Christine Booker and Norman Stone (New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 1976), 1-7.

[41]Echevarria, *Clausewitz and Contemporary War*, 3-4.

[42]Schuurman, "Clausewitz and the "New Wars" Scholars," 92.

On Theory

Theory, to include meta-theory, should possess validity independent of time and space and demonstrate empirical relevance by holding true when tested against a variety of historical examples. In addition, theory should consist of a set of statements that reflect a commonly understood meaning among a group of relevant experts, to allow at least for common understanding, if not consensus.[43] Theories, however, often reflect the historic and intellectual trends prevalent when the theorist derived the theory.[44] Thus, contextually specific theories become obsolete as historic trends change over time, while theories made up of general concepts can survive much longer. Even theories that contain the contextual specifics that bind them to a particular time can have relevance beyond their time and place. Military practitioners inevitably focus on theories and principles with direct implication for the application of military force in their time, despite whatever level of appreciation they may possess for the historical, and therefore contextual, origin of the military profession. These theories and principles, combined with historical knowledge and analysis, provide the foundation for doctrine as a guide to application of military force.[45] The theoretical foundation for application of military force takes its origin in history, theory, and doctrine.[46] Figure 3 illustrates the interdependent relationship

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[43]Reynolds, *A Primer in Theory Construction*, 13-19.

[44]Mark T. Calhoun, "Clausewitz and Jomini: Contrasting Intellectual Frameworks in Military Theory," *Army History* Summer 2011, no. 80: 23; John Lewis Gaddis, *The Landscape of History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 2-5.

[45]U.S. Armed Forces doctrine emphasizes the guiding role of doctrine. In JP 1. In the introduction the Chairman of the Joint Chief of Staff, Adm M. G. Mullen states that "…presenting fundamental principles and overarching guidance for the employment of the Armed Forces of the United States." In ADP 3-0 the U.S. Army states "Doctrine acts as a guide to action rather than a set of fixed rules." U.S. Army, ADP 3-0, *Unified Land Operations*, (Washington D.C.: U.S. Army, 2011), 1.

[46]Doctrine as defined in JP 1-02: Fundamental principles by which the military forces or elements thereof guide. See Joint Chiefs of Staff, JP 1-02, *Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms* (Washington D.C.: Department of Defense, 2012), 95.

between the process of impact and feedback. In addition, figure 3 also shows theory's precursor, meta-theory. Meta-theory, or the theory of theory, provides the intellectual, scientific, and academic preconditions for analyzing and describing any specific theory. Thus, meta-theory has indirect influence on doctrine and, therefore, military actions on the ground as its influence pass through both the explicit theories and implicit worldviews of military practitioners.

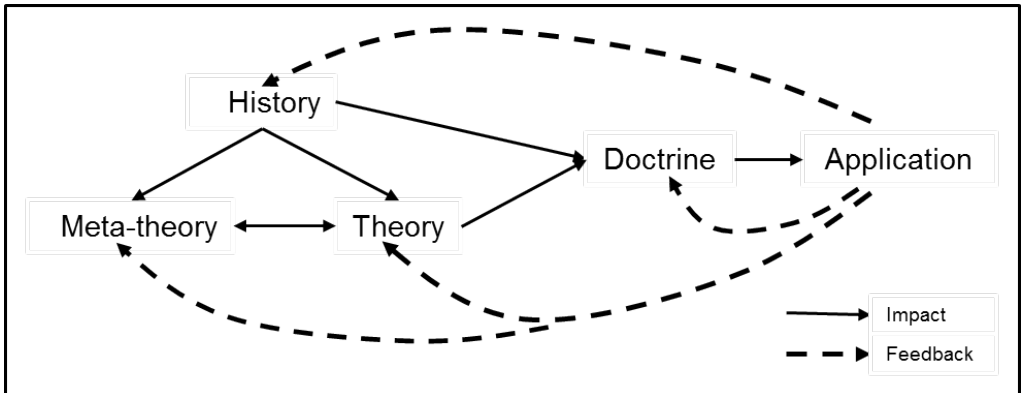

Figure 3. Meta-theory's implication for application of military force.

Source: Composed by author

As figure 3 indirectly indicates, the figure's elements are not universal scientific facts and knowledge. One's understanding of history depends on from where and when one views a certain event, and through what lens one views it. Similarly, theory and doctrine can be accepted or rejected based on one's specific worldview – a view that includes such ideas as religion and culture that, for the purpose of the following analysis rest within the more abstract concept of ideology. Replacement of the contextually specific concept of policy with the abstract concept of ideology in Clausewitz's Trinity provides a solution to the problem with which so many of Clausewitz's interpreters and critics have struggled for so long – how to maintain Clausewitz's relevance in wars that do not fit within a nationalist worldview or a state on state paradigm. Analysis of several case studies demonstrates the validity of this modification to the trinity,

highlights its explanatory value, and reveals both the implications of this adjustment for military practitioners and areas for further research.

Methodology

As argued above, by replacing "policy" with the more general concept of "ideology," one can update Clausewitz's Trinity so that it can serve as a useful tool for theorizing on warfare throughout the full spectrum. This brief introduction to the manner in which the following analysis will prove this thesis serves as a methodological roadmap.

To modify a meta-theoretical concept by replacing one element with another, it is essential to understand both the original concept – in this case, Clausewitz's Trinity – and the concept one seek to impose on the meta-theory. The introduction and historical background sections serves that purpose. However, it remains necessary to demonstrate the validity and usefulness of modifying Clausewitz's Trinity as suggested, by replacing "Policy" with "Ideology."

The following historical case study narratives serve as the foundation for analyzing the relevance and validity of the modified Trinity for today's military practitioners. To present a relevant and credible basis for the analysis, the case study narratives follow a fundamental pattern common to each. This involves a discussion of each case's historical background and context. Then, the focus shifts to the specific manifestation of the ideologies relevant in each case. Finally, the narrative explores how the ideologies involved affected the conduct of warfare in each specific case.

The cases epitomize war across the spectrum of conflict and time. The first, a representation of Clausewitz's own time, is the case of the Spanish insurrection against Napoleon Bonaparte's France in early nineteenth century. The case shows how the Spanish successfully organized themselves around several different ideologies to reject the revolutionary French

invaders. The second case, a representation of twentieth century state on state warfare, describes the fighting in the U.S. war against Japan in the Pacific Theatre of Operations during World War II. This case shows the heavy impact of the Japanese ideology on the fighting that took place in that theater. The last case, which represents twenty-first century asymmetric warfare, is the international community's Global War on Terror spearheaded by the United States. The case focuses on the implications of Islamist military ideology's impact on the conduct of war in operations in Afghanistan. Subsequently, the analysis of the transcending trends present in the cases shows how, by replacing policy with ideology, one can analyze warfare independent of time by way of the modified Trinity, and what implications the modified Trinity has for the operational level planner.

Historical Background and Context

The Prussian general and military theorist Carl von Clausewitz (1780-1831) is one of the most influential military theorists in history.[47] Clausewitz's most famous and important work is monumental early-nineteenth century work *On War* (in German *Vom Kriege). On War* comprises eight books each divided into chapters. Book one is von Clausewitz' philosophical approach to the nature of war, especially an introduction to all the intangibles not formerly recognized by thinkers of war. It serves as the glossary and introduction to the language von Clausewitz use throughout the rest of *On War.* Book One include some of the most famous von Clausewitz concepts, such as "war is merely the continuation of politics by other means," "the Trinity," "superiority of defense over attack," "friction," "fog," and "military genius." Book Two encompasses Clausewitz's attempt to distill the theory of war, as books Three and Four deal with

[47]This assertion is, among others, made by Herberg-Rothe in Herberg-Rothe, *Clausewitz's Puzzle*, 10, 164; Strachan and Herberg-Rothe, eds., *Clausewitz in the Twenty-First Century*, 1-13; Paret, *Clausewitz and the State*, 8; Gat, *A History of Military Thought. From the Enlightenment to the Cold War*, 142; Heuser, *Reading Clausewitz*, 194.

the two levels of war: the strategic and the tactical (the engagement). Book Five primarily concerns tactical and practical measures of fielding and moving a late eighteenth early nineteenth century Army, whereas books Six and Seven explore in detail the defense and attack respectively. Finally, Book Eight offers insight regarding how to plan and prepare for future wars.

Among Clausewitz's most noteworthy accomplishments is the ability to link the tactical and strategic levels of war to political purpose and objectives. This enables the reader to create a meaningful context for each engagement and to plan for successive engagements accordingly. Similarly, Clausewitz criticizes the notion of commanders seeking absolute maxims unlocking the secret of warfare as a math problem. Rather, war is the unforeseeable game of strong wills, emotions, chance, and the genius commander's decisive hand. Three revolutionary revelations, which he acquired over time, informed Clausewitz's work. First he realized, based on own experiences and historical evidence, that the way armed forces are raised, organized, and funded are a consequence of the state it represents. Additionally, states consist of a complex system of political, social, and economic structures equally shaped by individual people and history. Clausewitz also came to understand that war does not conform to a set of simple rules applied in a closed system. Clausewitz realized that chance played a much greater role in warfare than recognized by military theorists so far. Finally, Clausewitz saw war as a political tool and understood that political purpose must guide the armed forces. This realization enabled Clausewitz to link tactics to strategy, and strategy to policy.[48]

Clausewitz's thoughts have enjoyed widespread influence, well beyond the community of military thinkers and practitioners. Numerous distinguished historians and social scientists have also engaged in arguments for and rebuttals against assertions of Clausewitz's relevance for twenty-first century warfare; some of these scholars have even attempted to update Clausewitz's

[48]This concept was not novel, though. Other military theorists and practitioners such as Machiavelli and Napoleon had made the same assertion. See Heuser, *Reading Clausewitz*, 44-45.

ideas in an attempt to make them universal. These scholars have translated, interpreted, and re-interpreted *On War* numerous times to support their particular argument or thesis.[49]

Two overall schools of thought have emerged from this lengthy debate and remain a vibrant epicenter of debate among the community of military theorists and historians today. On one side of the debate, a group of experts argues that Clausewitz, however genius and novel his ideas might have been in his own day, merely offers a reflection of late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century military thought, limiting his ideas to that period – particularly to state versus state warfare. This group argues that warfare today transcends this classical form of warfare, rendering Clausewitz's ideas useless or obsolete.[50] Others, on the contrary, argue that Clausewitz's thinking transcends time, and find in *On War* relevant thoughts and concepts for dealing with twenty-first century conflicts – however different they are from those of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

As any other military theorist, Clausewitz was a product of his own time and experience. The Westphalian Peace and subsequently the Westphalian state system dominated European politics in late eighteenth early nineteenth century. The state was the only actor on the international stage and states were, until the French Revolution in 1789, almost all ruled by monarchs. Prussia was no exception. Clausewitz viewed the international system as a web of interests, sometimes interdependent and sometimes conflicting. Peace was a temporary expression of balance in the system, whereas war resulted when an imbalance arose between

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[49]Many writers have, for example, pointed out the difficulty in translating the German word "politik" which can mean "policy" as well as "politics." The translation of the original work continues to stir general debate among scholars. See Strachan and Herberg-Rothe, eds., *Clausewitz in the Twenty-First Century*, 74-75.

[50]See Mary Kaldor, "Inconclusive Wars: Is Clausewitz Still Relevant in These Global Times? ," *Global Policy* 1, no. 3: 1; Keegan, *A History of Warfare*, 1-61; Kaldor, *New and Old Wars*, 13-30.

states that the involved parties could not settle by political means. To Clausewitz, war therefore represented a natural element of the international system and a normal social activity.[51]

Simultaneously, the Enlightenment swept through Europe – soon followed by the counter-Enlightenment.[52] Numerous scientific discoveries and revolutions through application of reason and logic characterized the Enlightenment. Similarly, in social science and politics, theorists also applied reason and logic in search for advancements comparable to those seen in science. Novel ideas inspired by the Enlightenment include the principles of inalienable rights, citizenship, and above all equality. In France, those principles led directly to the tensions between the monarch's traditional rule and the church's divine authority. The French Revolution emerged from this tension, and soon set the conditions to facilitate the rise of Napoleon Bonaparte and the era of revolutionary Napoleonic warfare.

Inspired by the Newtonian scientific revolution, military theorists in France and Prussia also pursued an approach to warfare based on logic and reason.[53] According to Enlightenment ideals, it was possible to decipher and tame war, and define universal systems and principles that would guarantee success in combat as well as in warfare.[54] Many Enlightenment military thinkers

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[51]Heuser, *Reading Clausewitz*, 49-50.

[52]Also known as the German movement. See Gat, *A History of Military Thought. From the Enlightenment to the Cold War*, 142-43.

[53]French theorists: Paul Gideon Joly de Maizeroy (1719–1780), Jacques Antoine Hippolyte Comte de Guibert (1743–1790), Henry Humphrey Evans Lloyd (1718–1783). Prussian: Adam Heinrich Dietrich von Bülow (1757– 1807). See Calhoun, "Clausewitz and Jomini: Contrasting Intellectual Frameworks in Military Theory," 25. They all believed that the study of history could reveal universal principles of warfare in much the same way that mathematical analysis revealed the secrets of physics.

[54]The best-known examples of Enlightenment military thinkers are Marshal Maurice de Saxe (1696-1750), Marquis de Puysegur (1655-1743), Count Turpin de Crisse, Lieutenant-colonel Paul G. J. de Maiseroy, Comte de Guibert (1743-1790), Baron Henri Jomini (1779-1869), Adam H. D. von Bülow (1757-1807), and Archduke Charles (1771-1847). See Gat, A History of Military Thought. From the Enlightenment to the Cold War, 31-55, 108-37.

employed a prescriptive, oftentimes even mathematical, geometrical system in their military theories. Jomini, for example, even though he acknowledged that the role of the genius commander stood outside the bounds of theory, claimed that adherence to the universal principles that he identified in his theory had led to victory in every important battle and war since antiquity.[55]

Partly as a reaction to the Enlightenment, but later also to the threat posed by Napoleonic France, the German Movement challenged the philosophical as well as the historical worldview expressed by the Enlightenment. Followers of the German Movement regarded the world as what later generations would call a complex system. One could not reduce and classify reality to a set of relatively simple rules. Similarly, the German Movement viewed history as contextual rather than absolute.[56] Still, within the realm of *politik* Clausewitz viewed the state as the absolute and only actor.[57] He admired the ideal of the French revolution, and the ability that it gave the new French government to assemble and employ a mass army. Conversely, Clausewitz was not in favor of a popular up rise against Prussian authorities and continued to work as a loyal servant to the King of Prussia, who he viewed as a legitimate head of state.[58] It was within this often-

[55]Antoine Henri de Jomini, *The Art of War*, trans. G. H. Mendell and W. P. Craighill, Restored Edition ed. (Kingston, Ontario: Legacy Books Press, 1862/2008), XXIII-XXXV.

[56]Gat, *A History of Military Thought. From the Enlightenment to the Cold War*, 141-51.

[57]As in the case of the Trinity, the German term "politik" has been translated as both "policy" and "politics" giving way for different schools of thought and (mis)interpretations. SeeChristopher Bassford, *John Keegan and the Grand Tradition of Trashing Clausewitz*, vol. 1, no. 3 (War and History: Edward Arnold, 1994); Echevarria, *Clausewitz and Contemporary War*, 89-91; Strachan and Herberg-Rothe, eds., *Clausewitz in the Twenty-First Century*, 75.

[58]Clausewitz, though, argued for popular uprising against the French occupiers. He even handed in his commission to serve with the Russian Army to liberate Prussia.Carl von Clausewitz, *Historical and Political Writings*, edited and translated by Peter Paret and Daniel Moran (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 285-303; Paret, *Clausewitz and the State*, 209-21.

contradictory worldview that Clausewitz conceived the meta-theory and theories found in *On War*.

Clausewitz's theories and concepts have been and continue to be a much-debated subject. Numerous distinguished scholars have attempted to unlock the almost mythical truth to Clausewitz's universe. Some tend to downplay Clausewitz's significance, while others, to paraphrase Michael Howard, both read and expect more of Clausewitz than he himself intended to give.[59] Therefore, the military practitioner should not seek to reveal all of Clausewitz's secrets. Indeed, Clausewitz himself would oppose such an attempt – something a brief review of his thoughts on fog, friction, and chance would illustrate.[60] As a soldier, one must merely attempt to understand Clausewitz's operationally relevant theory within the context of his meta-theoretical framework. Consequently, replacing "policy" with "ideology" in Clausewitz's Trinity merely allows the military practitioner to apply one of the pinnacles of Clausewitz's teaching and legacy in a different context within which he developed it, while remaining true to his central ideas: continued observation, study, and analysis of war and conflict serve as the warrior's best preparation for the future's challenges.[61]

Indeed, one can see that throughout *On War* Clausewitz intended to discard a purely prescriptive and thus foreseeable notion of warfare and replace such a notion with a more nuanced and diverse description of war as a political and social phenomenon. Furthermore, Clausewitz set out to address the question of how to study war to learn and prepare for future wars. Clausewitz wrote primarily for the educated military professional, but also for others concerned with strategic aspects of war like political leaders. Clausewitz seems motivated by a

[59]Clausewitz, *On War*, 44.

[60]Ibid., 85-89, 101, 13-23.

[61]Ibid., 100-12, 41, 46, 56-69.

desire both to pass on his knowledge and to achieve recognition for his contribution to the evolution of military thought. In that respect, Clausewitz's Trinity merely serves as a tool for enhanced understanding and thinking about warfare as a particular human phenomenon.

To the operational level planner – the military practitioner – the Trinity serves a more practical purpose. It provides an important mental model for understanding and affecting the contemporary operational environment. One can find contemporary examples of such attempts in operational approaches to the war in Iraq, like the concepts depicted on General David Petraeus' "Anaconda Slide" – a representation of the strategic approach to combat Al Que'da in Iraq in 2008 (see figure 4).

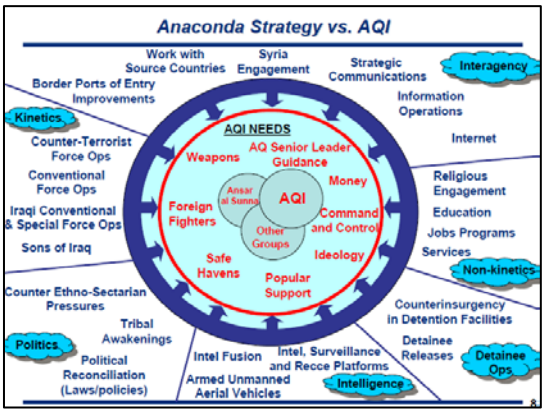

Figure 4. General Petraeus' 2008 Anaconda Strategy against Al Que'da in Iraq.

Source: General D. Petraeus, "Charts to Accompany the Testimony of Gen David H. Petraeus. 8-9 April 2008", Mulit National Force Iraq http://www.armed-services.senate.gov/statemnt/2008/April/Petraeus%20Charts%2004-08-08.pdf (accessed September 20th 2012).

As this example makes clear, to understand meta-theory's relevance for the military practitioner, one must consider theory through the practitioner's lens.

Case Studies

The Napoleonic Wars: The Spanish Insurrection

In 1789, the French Revolution transformed the foundation of warfare. Subsequently Napoleon's utilization of the entire French nation's resources initially gave the French emperor a decisive advantage over his European competitors. Eventually, Napoleonic evolutions prompted France's opponents to reform their social and military systems giving way for modern warfare.[62] In 1805, four great powers existed on the Central European continent: France, Prussia, Austria, and Russia. By July 1807, Napoleon had defeated all other Central European powers leaving only one principal enemy – Britain.[63] After his failed attempt to lure the British Navy to the Caribbean as a precondition for invading Britain proper, the subsequent devastating naval defeat at the Battle of Trafalgar on 21 October 1805, and finally the British capture of the Danish fleet ending 5 September 1807, Napoleon abandoned any further plans for a British invasion. Instead, Napoleon focused on enforcing his Continental System aimed at depriving the British the opportunity to continue their lucrative trade practices on mainland Europe.[64] The 1807 Treaties of

[62]According to historian Robert M. Epstein, a war is modern when it has all of the following characteristics: a strategic war plan that integrates the various theaters of operations; the fullest mobilization the resources of the state, which includes the raising of conscript armies; and the use of operational campaigns by opposing sides to achieve strategic objectives in the various theaters of operations. Those campaigns are characterized by symmetrical conscript armies organized into corps, maneuvered in a distributed fashion so that tactical engagements are sequenced and often simultaneous, command is decentralized, yet the commanders have a common understanding of operational methods. Victory is achieved by the cumulative effects of tactical engagements and operational campaigns. See Robert M. Epstein, *Napoleon's Last Victory and the Emergence of Modern Warfare* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1994), 1-8.

[63]David Gates, *The Spanish Ulcer. A History of the Peninsular War* (Cambridge: Da Capo Press, 2001), 5-7; Albert Sidney Britt, III, *The Wars of Napoleon*, ed. Thomas E. Griess (Wayne, NJ: Avery Publishing Group, Inc., 1985), 81-82; Charles Esdaile, *The Peninsular War* (New York: Palgrave MacMilan, 2003), 1-5.

[64]Gates, *The Spanish Ulcer. A History of the Peninsular War*, 5-6; Only a small portion of the entire British revenue originated from French controlled areas. The main British trade partners were Portugal and Sweden. In addition, two thirds of the British revenues came from India and the Americas.Britt, *The Wars of Napoleon*, 82.

Tilsit left only Sweden and Portugal siding with the British. Russia, then a French proxy, in 1810 eventually brought the Swedes in line with the rest of mainland Europe. Russia herself, though, defied Napoleon only two years later, opening her ports to British merchants in 1812 – an action that led to Napoleon's disastrous invasion of Russia later that year.[65]

On the Iberian Peninsula, Spain, a longtime ally with France, failed to enforce the Continental System wholeheartedly and Portugal stood outside the system.[66] In addition, from 1806 on Napoleon grew increasingly suspicious regarding Spain's loyalty. With the rest of mainland Europe subdued by 1807, Napoleon turned his attention to the Iberian Peninsula. In concert with Spain, Napoleon coerced Portugal, who were on friendly terms with Britain and feared that Britain would threaten her possessions in South America in case of conflict, to follow the French policies, expel the British ambassador, and block British trade.[67] Ultimately, even though Portugal declared war on Britain, Napoleon lost patience with the Portuguese and invaded Portugal without notable resistance.[68] In December 1807, Portugal was under French control. Simultaneously, unrest at the Spanish court led Napoleon to believe that he could conquer Spain as easily as Portugal. Underestimating other forces at play, Napoleon believed that he only needed to unseat the current Spanish monarchy, replacing it with a weak government and thereby leaving the country defenseless. After completing a significant military invasion of Spain, coupled with a diplomatic move to split the Spanish royal family, Napoleon secured strategic

[65]Gates, *The Spanish Ulcer. A History of the Peninsular War*, 6-7. Despite their supposed allegiance to the continental system, most European nations still traded actively with Britain. Most states either poorly enforced the system or turned a blind eye to the illicit trade.

[66]Esdaile, *The Peninsular War*, 5-6.

[67]Gates, *The Spanish Ulcer. A History of the Peninsular War*, 7-8; Britt, *The Wars of Napoleon*, 82-83.

decisive points, enabling his entry into the Spanish capital where he proclaimed Joseph, his brother, king of Spain.[69]

The Spanish government, however, was not the lone source of Spanish passion in the early nineteenth century.[70] A more general national pride and the support of the Spanish social structure regardless of the present ruling family strengthened the significant power of the Catholic Church in Spain. Thus, when the government supported system failed to protect the people of Spain, other forces stepped up. As the royal family and its proxies fled Madrid, the city's occupants arose to confront the French troops who quickly and brutally quelled the rebellion. Despite this initial French victory, their brutality inspired the rest of the population to rise against the foreign conquerors, and the province of Austria in northern Spain quickly declared war on France. Other provinces soon followed, leading to what historians now call the Peninsular War.[71] Seeing opportunity in this uprising, Great Britain sent an army led by General Arthur Wellesley to support Spain and Portugal in their attempt to defeat and expel Napoleon's imperial army, whilst Joseph attempted to gain control over his new kingdom.[72]

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[68]Esdaile, *The Peninsular War*, 1-10.

[69]Gates, *The Spanish Ulcer. A History of the Peninsular War*, 10-11; Guy Dempsey, *Albuera 1811* (London: Frontline Books, 2008), 19.

[70]Gates, *The Spanish Ulcer. A History of the Peninsular War*, 9; Esdaile, *The Peninsular War*, 250-57.

[71]Gates, *The Spanish Ulcer. A History of the Peninsular War*, 11-12; Britt, *The Wars of Napoleon*, 84-85.

[72]General Arthur Wellesley is often referred to as the Duke of Wellington, Field Marshal Wellington, or simply Wellington. Arthur Wellesley did not, however, acquire the title of field marshal until the battle of Vitoria (1813) and the title Duke until after Napoleons exile (1814).

The Iberian theater, to the outside spectator, was a mix of regular troops, irregular insurgents, and civilians defending their way of life.[73] Spanish provinces fielded five regular armies and though a revolutionary government was established, it did not exercise centralized control over them. By this period in history, Spain possessed low-quality regular armies and provincial militia formations.[74] Confronted with seasoned French soldiers and decisive Napoleonic tactics, they usually lost quickly and decisively.[75] The Spanish regular armies did benefit from size, though, outnumbering the British and Portuguese armies combined. This meant they could still serve an important purpose in the resistance effort by conducting blockades and sieges, leaving higher quality troops free to maneuver and engage in direct combat with the French. Similarly, due to the decentralized nature of the Spanish regular armies, they never faced the bulk of Napoleon's powerful forces.[76] Finally, the Spanish Army did field some reasonably high-quality units, and it won several battles facing regular French troops in open combat.[77] Nevertheless, in most cases the Spanish Army largely fought to dispel the perception that France had successfully imposed centralized control on the Spanish government and its military forces.

In similar fashion, the Spain's irregular forces or guerillas forced France to disperse soldiers throughout the Peninsula. After suffering many defeats, the Spanish people abandoned regular warfare as a decisive means to combat the French, looking instead to the Spanish revolutionary government for a solution. This revolutionary government called upon the people to "… show a renewed martial vigor, aided by a novel system of war unknown to military tacticians.

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[73]Dempsey, *Albuera 1811*, 19-20.

[74]Ibid., 113.

[75]Britt, *The Wars of Napoleon*, 90.

[76]John Lawrence Tone, *The Fatal Knot* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 4.

[77]Gates, *The Spanish Ulcer. A History of the Peninsular War*, 33-36.

It is necessary to counter these 'warriors on a large scale' with war on a small scale, with guerrillas and more guerrillas."[78] Eventually, even though all regions of Spain fostered guerrillas, the Northern regions generated the most tenacious guerrilla forces and the toughest irregular fighting took place there.[79]

Although guerrillas from different regions or social groups shared many similar traits, the partisan movement lacked centralized coordination and individual guerrilla forces did not fight for common purposes.[80] In many cases, the guerrillas reflected the social systems and patterns of the local community from which they came. Thus, the up rise resulted largely from a tradition of strong local rule and a locally organized economy that enjoyed a high degree of independence from national government control. In some regions, the English blockade had a significant effect on the employment opportunities for young Spanish and Portuguese males. Since those lacking employment could no longer to immigrate to America, and the protracted conflicted led to a general decrease in the economic health of the Iberian Peninsula, these young men faced steadily decreasing job opportunities – particularly in Madrid and other previously thriving economic hubs. Thus, many local communities had a surplus of young, fighting age males without prospects.[81]

In parts of Spain, the dispersion of the population forced the French to disperse forces to collect taxes. These small bands of troops spread about the countryside presented targets vulnerable to attack by the guerillas. Similarly, small clusters of buildings dotted much of the

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[78]The Spanish news paper "La Centinela de la Patria", 3 July 1810 as quoted in Tone, *The Fatal Knot*, 4, 186.

[79]Tone, *The Fatal Knot*, 6-7. According to Tone, specifically the Navarre region was the heart of the guerrilla movement.

[80]Ibid.

[81]Ibid., 11.

landscape, and these made ideal fortresses that gave otherwise weak guerilla units a marked advantage against roving parties of French forces. Thus, the French had more success subduing populations concentrated in larger towns and cities once they were under French control.[82] The guerillas were instrumental in attacking Imperial lines of communication, couriers, and informers as well as attacking isolated French units. British forces also relied heavily on intelligence and information provided by Spanish guerillas. On more than one occasion, the British avoided battle with a superior enemy based on intelligence from local guerillas.

The Spanish population had a long tradition of discontent with its monarchical government, and this general discontent increased in ferocity under King Joseph.[83] This led to resistance from average citizens that complemented the guerilla movement, seen mostly in the defense of cities like Saragossa, Gerona, and Valencia, along with general opposition against the new centralized regime – viewed merely as a French puppet government by most citizens.[84] The French occupiers failed to perceive the general character of the Spanish uprising.[85] The French government sent flying columns from Madrid to quell what it interpreted merely as local acts of rebellion. By piecemealing their efforts, much contrary to one of Napoleons maxims, the French forces did not concentrate their forces in a coordinated campaign to defeat the rebellion through successive, concentrated efforts.[86] By spreading out its forces, the French Army deployed

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[82]Tone, *The Fatal Knot*, 13.

[83]Gates, *The Spanish Ulcer*. *A History of the Peninsular War*, 35-36.

[84]Ibid., 35-36, 56-61, 73-77, 78, 124-27.

[85]Christon I. Ancher et al., *World History of Warfare* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 399.

[86]Ancher et al., *World History of Warfare* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 400; David G. Chandler, *On the Napoleonic Wars* (London: Greenhil Books, 1994), 177; Gerard Chaliand, ed. *The Art of War in World History* (Berkeley: University of California Press,1994), 648.

columns that were vulnerable to attacks by the Spanish regulars, ambushes by the guerillas, and resistance by the population in some cities such as Saragossa, Gerona, and Valencia.[87]

It is not possible to define one unifying ideology that served as the main source of Spanish motivation. Rather, many overlapping ideologies fueled the rebels' passion. The tension between the Protestant and Catholic Church served as an underlying, yet powerful and longstanding source of motivation.[88] Similarly, the historically decentralized organization of Spanish society stood in stark opposition to the French desire to impose outside rule – particularly led by a government that taxed the Spanish people to finance the occupation. The underlying and often subtle differences between occupier and occupant were gradually reinforced as the number of local battles grew. The intrusion of the French occupiers attempting to claim control of Spanish ground fostered a rise of national unity and pride not present prior to the French invasion.[89] This was not nationalism in the traditional sense of the term, but the creation of a national identity through the creation of shared ideological motivations centered on ejecting the French occupiers from Spain. The different sources of identity and ideology all fed into the cauldron of resistance. The Spanish guerillas and people fought ferociously for their country, which ultimately enabled the depleted Spanish and Portuguese Armies, assisted by the British, to defeat Napoleon's forces and end the French occupation.

World War II: The Pacific Theater of Operations

When the Imperial Japanese Navy and Air Force attacked Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, America's declaration of war against Japan, followed shortly by Germany's declaration of war against America transformed the war in Europe into a full scale World War. The Pacific

[87]Gates, *The Spanish Ulcer. A History of the Peninsular War*, 56-61.

[88]Ancher et al., *World History of Warfare*, 400.

[89]Gates, *The Spanish Ulcer. A History of the Peninsular War*, 77.

Theater consisted primarily of a confrontation between the Western Allies (the United States and the United Kingdom) and Japan.[90] The underlying causes of Japan's entry into the war included postwar economic factors – particularly control of territory, markets, natural resources, and people, all focused on the Japanese goal of establishing economic independence. Tensions between America and Japan traced back to the early twentieth century, specifically the legalization of bias in California's 1906 legislation prohibiting Japanese children from attending the same schools as American children, and the role President Theodore Roosevelt played in settling the 1904-1905 Russo-Japanese War.[91] Tension between the two nations grew steadily over the next three decades, but it never came to open conflict.[92] Elsewhere in the Pacific, nationalist aspirations bloomed as various countries sought independence after decades of Western and Japanese colonialism.[93]

In addition to these overt geopolitical power struggles, the conflicts that culminated in World War II (WWII) fall within several less obvious but still significant underlying themes. In particular, America's war with Japan took on many of the characteristics of a race war. The Nazi racial hierarchy explicitly expressed by the genocide of the Jewish people and other "undesirables" serves as an obvious example of the centrality of racial issues during WWII. Nazi Germany had no monopoly on these racial biases, however. British racial policies in the colonies, and the segregated American society with its race-based citizenship laws provide but two of many examples of the racial bias that existed as a general characteristic of the time.[94] WWII both

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[90]The Western Allies primarily includes forces from the U.S., U.K., Australia, New Zealand, and Canada.

[91]Lynn, *Battle. A History of Combat and Culture*, 233-35.

[92]Ibid.

[93]John W. Dower, *War without Mercy* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986), 3-5.

[94]Dower, *War without Mercy* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986), 4-5; Lynn, *Battle. A*

further exposed and accelerated these racial tensions, often with tragic consequences. In the Pacific theater, race played a particularly important role in the conduct of war. The Western Allies employed racial bias towards the Japanese both to motivate troops going into combat and to encourage public support for the war effort. This racial bias existed at all levels of society, as one can see in the popular media of the era: cartoons, films, radio broadcasts, newspaper and magazine articles, and commercial ads. In a disturbing parallel to Nazi depictions of the Jews, the U.S. War Department distributed a host of posters that portrayed the Japanese as cruel, animal-like sub-humans (see figure 5).[95]

History of Combat and Culture, 220-21.

[95]Lynn, *Battle*. *A History of Combat and Culture*, 223-24.

Figure 5. Examples of American World War II Posters with anti-Japanese messages. Source: http://www.bookmice.net/darkchilde/japan/war.html (accessed 24 January, 2013)

Core ideologies supported the racial messaging on both sides during the war in the Pacific. In the United States majority public opinion and official government propaganda held that no such thing existed as a "good Japanese."[96] While this rhetoric reached a feverish pitch during the war, it rested on a general bias with a history that originated long before World War II. The United States and the United Kingdom built on these pre-war tensions and racial bias to

[96]Dower, *War without Mercy*, 8.

communicate the notion of the "subhuman Japanese," routinely portraying their enemy as apes, snakes, and vermin in public media.[97] Western information similarly depicted the war as a struggle between good and evil. Simple but powerful visual and verbal images, such as the Rape of Nanking, the "sneak attack" at Pearl Harbor, and the Bataan Death March provided powerful symbols that the Allied governments used to create a stereotypical depiction of the Japanese soldier and citizen, and to emphasize the high-stakes nature of the conflict for both Allied soldiers and the home front.[98] These public information campaigns left only one possible outcome: the total extermination of the opposing system and ideology, a notion reflected in Allied national policy and military strategy.

Japanese ideology had long challenged the notion of Western supremacy; historically the Japanese people viewed themselves as the master race. In the summer of 1941 the Japanese Government, published *The Way of The Subject*, an ideological publication that continued the indoctrination of the Japanese population. *The Way of The Subject* described an ideal image of the Japanese people, nation, and race. Furthermore, it portrayed Western history as the history of conquest, self-gratification, and racist repression of the rest of the world. It portrayed Westerners as valueless, bloodthirsty aggressors and arrogant colonials who exploited Asian peoples from India to Indochina and the Philippines. This justified Japan's deliberate invasion of Western colonies throughout Asia in an attempt to establish economic independence and create a Pan-Asian empire freed from the yoke of Western domination. The Japanese willingly shouldered the responsibility to lead this effort, seeing themselves as supreme among the Asian races. The Japanese emperor and government sought to establish their people as the ruling class in Asia

[97]Dower, *War without Mercy*, 9.

[98]Dower, *War without Mercy*, 27-29; Lynn, *Battle. A History of Combat and Culture*, 223.

under the so-called Triple-A slogan: Japan the Leader of Asia, Japan the Protector of Asia, and Japan the Light of Asia.[99]

For the Japanese, Pan-Asianism thus served as a multi-faceted ideology, rather than simply the rationale for attacking the colonial powers. In countries including India, China, and Burma these anti-colonial sentiments attracted followers supporting the Japanese cause.[100] Japan, an ethnically pure society, found its notion of superiority in the (Chinese) Confucian classics, along with its own folk stories that portrayed outsiders as barbarians and evil demons. Similarly, the Shinto religion, particularly the distorted version expressed as "State Shinto," served as a nationalistic tool that united the Japanese people around the Japanese state and the divine Emperor. Beginning in 1890, government policy required Japanese students to recite an oath of allegiance to the state, guaranteeing their unquestioned and courageous allegiance. This oath served as one form of ritualistic activity that found its ultimate expression in the Kamikaze and Banzai suicide attacks, and ritual suicides known as Hara-kiri – practiced by Japanese soldiers and pilots throughout the war.[101]Japanese soldiers found inspiration in their warrior past, when Samurai discipline, loyalty, cruelty, and skill stood as ideals admired by all of society. Japanese history and folklore foretold a Japanese Pan-Asian empire including Korea, China, and the Philippines.[102] The structure of Japanese society, through combined schemes of public education,

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[99]An Imperial Army document from the summer of 1942, for example, divided the nationalities of Asia into "master races,"s," "friendly races," and "guest races," reserving the position of undisputed leadership for the "Yamato race."Dower, *War without Mercy*, 8.

[100]Ibid., 6-7. Despite the narrative, Pan-Asian unity remained a myth. Japanese oppressive behavior earned them more Asian enemies than followers.

[101]As an example of the ideology permeating down through the military organization, see Field-Marshal Viscount Slim, *Defeat into Victory* (London: Cassell & Company Limited, 1956), 337; Eugene Bondurant Sledge, *With the Old Breed. At Peleliu and Okinawa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), 182, 221; Gerhard L. Weinberg, *A World at Arms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 847-58.

[102]Dower, *War without Mercy*, 20-21.

state Shinto, and the Emperor-centric processes of government control produced a nation of individuals aligned with and subordinate to the state's will. The military resided at the very top of the hierarchy that oversaw Japan's strategic direction in accordance with the guidance of an emperor who acted in a role that made him more a part of this system than the master of it.[103]

Both sides in the Pacific Theater of War expended vast resources to depict their opponent as an irreconcilable savage aggressor. Both sides supported these claims through cultural interpretations of history and stereotyping of racial differences. As a result, Western and Japanese ideologies drastically affected the conduct of WWII in the Pacific Theater.[104] The almost total dehumanization of the opponent served as an inspiration and motivation to exercise extreme violence in a fight to the last man.[105] Unlike the European theater, where extremism and racial hatred remained localized among particular ethnic groups and historically opposed parties, no participant in the Pacific War offered or expected mercy.[106] Soldiers there lived and died by simple rules: kill or be killed, take no prisoners, and fight to the bitter end. Furthermore, an ethos of "never surrender" developed among soldiers and commanders in the Pacific Theater – particularly among Japanese defenders after the Allies turned the tide and started the process of liberating Japanese-controlled islands.[107] Top commanders and civilian leaders on both sides encouraged this "kill or be killed" ethos, resulting in horrible brutality at the front – although the Allies generally treated the few prisoners that they captured much better than the Japanese treated

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[103]Dower, *War without Mercy*, 21; Louis Morton, *Strategy and Command: The First Two Years* (Washington D.C.: Center of Military History, 2000), 225, 34-39.

[104]D. M. Giangreco, *Hell to Pay* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 2009), 5-6.

[105]Slim, *Defeat into Victory*, 538; Weinberg, *A World at Arms*, 846-48.

[106]Slim, *Defeat into Victory*, 46.

[107]John Wukovits, *One Square Mile of Hell* (New York: New American Library, 2007), 223-49.

their prisoners of war.[108] The government propaganda portrayed the cause of war as a struggle between the "free world and the slave world," "civilization against barbarism," and "good against evil."[109] The combatant's propaganda machines publicized atrocities – real or invented – to serve as motivation and justification for the unrestrained conduct of war. This propaganda proved particularly important for America in the latter stages of the war, when the President approved the firebombing of Japanese cities and eventually the use of the atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki to avoid the anticipated catastrophic losses involved in an amphibious invasion of the Japanese home island.[110]

The Pacific Theater of War during World War II exhibited a multifaceted character. An objective analysis of Allied policy does not satisfactorily account for the nature of the Pacific war. The underlying ideologies, most notably the cultural and racial differences employed by the state as indoctrination and motivation tools, had an immeasurable impact on the way the combatants fought the war, from policy and strategy to the conduct of operations and tactics. The Japanese perception of the Americans combined with their Shinto warrior code caused Japanese soldiers to fight fiercely, almost always welcoming death before capture, and in many cases to commit atrocities. That in turn provided more fodder for the racial indoctrination that influenced Allied forces' perception of the nature of their enemy, exaggerating the effects of the dehumanization process and leading the Allies to engage in a level of brutality unmatched in any other theater of war. The opposing sides' ideologies thus drove their actions on the ground and provided the rationale for behavior never before condoned or so widely engaged in during peace or war.

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[108]Dower, *War without Mercy*, 12.

[109]Dower, *War without Mercy*, 16-17. See also Frank Capra's film "Why We Fight: Prelude to War" sponsored by the War Department as a preparation of U.S. soldiers going to war. The movie and other Capra movies were soon shown to the American public as well.

[110]Giangreco, *Hell to Pay*, 15-16, 120-24, 94-204.

The Global War on Terror: Combatting Militant Islamists

On September 11, 2001, terrorists trained and directed by Usama bin Laden's militant Islamist Al Que'da network attacked the United States.[111] Most notably, militant Islamists flew airplanes into the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, killing nearly 3,000 people. In the public conscience, this act ushered in the beginning of a new era in American security policy. In reality, the attack was a continuation of thirteen hundred years of ongoing tension and conflict between what bin Laden called the [Western] crusaders-Zionist alliance and the Muslim world, specifically Muslims in the Middle East.[112] Five years prior to the attack, bin Laden issued a *fatwa* – a religious declaration of war against the United States.[113] The conflict, however, extends beyond religious difference, representing more generally a tension between tradition and modernity. It pits the United States, global hegemon and champion of the universal right of individuals to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness versus Islamic extremists who seek the establishment of an eternal Caliphate free of infidels.[114] These tensions are found in the two opposing ideologies and the respective narratives that they champion.

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[111]Al Que'da and their ideological affiliates have been given various lables such as subversive radicalists, Jihadists, radical Islamists, militant Islamists, Muslim extremists. In this paper, the term militant Islamists will cover the group as a whole.Mary Habeck, *Knowing the Enemy* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), 1-7; Bernard Lewis, *The Crises of Islam* (New York: Random House, 2003), 138; Youssef H. Aboul-Enein, *Militant Islamist Ideology* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2010).

[112]Foreign Broadcast Information Service, *Compilation of Usama Bin Ladin Statements 1994 - January 2004* (Reston, VA: Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 2004), 13-28, 56-58; Lewis, *The Crises of Islam*, xxvi, 137-64.

[113]Foreign Broadcast Information Service, *Compilation of Usama Bin Ladin Statements 1994 - January 2004* 13-28; The term "Fatwa" is technical, judicial term for a legal opinion or ruling on a point of law.Lewis, *The Crises of Islam*, 140.

[114]See Bruse Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2006), 81-83.

Bin Laden, in his periodic communications to the highly distributed Al Que'da organization, made frequent historical references to events dating back to the birth of Islam in 622 as revealed by Muhammad (570-632). In a videotaped message released October 7, 2001, made after the attack on the United States, bin Laden referred to the "humiliation and disgrace" that Islam had suffered "for more than eighty years."[115] In this statement bin Laden referred to the final defeat of the Ottoman Empire and the subsequent subdivision of the last Muslim Caliphate by the (non-Muslim) great powers. To add to the disgrace, that event, in the mind of extremist Islamists, let to the creation of Israel twenty-nine years later. In 1918, the holy Caliphate was divided into British and French parts. The two conquerors later subdivided the area into geographical entities, most of which bore no resemblance to the old Muslim world, with its origin dating back long before the birth of Islam.[116] The dispute over these territories, in particular Jerusalem and Palestine, began when European crusaders captured Jerusalem in 1099, only to lose the city to Saladin in 1187.[117]

Control of Jerusalem continued to shift between Christian and Islamic rulers until Saladin recaptured the city in 1244, after which it remained in Muslim hands for centuries. Following the rise of the Ottoman Empire, the European crusaders went on the defensive and the Middle East, with exception of North Africa, remained under Muslim rule until the end of the First World War in 1918.[118] Muslim power began to show signs of decline much earlier, though, beginning in 1798 when General Napoleon Bonaparte invaded Egypt and was only expelled when another

[115]Lewis, *The Crises of Islam*, xv; See alsoHoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 90-91.

[116]Lewis, *The Crises of Islam*, xv-xxxii.

[117]Ibid., 47-51.

[118]Ibid., 48-52.

European power, Great Britain, intervened.[119] Subsequently, European powers conquered most of North Africa.[120] After World War I, the League of Nations mandated that France and Britain would prepare the conquered territories for independence. This had a largely positive impact on the occupied region. The administrators developed infrastructure, public service, educational systems, and new social structures. However, while these changes seemed positive to the casual observer, they also created great animosity in the Middle East, as some saw the changes as an attack on the traditional Muslim way of life.[121] This animosity resulted in successive leaders from all over the Middle East seeking to build strength by forming alliances and partnerships with the enemies of Great Britain and France.[122] With the emergence of the Cold War and the gradual decline of the French and British empires, leaders in the Middle East found themselves faced with a new potential hegemon – the United States. Reluctantly, the United States soon found itself tied down in the Middle East, most notably because of the 1990 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.[123] U.S. activities and involvement in the Middle East and elsewhere in the world exposed, as perceived by extremist Muslims, the imperialist aspirations of the United States. Furthermore, the U.S. market economy represented a seductive lifestyle that tempted righteous Muslims with the various excesses that had earned the United States the nickname "the Great Satan."[124]

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[119]Lewis, *The Crises of Islam*, 51-55.

[120]France in Algeria (1830), Tunesia (1881), and Morocco (1911). Great Britain in Aden (1839), Egypt (1882), and British influence in the Persian Gulf. Lewis, *The Crises of Islam,* 56.

[121]Lewis, *The Crises of Islam*, 57-59; Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 90-101.

[122]Enemies such as Hitler's Germany and the Soviet union. Lewis, *The Crises of Islam*, 60-61.

[123]Ibid., 60-63.

[124]In the Quran, Satan is described as "the insidious tempter who whispers in the hearts of men." Ibid., 65-81.

When defining extremist Islamist ideology, one must first define the group in question. Generalizing about Arabs as a whole, or Islam as a religion lacks the contextual specificity necessary to say anything useful or broadly applicable.[125] A relatively small group of militant Islamists – a tiny subset of the world's Islamic population – make up the Al Que'da terrorist network and its affiliates.[126] Today, particularly because of the death of Bin Laden, Al Que'da itself has evolved into more of an ideology or "brand" adopted by various groups seeking a recognizable identity or justification of their actions.[127] Conversely, one can generalize the ideology Al Que'da violently opposes as Western or American. The reason for this rather large distinction between the groups is found in the fact that the so-called Western world has largely embraced certain universal principles applicable to many states, and the majority of their citizens, irrespective of affiliation (capitalism, political representation, some form of democracy rather than monarchy or dictatorship). The West finds itself in a peculiar predicament, though. As articulated by successive American presidents, the West has not declared war on Islam; yet the militant Islamists behave as though it had, identifying themselves as defenders of Islam against the West – particularly America.

To understand militant Islamists' ideology, one must go beyond history and colonization, however traumatic a role it plays in Muslim consciousness. Militant Islamists believe that Islam, as the latest and truest revelation of God's will, is meant for all of humanity. This means that all people must follow the teachings of the Quran before humanity can create the perfect society in the eyes of God. Furthermore, God has given the *umma*, the society of true Muslims, the responsibility of leading humankind. The Muslims therefore have a duty to share that divine truth

[125]Lewis, *The Crises of Islam*, 137.

[126]Habeck, *Knowing the Enemy*, 1-3.

[127]Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 282.

with the world and open non-Muslim societies to Islam (by way of converting the people to the Islamic faith). The militant Islamists furthermore argue that the *umma* must live out all of God's rules as received by Muhammad without exception or interpretation. The *umma* must abide by the system of law laid out in the Quran – a system known as *Sharia* – which held sway during the thousand years of the Caliphate.[128] In militant Islamist perception, after the decline of the Caliphate due to unrighteous rulers' deviation from the true path, Christians and Jews, the representatives of corrupted religions, took over leadership of the world, invaded Islamic lands, and ultimately created Israel. The continuous political, military, financial, ideological, media, and cultural domination of the world acts as a daily, public humiliation for the *umma*. The militant Islamists argue that this state of affairs only came about because the *umma* diverted from the path laid out by God. Hereditary monarchies replaced the righteous Caliphs. The new monarchs created their own laws and rules replacing God with themselves. This tradition continues today, exemplified by monarchs such as Syria's president Bashar al-Assad and the Saudi Arabian royal family.[129]

So the Islamic extremist narrative goes. The outside influence has led to a pollution of Islam through an attempt by various monarchs and intellectual Muslim scholars to integrate Greek and Western ideas into Islam. In one of the gravest examples of this line of events, according to the militant Islamists, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk abolished the Ottoman Caliphate in 1924, paving the way for the secularization of Turkey. Some Muslim scholars even argue that without the Caliphate, Islam cannot exist as a valid, functioning faith, and Muslims therefore have lived in sin ever since its abolishment. According to this view, Islam will eventually perish

[128]Habeck, *Knowing the Enemy*, 8.

[129]Habeck, *Knowing the Enemy*, 9-11; Foreign Broadcast Information Service, *Compilation of Usama Bin Ladin Statements 1994 - January 2004* 13-27.

unless Muslims reestablish the Caliphate.[130] Finally, militant Islamists have constructed a narrative in which the "Truth" as revealed by the prophet Muhammad has been in constant battle for the last fourteen centuries with "Unbelief and Falsehood," exemplified by the Christians and Jews. Militant Islamists envision various solutions to these problems for Islam. Each solution involves a different group of militant Islamists, which explains the continual growth and sub-division of this subset of Muslims.[131] For the purpose of this case study, however, these various subgroups all fit within the broad category of "Islamic extremists," as their specific differences have no bearing on the overall issue at hand.

The solutions envisioned by militant Islamists all center on a return to the original and traditional Islam. This involves allowing every Muslim to make his own interpretation of the sacred texts according to his own reason, rather than blindly following centralized, modern interpretations. Some militant Islamists also see the contemporary system of false rulers in Muslim countries as the root of all evil. Given this view, any solution must therefore also include replacement of these rulers, seen as agents of the West, with faithful Muslims who will rule by *Sharia* alone.[132] According to a broadly held view the main problem with Islam stems from the destruction of the Caliphate. Hence, the creation of a new Caliphate serves as a precondition for returning Islam to its former purity and spreading it to the rest of the world – through offensive means wherever necessary. Finally, some militant Islamists see America and the West as the primary obstacle to an Islamic resurgence. This group sees the destruction of this obstacle as the only way to resurrect the Caliphate and with it, the true Muslim nation. Thus, a militant Islamist might envision a sequence of events that involved the coercion of America and the West to leave

[130]Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 90.

[131]Habeck, *Knowing the Enemy*, 10-12; Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 88-101.

[132]Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 89-101.

Muslim lands, followed by removal of the false Muslim leaders, establishment of a new Caliphate, and ultimately global conquest to convert the rest of the world into true believers.[133]

One can describe the general components of Western ideology, although also very diverse, by describing prevailing international trends among Western countries. As a whole, these countries believe in the universal human rights set forth in the United Nation's Declaration of Human Rights.[134] Furthermore, the West believes in the rule of law, including international law, and democracy, secularization, market economy, and science. Underlying these ideas, according to Western ideology, a set of universal principles found in various theories of international politics serves as a foundation for the security of the Western world, because these universal principles place national interests above the interests of individuals, even though those individuals can expect their nation to ensure their security and protect their universal human rights.[135]

The implications for the conduct of war between parties representing these two opposing ideologies seem both obvious and extreme. As the militant Islamists only distinguish between

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[133]Habeck, *Knowing the Enemy*, 12-15; Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 89-101.

[134]These include: Right to equality, freedom from discrimination, right to life, liberty and personal security, freedom from slavery, freedom from torture and degrading treatment, right to recognition as a person before the law, right to equality before the law, right to remedy by capable judges, freedom from arbitrary arrest and exile right to fair public hearing, right to be considered innocent until proven guilty, freedom from interference with privacy, family, home and correspondence, right to free movement, right to protection in another country, right to a nationality and the freedom to change it, right to marriage and family, right to own property, freedom of thought, conscience and religion, freedom of opinion and information, right to peaceful assembly and association, right to participate in government and elections, right to social security, right to desirable work and to join trade unions, right to rest and leisure, right to adequate living standard, right to education, right to participate in the cultural life of community, right to a social order, responsibilities to the community, freedom from interference in these human rights. See United Nations, "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights," http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/index.shtml (accessed February 17, 2013).

[135]See for example Thucydides, *The Landmark Thucydides.* (New York, NY: Touchstone, 1996), 43; Clausewitz, *On War*, 177; Colin S. Gray, *War, Peace and International Relations* (London: Routledge, 2007), 1-14.

true believers and the rest, they have the full range of means available to them. Militant Islamists do not distinguish between combatants and non-combatants, between civilians and soldiers, between men, women, and children. They only distinguish between people one way: they categorize them as true believers, according to their ideological definition, or nonbelievers, all of whom fall under the category of "legitimate target."[136] Similarly, militant Islamists do not require that the weapons they employed have to discriminate or minimize "collateral damage." One can see examples of this thinking in examples ranging from the September 11, 2001 attacks against the United States to the day-to-day use of improvised explosive devices (IEDs), suicide bombs, and similar weapons. Conversely, the West will take action to resolve violations of universal human rights, will abide by international law even when fighting enemies that do not, and will use collective national interests as a guide for action. These ideologies seem destined to collide whenever and wherever they meet, and as the trend toward globalization continues it seems inevitable these ideologies will face off with ever-increasing frequency in the future. For example, Israel's existence will forever represent to militant Islamists an intrusion on Muslim lands, and yet one can hardly envision a scenario in which America would stand by and take no action in the face of an existential threat to Israel.

Conclusion

The preceding analysis demonstrates that by replacing the term "policy" with the more general concept of "ideology" in Clausewitz's Trinity, one can update it so that it can reach its full potential – particularly with respect to modern application of what many interpreters see as an outdated theory. Ideology, as a more abstract and general concept than policy, can serve the purpose Clausewitz intended for that part of the Trinity while avoiding the problem of confining it to a specific era, form of warfare, or method of government. Three case studies, one each from

[136] Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 93.

the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first centuries demonstrate the various ways in which ideology affects the conduct of war.

In Spain, a popular uprising emerged in defiance of the official Spanish policy of cooperation with Napoleon. The guerillas' locally rooted ideologies – however diverse – and strong affiliation with the Catholic Church provided the necessary impetus to resist the French occupation forces. Ideologically rather than politically motivated, the Spanish people rose to face the seemingly overwhelming and, until then, consistently victorious French empire. Even though both the Spanish regulars and locally raised guerilla forces suffered many defeats at the hands of the French, they persevered and eventually wore down the French.

More than a century later, ideologically motivated Japanese and American soldiers committed horrendous atrocities because they engaged in a particularly brutal form of war with a decidedly racist ideological nature. The source for motivation, again, lay far beyond mere politics or political reasoning. It stemmed instead from both the Japanese and the American soldiers' thorough ideological indoctrination. Whether based on Japan's self-image as the master race forged in the cauldron of state Shintoism, or America's view of the Japanese as a subhuman, inferior people who did not deserve the human rights afforded to members of Western society, this indoctrination led soldiers on both sides to fight using means and with a degree of hatred not witnessed anywhere Western nations faced each other in battle during WWII. This indoctrination involved such powerful effects that it led Japanese soldiers and pilots to commit suicide rather than surrender to the Allied forces in the Pacific theater of war, or turn themselves and their equipment into living IEDs, hoping only to kill as many of their enemy as possible when they died. Only in one other region did WWII exhibit such a brutal and deadly nature – the equally ideologically motivated Eastern Front where the Nazis and the Soviets each scarified tens of millions and committed horrible atrocities in the effort to annihilate each other.

In the Global War on Terror, the West faces a seemingly unfamiliar enemy. The enemy is not a state and lacks any traditional form of organization. This enemy also does not use traditional methods or weapons, and most importantly its militants fight for reasons almost beyond Westerner's ability to grasp. To find that reason, one must study the militant Islamist's ideology. This ideology drives the militant Islamists and provides meaning, motivation, and purpose to the individual. The reason why the Islamic extremist fights, and the manner in which he does so, resists explanation through any policy, written or unwritten. Instead, one must identify the foundation of their determination and the source of their ideas: ideology.

As all three case studies demonstrate, policy cannot on its own provide an explanation for what motivates people to fight in examples as diverse as the three described above. Only the one common factor between those three cases can – ideology. While Clausewitz wrote from the perspective of an ideology himself, he drew his ideology from the same source as all of his contemporary military theorists: nationalism. In the case studies above, ideology, not nationalism, serves as the source of motivation. Hence, the three case demonstrate the validity of this study's thesis: the more general term "ideology" can serve as a replacement for the rational element – "policy"– in Clausewitz's Trinity.

Application and Implications

This paper seeks to provide practical usefulness to the military practitioner. Any utility to the historian, theorist, or social scientist is therefore merely incidental. Thus, it seems prudent to show the practical implications and applicability of the foregoing analysis. After all, military theory only serves a useful purpose to the military practitioner if one can apply it in the conduct of war. At the U.S. Army's School of Advanced Military Studies, the military and civilian faculty educate military planners; American officers, civilian employees of various government agencies, and officers from partner nations. As a primary outcome of SAMS, the graduate and military

planner must possess the ability to conduct conceptual and detailed planning using the Army Design Methodology (ADM) and the Army's Military Decision Making Process (MDMP) as two primary components of the operations process (see figure 6).

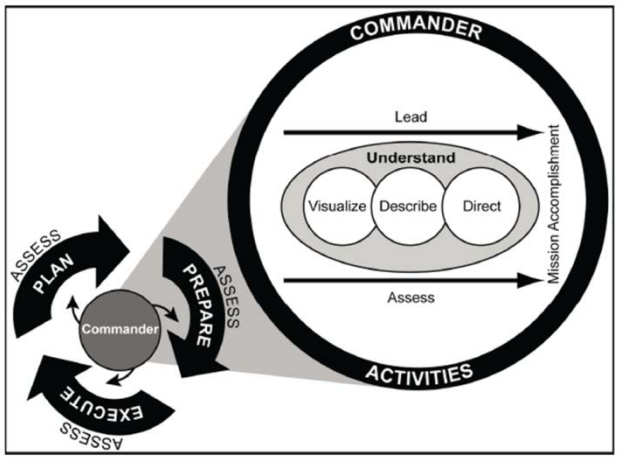

Figure 6. The operations process[137]

Source: ADRP 5-0, *The Operations Process*, 1-2

In the realm of conceptual, and to a lesser extent detailed planning that Clausewitz's Trinity – with the aforementioned modification – offers the greatest utility.

Clausewitz's Trinity represented the Prussian theorist's attempt to identify the basic requirements for military theory – the basic components of every military problem – and illustrate their complex interrelationships.[138] It emphasizes another of Clausewitz's famous dictums; that "war is not merely an act of policy but a true political instrument, a continuation of political intercourse, carried on with other means."[139] The Trinity, though, presents a possible tool for the

[137]The operations process consists of plan, prepare, execute, and assess. Embedded in the operations process is the commander's primary activities; understand, visualize, describe, direct, lead, and assess.

[138]Clausewitz, *On War*, 88-89.

[139]Ibid., 87.

military planner to incorporate in the operations process.[140] Among many critical planning tasks, the planner must define and describe the operational environment. If the planner faces a familiar problem, the MDMP will usually prove sufficient to identify a solution. . However, in the case of an unfamiliar problem the planner can turn to the ADM. Either approach requires the planner to describe the operational environment and define the desired end state. The dissimilarity between the present situation, the current operational environment, and the future desired end state constitutes the military problem, which the planner can express in a problem statement. The conceptual approach to solving the military problem then serves as an operational approach (see figure 7).

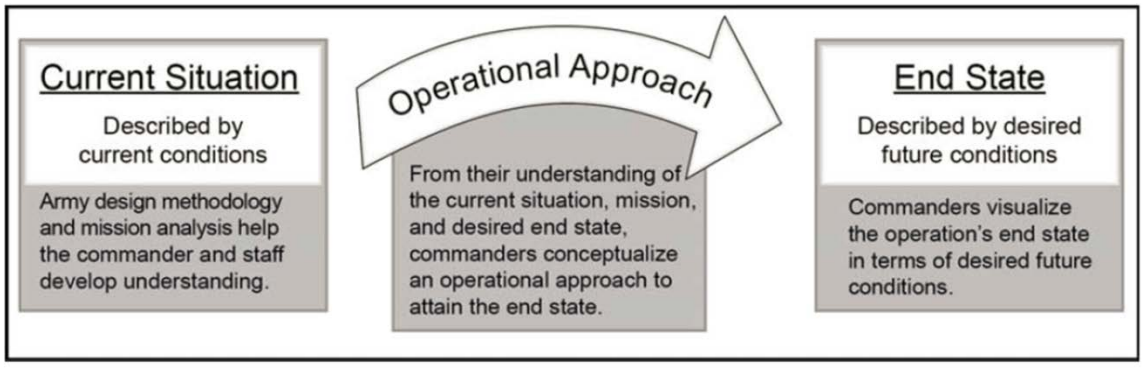

Figure 7. The current state linked to the end state by the operational approach

Source: ADRP 5-0, *The Operations Process*, 1-4

The operational approach, and subsequent detailed planning, enables the commander, as a leader in the planning process, to seize, retain, and exploit the initiative to gain and maintain a position of relative advantage.[141]

[140]U.S. Army, ADRP 5-0, *The Operations Process*, (Washington D.C.: U.S. Army, 2012), 1-1-1-15.

[141]ADP 3-0, 1.

Integral to the operations process, planners create statements and sketches. In the ADM these depict specific processes like "framing," "visual modeling," and "narrative construction."[142] For each phase of the ADM, (see figure 8) planners construct a visual model and a narrative.

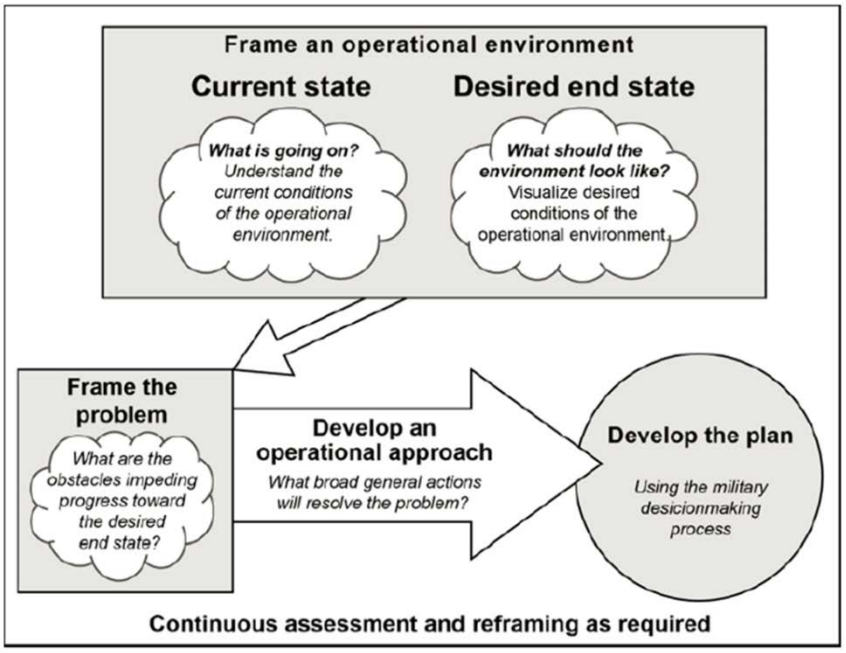

Figure 8. The Army design methodology[143]

Source: ADRP 5-0, *The Operations Process*, 2-6

The narrative articulates the mental images and models that serve as a precondition for understanding and reacting to a situation. Usually, planners use constructs such as the operational variables and/or the mission variables to frame the environment and the problem.[144] The visual model supports and clarifies the narrative.

[142]ADRP 5-0, 2-4-2-5.

[143]Army design methodology is a methodology for applying critical and creative thinking to understand, visualize, and describe problems and approaches to solving them.

[144]Operational variables include political, military, economic, social, information,

Clausewitz's Trinity, modified as suggested, constitutes a model on which military planners can build a description and depiction of the operational environment and the desired end state. By dividing the actors operating in the area of operations into rational, irrational, and non-rational actors, the planner can anticipate and appreciate the different actors' possible reactions to changes in the operational environment. Some actors may display elements of both rationality and irrationality. All actors, by definition, exhibit a non-rational element; this results from the play of chance as a subordinate element of the fog and friction of war.[145] One should, then, explore, analyze, and define which elements belong to the irrational realm, and which belong to the rational realm. A thorough analysis of the underlying ideologies and their origin will assist the planner in this task. Seemingly irrational behavior can very well originate from ideology; from one of the elements that feed into ideology and from where the actors derive their basic ideas. Thus, cultural, historical, and religious factors, or the influence of local personalities can all play a key role. By defining the elements underlying the ideology, the planner can provide an informed assessment regarding the likely behavior of the ideologically-motivated individual, and offer advice regarding whether the actor's specific ideology can serve as a source of leverage to consider as part of the planner's conceptual and detailed planning towards the desired end state. The planner can use this knowledge to clarify the narrative, the visual models, and the operational approach.

A more detailed study of this potentially useful implementation of the modified Clausewitzian Trinity as part of the Army's conceptual and detailed planning should test the

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infrastructure, physical environment, and time, also known as PMESII-PT. Mission variables include mission, enemy, troops, terrain, time, and civilian considerations, also known as METT-TC. Each variable further encompass sub variables. Civilian considerations, for example, include areas, structures, capabilities, organizations, people, and events, also known as ASCOPE. See ADRP 5-0, 1-7-1-8.

[145]Clausewitz, *On War*, 85, 89, 119-21.

potential and clarify the method of its implementation, leading to its inclusion in the next iteration of U.S. Army operational doctrine. Then, finally, Clausewitz's Trinity could achieve its true potential as a tool not just for writing and understanding theory, but also for guiding the actions of the military planner and practitioner.

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